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CABOOL:

A

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF A

JOURNEY TO, AND RESIDENCE IN THAT CITY,

IN THE YEARS 1836, 7, and 8.

BY THE LATE

LIEUT. COL. SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, C.B., &c.

OF THE INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

FROM THE SECOND EDITION.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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TO

JAMES BURNES, Esq.,

MONTROSE,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

As a proof of my affection to a father to whom I am indebted for all I enjoy in the world: who, besides cherishing me in youth, early associated me with himself, and taught me to think and to act as a man when most of my companions had not even acquired the rudiments of their education.

ALEXANDER BURNES.

Cabool, 16*th May*, 1841.

PREFACE.

Some time has now passed since the following pages were written. They contain my personal recollections of an interesting country through which I passed, and in which I resided whilst employed on a mission to Cabool, in the years 1836–7 and 1838. Subsequent events have not diminished, as it appears to me, the anxiety of the public for information regarding these regions: on the contrary, the great political events of which they have since become the arena have given importance to all that appertains to them. On political subjects, however, it is not, at present, my intention to enlarge. The time is yet distant when an accurate judgment can be passed on the line of policy which we have adopted; but the travellers through these countries will, in some degree, have paved the way for the political inquirer, if, in the mean while, they can portray something of the tone and spirit of the people among whom circumstances have now placed us. My esteemed friend, Lieutenant John Wood, of the Indian Navy, has already, in his valuable work, laid before the public the stirring incidents of his journey to the lofty regions of Pamere, which was undertaken while associated with myself on this mission to Cabool. I had long and fondly hoped that the easier task of giving the minor details, which I have now imposed on myself, would have fallen to the share of Dr. P. B. Lord, a dear and much valued friend; but his bright and short career has since abruptly terminated on the field of battle.

The reader must not expect of me a connected series of incidents. I have already carried him over part of the ground in my public travels; and I hope he will now be content to accept the gleanings which subsequent opportunity and inquiry have enabled me to present to him.

Cabool, 1841.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The present volume contains the Personal Narrative of Sir Alexander Burnes, entire. But the publishers have thought it unnecessary to republish the "Appendix," which contains "A Report on the River Indus, by Lieutenant Wood," "Report of the establishment of a Fair for the Indus Trade," and which would have but little interest for the general reader, and add materially to the cost.

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CABOOL.

CHAPTER I.

Objects of the Mission—Departure from Bombay—Arrival in Sinde—Instructions—Embedded ship—Changes in the Indus—Reminiscences—Tame Otter—Vikkur—Pelican—Fish—The Boolun, or porpoise—Singular ceremony—Peer Putta—Tattá—Chief of the Jokeeas—Superstition—Ramazán—Condition of the Hindoos—Kulan Cote—Ruins—Sumovee Nuggur—Kinjore—Presentation to the Ameers of Sinde—Conference—Hydrábád—Old acquaintances.

In the latter end of November, 1836, I was directed by the Governor-General of India, the Earl of Auckland, to undertake a mission to Cábool. Lieutenant (now Major) Robert Leech of the Bombay Engineers, Lieutenant John Wood of the Indian Navy, and Percival B. Lord, Esq., M. B., were associated with me in the undertaking. The objects of Government were to work out its policy of opening the river Indus to commerce, and establishing on its banks, and in the countries beyond it, such relations as should contribute to the desired end. On the 26th of November we sailed from Bombay, and, sighting the fine palace at Mándivee on the 6th of December, we finally landed in Sinde on the 13th of the month. Dr. Lord did not join our party till March.

On entering the river Indus I drew up such instructions as seemed necessary to guide Lieutenants Leech and Wood. To the former I pointed out the advisability of noting all the military features of the country, and recording all the information which he could collect; to the latter I intrusted entirely the survey of the river, and to both I gave instructions to combine the advancement of general knowledge with a correct discharge of the specific duties on which they were employed. To Dr. Lord the branches of natural history and geology were subsequently assigned; but, as the published reports of this mission serve to show, the abilities of this much-lamented public servant were likewise enlisted on subjects certainly not more important, but of more immediate and pressing interest. I must refer to the printed papers before Parliament, and those reports to which I have already alluded, for the nature of the duties which devolved upon myself. With the dry diplomatic details which they contain I have no intention of fatiguing the reader. It is sufficient for me to have the satisfaction of believing that I kept open, for a time, the door of inquiry through which others entered. The object of the present volume is to give the personal and miscellaneous details of our journey.

Shortly after disembarking on the coast of Sinde an opportunity was presented us of examining a square-rigged vessel, which had been imbedded in the Deltá of the Indus, and left, by the caprice of the river, on dry land, about twenty miles from the sea, near the fort of Vikkur, where it has lain since the time of the Calorás, the dynasty preceding that which now reigns in Sinde. This vessel, called "Armat" by the Sindians, is about 70 feet long and 28 in breadth: she seems to have been a brig of war, pierced for fourteen guns, and capable of carrying not more than 200 tons English; her greatest draft of water, marked on the stern-post, being only 9 feet, which is less than is drawn by some of the present country-boats of 40 tons (160 candies). It is, however, obvious that the Indus was at

one time entered by vessels of a different description from those now in use, as this *half-fossilized* ship, if I can so call her, amply proves. The word "Armat" suggests the idea that the vessel was Portuguese, and that it is a corruption of Armada. There was also a Roman Catholic cross on the figure-head, and we know that the Portuguese burned Tattá in 1555, though this vessel, I imagine, belongs to a much later period of the history of that nation. We dug up from her hold six small brass guns, about twenty gun-barrels, and four hundred balls and shells, the latter filled with powder. These implements of war were found near the stern in the armoury, so that it is probable the vessel foundered: her position is now erect; and a large tamarisk-tree grows out of her deck. The sailors call her "Nou Khureed," or the new purchase, and state her to have been left last century in her present site, where she remains a singular object.

Since my former visit to Sinde much of the jealousy of its government had disappeared, though enough still existed to render some degree of caution necessary. We however conversed freely with the people at the seaports, and some of them were old enough to remember the names of the English which they had heard from their fathers. They mentioned those of Calender, Baker, Erskine, and Smith, as near as I can approximate Sindian pronunciation to English; and they told us that there were still the remains of an Englishman's tomb at Dehra. The records of government state that Mr. Calender was the gentleman who withdrew the factory from Sinde in 1775, "as we had before experienced some instances of the arbitrary disposition of the prince"—so that the present generation had not mistaken the traditions handed down to them. They seemed willing and ready again to welcome us as rulers; nor has the gratification of their wishes been long delayed, Sinde being no longer connected with Britain by a commercial factory only, but having become one of the tributary states of our mighty Indian empire.

The Indus had undergone various alterations since I saw it in 1831: but, from all that I can gather, I have doubts whether any of the vast changes surmised by Captain Macmurdo have taken place in this river. That the water has shifted from one mouth to another is certain: but the number of its mouths must long have been much the same as at present, since, in a chart published by Captain Dalrymple in 1783, I can distinguish eleven or twelve of the embouchures by the names they yet bear. It is also very questionable if the Indus were ever entered by such ships as navigate the Hoogly branch of the Ganges. Still there is ample depth in its estuaries to give encouragement to the merchant to seek, by this line, with properly constructed vessels, a new channel for the exports of our country.

Among our earliest visitors on the river was one Cassim, who had been permitted to stop on board our boats in the pittee, in January, 1831, and now begged to remain in our service. The sight of this man brought to my remembrance the unpleasant feelings of that night, when we were hurried down the river by ignorant men shouting and yelling: nevertheless I was glad to see Cassim again. We were visited also by the owners of three or four boats (Doondees), who had sailed with us to Bukkur, and again sought to be employed by us: one of them, Ibraheem by name, son of one of the owners, had grown up a fine young man; and as I stepped on shore he greeted me with a laughing welcome, and placed some Indian corn at my feet in renewal of our acquaintance. Self-interest may sway these people, still it is agreeable to meet with such expressions of kindly feeling.

In the evening I went out to look for some of the "raræ aves" of Sinde, and on the banks of the Gora presented my gun at a singular looking creature; but, fortunately, curiosity held me, and I discovered it to be a tame otter searching for his evening meal, and devouring a fish which he had caught. The owner of this animal presented it to us, and it became as domesticated as a dog, and made the voyage with us as far as Bukkur; but it suffered from the change of diet, as we were unable to catch fish for it in the large river. It had also been so constantly tormented by the sailors and servants that its temper was spoiled, and we were obliged to get rid of it. In following up this river, the Gora, I found myself about

two miles from Vikkur at its termination; and, entering its bed on horseback, I rode for two miles farther, when I reached the main Indus. This fact deserves notice, for by this very branch I sailed into the river in 1831, since which time layers of mud, deposited by each succeeding inundation, have worked this change.

On the 24th of December we quitted Vikkur, and, entering the Seeam, now the favoured branch, had a pleasant sail for two days between its well-wooded banks. There, in the morning, the larks sang as clearly and loudly as in Europe, and their notes, with the slow hollow sounds of the bells hanging from the necks of the buffaloes, as we wandered among the tamarisk-shrubs, were soothing to our ear. It was here that we added the pelican to our small collection of natural history. This bird is often tamed in the Deltá of the Indus. It stood four feet high, measured nine feet eight inches from tip to tip of its wings, and was the largest bird, except the ostrich, which I had ever seen. The pelican of the Gulf of Persia and the Red Sea is white, but on the Indus it is of a grayish brown. This bird swallows with difficulty, and only when the fish is so placed that it will descend endways into the stomach.

In our wanderings on shore we always visited the "rajs," or villages of the inhabitants, and every one left his occupations on our approach to greet us with a good-humoured smile. If any of us killed a crow on the wing, no difficult task assuredly, we were pronounced "Hakim and bád sháh," ruler and king. The round flat turban of the Juts, and their peculiar expression of countenance, calm and placid, present a study for the pencil. They are industrious, and very expert in reed or basket work, which they weave from the twigs of the tamarisk, and fit into all their vessels, thus rendering them dry and comfortable. At one of these villages we purchased from our boatmen two loads of fish, about eighty in number, for one rupee. The distribution was made with great pains: the fish were first divided into two lots; an indifferent person then took two bits of clay of different sizes, the parties guessed, and they were delivered accordingly. Each lot was again subdivided into three more shares, and much the same ceremony gone through; after which the fishes were with all haste transferred to the cooking-pot, the men chopping off the scales with an axe—a formidable instrument for so delicate an affair. The fish were chiefly what are called "dumbree."

Our entrance into the great river was first distinguished by the rolling of the "boolun," a kind of porpoise, by far the most remarkable inhabitant of the Indus, and which I have only once had an opportunity of catching alive. It is well described by the Emperor Báber as the "water-hog," which it much resembles while playing in its element. It is evidently of the order Cetacea. The temperature of the Indus was 58°, whilst that of the small branch we had left was 62°.

The solemnity with which the Sindians navigate their mighty river never ceases to amuse the voyager. In any part of it where it is necessary to give the boat an extra pull, the "meerbur" or master calls out "Sháh bash puhleewán!" "Bravo, my heroes!" and gravely promises to have their beards dyed fresh on the termination of the voyage; and there is as much zeal and industry displayed as if an enemy instead of a river were to be opposed. In turning a corner of the stream one vessel grounded about fifty yards from the shore, and threw up a wave five or six inches high, which moved steadily along until it met the bank. Lower down this becomes the "bore," which is so formidable; only there the causes spring from nature, and not accident. It is curious to notice the boats of Sinde, made of foreign wood, as in Egypt: the latter country is supplied from Syria, and the former from India—another point of resemblance between the two countries, in addition to the many that have been remarked.

On the 31st of December we passed Noora Kanode, and halted near a sugar-plantation about seven miles from Peer Putta. They water the cane day and night by two sets of Persian wheels, one above the other. A camel turned the first, and two bullocks the other, while one man attended both. If the animals, which were blinded, could have seen, they would assuredly have expected more

attention. In Sinde they never advance further in the preparation of the cane than molasses. We passed inland to visit the shrines at Peer Putta, a vast collection of whitened tombs on a ridge of hillocks, overlooking the Buggaur branch of the Indus, on which they stand, and the neighbouring country, which is a dense jungle of tamarisk. This place of pilgrimage is stated to be 800 years old, and is frequented by Hindoo and Mahomedan. On taking off our shoes we were readily admitted, and civilly treated. On the walls of one of the principal shrines we saw the name of "Henry Ellis, 1809," one of Mr. Hankey Smith's assistants, and lately our ambassador at the court of Persia. Under Peer Putta the Buggaur lay before us in a fine and deep expanse of water—a clear proof of its communication with the Indus a few months before; though, at this season, the water was stagnant, and the sand-banks at its mouth prevented the further ingress of the stream, yet this year boats from Hala have passed down it to the sea laden with chaunia (alkali).

On New Year's Day we reached Tattá, to which the river was now tending, and will probably adjoin before this century closes. My old political antagonist, Zoolfkár Sháh, whom I had expected to meet, had paid the debt of nature but seven days before we arrived. I had brought, at his request, some candlesticks for him from Bombay; but, poor man! he requires no more the light of sun or torch in this darkened world. I wished much to have seen this accomplished Asiatic under the altered circumstances of our present visit, and hoped for his aid in gathering information of this once great but ruined emporium. The Nuwáb of Tattá and a confidential servant of the rulers received us instead of the poor Syud, and showed the way to the city. We entered without pomp or suite; the inhabitants shouted out welcomes to us, and besought us to "come and people this desert:" one man said, "What is there to took at in this wilderness? Come, and it will flourish under the English." Others said, but more softly, that the rulers were blind; and a perfumer called out to us to purchase his rose-water, as there were no buyers left. They facetiously tell you that from Curáchee to Hydrábád, by land or by sea, there is nothing left to the poor man, and but half to the rich. Since 1831, the cholera has desolated Tattá, but it is deemed throughout Sinde one of the lowest and most unhealthy sites: the wells and water are generally fetid: there is also much stagnant water; and even in the winter the mists of the morning are disagreeable.

One of our first visitors was the chief of the Jokeeas, Jam Mihr Alee, who had come from the hills west of Tattá, where his tribe leads a nomade life, to provide us with a guard. The Jam was a stout man of advanced age, with a beard dyed with henna—an uncouth being, who seemed mightily delighted at hearing from me a few words in bad Sindee. Although this was a Jokeea of rank, it will be seen he retained the Hindoo title of Jam. On his taking leave some medicines were given to him, which secured his good offices; and he shortly sent a dozen of his tribe to escort us. Wild and uncouth-looking and long-haired as they are, they are famed for their fidelity. In the portrait of Peroz I shall present the tribe better to my readers than by description. With his men the Jam sent a fine buck, slung across the saddle of one of his horsemen, and in return we gave him powder to continue his sporting avocations. The specimen which these Jokeeas shortly gave us of their ball practice left no favourable opinion of their skill. At ninety yards every one of them missed a bottle: the distance was lessened, but the result was the same; and then it was gravely discovered that the shots had been fired in the direction of Mecca, which rendered success impossible. The practice was continued from an opposite point of the compass, but with equally bad success. We were vastly amused at this trait of superstition, and at the crest-fallen looks of the mountaineers, who had been boasting loudly of their skill; but all Sindians are given to gasconade: if a dozen people live together, they call their dwelling a city (shuhur); and if eight or ten of our party moved about anywhere, they were designed an army (lushkur). Besides these Jokeeas, our only escort in this length-

ened journey consisted of a dozen Arabs, and six Myánás or plunderers from Cutch. Accompanied by these children of the desert and the mountaineers of Sinde, we saw no foes. The constitution of such a guard affords some subject for reflection as to the state of British influence in India.

At Tattá many Moolás visited us, and brought, on our inquiring for them, various books for sale. Among the volumes I found the "Chuch-namu," and "Toohfut aol Kiramee," both histories of Sinde: but the major part of their stores consisted of commentaries on the Korán, prayer books, and poetry, though I doubt not that a diligent search here would be well rewarded. Our principal guide was one Mirzá Gool Mahomed, a scion of the great Mirzá Eesá Toorkhanee, and who, though poverty-stricken, yet possessed "furmáns" of Sháh Jehán. Literature in this region has decayed with commerce and population. During our stay the "eed," or festival at the termination of Ramazán, occurred; and the whole assemblage at the place of public prayers did not exceed 2000 souls. No Hindoo ventures out on such an occasion in Sinde; and this exhibition, as well as subsequent inquiries, led me to fix the present population of this city at from 8000 to 10,000 people, but the town is gradually going to decay.

Assoomul, the brother of Gundá, a Hindoo, and one of the most intelligent of his tribe, is the first merchant in Tattá. He visited us, and was very communicative: he deplored the decay of his native city, and said, metaphorically, that the merchant and the cultivator were but the soil of a country—that the soil could not flourish unless it was watered by commerce.

The condition of the Hindoos is best illustrated by statements of their own. While we were at Tattá a half-witted person died: the Moslems claimed the body, that it might be buried: the Hindoos waited on the Governor to remonstrate. Some Mahomedans declared that the deceased had, on more than one occasion when he was uttering curses, used certain of their holy names, and they supported their arguments by the Korán: so the corpse was borne in triumph to the hill of Mukklee, and consigned to the earth in the consecrated ground of Islám. A month before our arrival a mother and two children became voluntary converts to Mahomedanism. Eighteen months previous a Hindoo, at a neighbouring village, was seized and forcibly converted because of the offences of a brother who had absconded. At the same time it is said that most of the converts become so voluntarily, and I state this on Hindoo authority. The Hindoos avoid with scrupulous care all mention of the names held sacred by their masters. The mercantile town of Ulláh yár Ká Tandá they simply designate Tandá, to avoid saying Ulláh, which means God. Not a Hindoo shows himself in a procession; while in India the "eed" is celebrated by a far greater number of them than of Mahomedans. Within these five or six years a very outrageous instance of conversion by force happened in Sinde, in the person of Hotchund, one of the first merchants of Curáchee. He subsequently fled to Cutch; and now resides at Lucput with a numerous family; but his sons decline to eat with their parent. The unhappy man has wealth and property, but no outlay of it can restore him to the lost privileges of his tribe.

The antiquities of Tattá have ever excited a lively interest, nor were we idle in our inquiries. We paid an early visit to Kulan Cote, which lies about four miles to the south-west, on the same ridge of hills as that on which the fine tombs of Mukklee stand. It at once struck me as the site of ancient Tattá. "Kulan Cote" literally means the large fort; and here, in fact, we found a fortified hill, about three-quarters of a mile long and 500 yards of average breadth. Its shape is that of a parallelogram, excepting on the south-west angle, where it juts out. The whole surface of the hill has been fortified with a mud wall, faced with kiln-burnt bricks. In the space I have described, the ruins of streets are to be traced; and there is a mosque of rather large dimensions, with a fountain in front of it. In treading on these remains we often heard a sound as if the ground beneath us were hollow. At one end we found a large store of burned or charred wheat: many of the bricks, too, were vitrified. Kulan Cote is considered, and called, the old fort

of Tattá. To the west are the remains of a suburb, but on all the other sides it is surrounded by a lake of spacious dimensions, supplied by a cut from the Indus east of Tattá. At one end of this lake there are various places of Hindoo worship, formed in the grottoes or natural fissures of the rock, a conglomerate honeycombed limestone, full of shells, and often separating, in a very remarkable manner, into caverns. The fish of this lake are preserved, because of its being a place of pilgrimage for the Hindoos of Tattá, who offer up their devotions here twice a month. Is this the "Dewul Sindee," of which antiquarians are in search? There is certainly not a temple (dewul), but there are no temples in Sinde; besides, this country is often called Dewul, even in modern times. When last I was in Bombay, the native agent at Muscat, in Arabia, wrote as a matter of news that the Imam was about to attack Zanguebar, and had sent to *Dewul* to hire soldiers; he had applied to Sinde for mercenaries. Kulan Cote, as it now stands, is not given to an age prior to that of Islam, but it stands on ground peculiarly adapted for the site of a fort, and one which the founders of Tattá would of course have selected. There are no ruins between it and modern Tattá, and a circumference of three miles encloses all the mounds of the latter. On the northern side of the town the remains differ from those in other parts, and a wall may be traced. This is said to have been the fort of the Soomrás and Sumas. Tattá is yet called, *par excellence*, "Bulda," or "Nuggur," both of which mean *the* city; and in its site, as I have elsewhere stated, we have little doubt of having found the ancient Minagur.

Four miles N. W. of Tattá, and due north of Kulan Cote, we have the remains of Sumovee-nuggur, which is said to have been peopled before the present city. There are now but eight or nine huts, which are inhabited by those who protect the shrine of Shá Jeendá hard by. A small branch of the Indus, the Kulairee, lies beyond, and is the first offshoot of the river on its right bank: if full it would insulate Tattá, but now its waters are wasted. The hill of Mukklee terminates at Sumovee-nuggur. Sumovee was a town of the Jams, or Sumas, and their tombs still remain near it. Bumboorá, on the road to Tattá from Curáchee, is said to be coeval with Sumovee. Between Tattá and this ancient place is another ruin called Sida, also marked by a shrine; with it a fable is coupled of a Hindoo converting paper into money, and, on being found out, sinking into the earth. It is yet a place of pilgrimage. Brahminábád I cannot find under that name, although some Sindians tell you its bricks were used in the modern houses of Roree, and others that it stood near Khodábád or Hala. There is a place of antiquity called Bamina, in the Thurr, and another, named Kake, near Omercote. There is, however, much in modern Tattá to mark its antiquity. The fossil shells of the Mukklee hills are made into beads for rosaries: a seed of the palm, I believe, from Lus, called "pees," is also bored for the same purpose, and looks very like agate. The Hindoo pilgrims encourage this trade on their road to Hinglaj. The "teeruts" at Kulan Cote, and Kalka on Mukklee hill, with the residence of five hundred Brahmin families even now in this decayed city, all point to its Hindoo sanctity; and if they do not supply sufficient data to enable us to discover Dewul Sindee and Brahminábád, they at least furnish scope for surmise and conjecture.

But antiquity has detained me too long, and I must dismiss the tombs of the Suma-Jams, Nunda, and Tumachee, with an expression of admiration at their chaste beauty, and continue my account of our voyage.

The Ameers announced, through the Governor of Tattá, their anxiety for our advance, as the hunting season would soon be concluded, and they wished us to join them in their sports. I was at first disposed to give them less credit for their sincerity than the result proved them to deserve. They could not imagine it possible that we should have found anything to interest us in Tattá, as not one of the reigning family had ever deigned to visit the place, though it is but 56 miles from their capital. We quitted Tattá on the 11th of January, and proceeded on our voyage.

On reaching Hiláya we disembarked, and proceeded for about three miles inland

to the lake of Kinjore, one of three sheets of water which extend north and south for about 20 miles, and during the inundation communicate with the Indus. Here we were promised much sport, nor were we disappointed. We embarked in skiffs on the lake, a large and beautiful expanse of water, for the purpose of seeing a new mode of ensnaring fish. Nets were stretched across the lake at a point where it was about 600 yards wide, and four circular receiving nets were fixed at intervals along the line in such a manner as that the fish, their progress being stopped by the long nets, might be tempted to leap into the circular ones. The fishermen conducted us to the end of the lagoon, where they commenced beating the water, jumping in their boats, striking their cooking utensils, shouting and yelling, and making all sorts of imaginable noises; at the same time they gradually advanced. The fish, frightened, fled before them, and, finding no other exit, leaped into the circular nets, and became an easy prey to their pursuers. Upwards of a hundred were caught, and the fishermen seemed to enjoy the sport as much as ourselves. They are a tall and handsome race, and claim to be aborigines and descended of Rhatore Rajpoots. They refer with exultation to the days of Jam Tumachee, when one of their females, famed for her beauty, fixed the affections of that prince, and secured privileges for her tribe which they yet possess. After a day's enjoyment of fishing and shooting we proceeded onwards, passing many decayed tombs, with which, in this region, most of the hillocks are crowned, and directed our course towards the river at Sonda, to which place our boats had advanced. The country was saline, and as usual little of it was cultivated. The capparis, asclepidias, and tamarisk had been our companions throughout the route; and before nightfall we reached a "shikárgáh," or hunting-thicket of the Ameers, and were delighted with the perfume of the babool as we sauntered along the banks of the river. Our boats were on the opposite side, and when the boatmen shouted to our party their cries resounded through the thickets, and were re-echoed by the rocky hillocks. We had no sooner reached the boats than one of our Jokeeas commenced playing upon his "tumachee," a kind of rude guitar, much to the amusement of his companions. After enduring his inharmonious strains for some time, we opposed him with some fine musical boxes, and from this day the vanquished performer fairly admitted that his instrument had lost its power. A Swiss mountaineer would not have been so easily turned aside from the airs of his native hills; nor perhaps was our Jokeeá friend in his inmost heart.

From Tattá to Hydrabad the western bank of the Indus presents to the eye a maze of hills, of sand and lime formation, and destitute of herbage. The lower hills bear the name of Gara or Kara, and it is difficult to discover in them any continuous range; the Hala mountains lie beyond and tower over them. There are roads through the hills from Curachee to Sehwun, and also to Jurruk and Hydrabad. We passed these bleak scenes rapidly, and reached the capital on the 18th of January.

On the following day we were presented to the Ameers, when I delivered my credentials from the Governor-General of India. The interview was a protracted one, and the chiefs were cordial and kind. We first saw the two Ameers Noor and Nusseer Khan, and then accompanied them to Meer Mahomed, who was sick and confined to his apartments. Sobdar, the fourth Ameer, was, as usual, absent, but his son appeared in the assemblage. Noor Mahomed said that "his father had firmly planted the tree of friendship between the states." "Yes, my lord," said I, "it is true he did so, but your highness has watered it." "It has grown into a large tree," rejoined the Ameer. "It is true, my lord," I replied, "and the fruit is now visible." In this complimentary style, to which I had been familiarized during my former visit, all our conversation was carried on. After some general topics had been discussed, I was questioned as to Runjeet Sing's designs on Northern Sinde. I answered that a friend's country was not to be invaded by a friend's friend. I then explained the objects of the Governor-General in sending me on the present expedition,—the line of my proposed journey,—our

intention of examining and measuring the Indus, exen as far as to Attock,—my ultimate destination to Cábool and Candahar, for the purpose of explaining to the rulers and merchants there our policy in opening the Indus, and,—finally, the most important point of all, the instructions which I had received to endeavour to infuse confidence into all classes, by a declaration of the happy and close friendship which subsisted between the British and the powers on the Indus. To all this statement a profound attention was given. When I had concluded the Ameer said, "Your journey is a long one; you shall be welcome whilst you continue in Sinde, and when you return to it." Before separating, the Ameers, as usual, caused me to speak the few sentences in Sindee which I had picked up by the roadside, and expressed their delight; but I now told them that I had a grammar of their language, prepared by Mr. Wathen, the chief secretary to government; and with a promise to give them a copy of it the interview terminated.

The Ameers proceeded next day to enjoy the sports of the field, and left us to examine the bazars of Hydrabad. No one could more heartily appreciate than I did the change of tone in this court, or more sincerely rejoice at the prosperous consequences which had flowed from my former voyage by the Indus to Lahore.

At Hydrabad I found a cassid or courier from Cabool, a relative of my old acquaintance Hyat the Cafila-bashee, and who had accompanied me to Khooloom and Koodooz. I recognised the man at once, and inquired after my friends. "Moorad Beg," said he in a very significant tone; "was *that* Moorad Beg?" "Atma Dewan Begee, his minister," continued the cassid, "had been in Cabool to get a wife, and had often blessed himself for having treated you so well." I gave the old courier, by name Massoom, as much flesh as he could eat, and he exclaimed, "Who could tell that you were the man who wore a pelisse with two robes? but we always knew you!" This wanderer offered to carry my despatches to Cabool, and I readily accepted his services. Mollah Nanuk also came to tell me the news of Bokhara, and that he knew Ullah Dad, Sirwur Khan, and many of my old *compagnons de voyage.* He asked me if I had seen any Islam like that of Bokhara. But I must get nearer these scenes ere I enlarge upon them.

It is not my design to enter into any detail of the arrangements which I made with the rulers of Sinde. I had frequent and friendly intercourse with them: one day Noor Mahomed said to me, "You had not even a beard when I first knew you." I replied that "one now covered my chin with black, in mourning for my departed youth,"—an idea which I had stolen from Sady, and which was loudly applauded. He next asked me what books I had read: I replied, chiefly historical; when his brother inquired if I had finished the Goolistán and Bostán? They asked me why we objected to the slave-trade? Upon which I explained the enormities of a slave-ship, and the compact which the powers of Europe had entered into to suppress the traffic. On taking leave of Noor Mahomed, he said, "It is pleasant to converse with intelligent men, as it makes one learned;"—a specimen of Sindian adulation which must stand in place of further details; and I shall now transfer the scene beyond Hydrábád.

CHAPTER II.

Hunting excursion with the Ameers—Camel-riding—Costumes—Accident—Mode of hunting—Murderous sport—Lakat—Amusements—Hawking—Sehwun—Moral degradation—Geology—Natural history—New companions—Larkhanu—Dr. Lord—Ameer of Khyrpoor—Sindian dance—Ghoolam Nubee Khán—Deejee—Maraschino, a new medicine—Antelope hunting—Sindian falcons—Bukkur.

The Ameers of Hydrábád gave us a pressing invitation to accompany them on one of their hunting excursions north of their capital, which we readily accepted. We left the city in the evening of the 5th of February, and the next morning joined their highnesses at the ferry of Khaupootra, ten miles distant. All ceremony seemed now laid aside. Meer Shahdad, the eldest son of Noor Mahomed, visited us at our breakfast hour, and the Ameers pulled up at our tent-doors, and asked after us as they passed.

Shahdad is about 22 years old. He looks worn, and is said to be dissipated; he struck me as better educated than his father or uncles. He asked me what was the religion of China; and, after receiving some explanation on the subject, said it must then be that of Jengis Khán. A number of the 'Edinburgh Review' lay on the table, and in reply to his inquiries I explained, as well as I could to a Sindian, what a review was. He listened very attentively, and said that "Two-thirds of all the nations were fools, but he supposed we had reduced the number to one-fifth." He seemed uneasy at thinking that he was interrupting our meal; and, saying his father would be wondering at his absence, took his leave. He had been praying at the tomb of his grandfather, Moorad Ali, and is a rigid Shiah.

Before mid-day a messenger came running to our tents and informed us that the Ameers were waiting for us. Our party, consisting of Lieutenants Wood and Leech and myself, immediately set out to join them, mounted on splendidly-caparisoned riding-camels, which had been sent for our use. We found Noor and Nusseer Mahomed in "mafras," a kind of conveyance like a native palanqueen, carried by two strong mules, one in front and the other in the rear. They alighted on our joining them, and mounted camels. I expressed a hope that this new arrangement, by which they exchanged a comfortable conveyance, sheltered from a hot sun, for the back of a camel, was not made on our account. The Ameers replied with great kindness, declaring that it was perfectly agreeable to them, and we all trotted along together on camels, which, when trained, are certainly a pleasant means of conveyance. When prayer-time arrived we dismounted, and, sheltering ourselves under a tree, sent a message requesting the Ameers to proceed without us, which, as they had rather too much sunning, they accordingly did, and we joined them in the evening. The Ameers, on this occasion, affected no state; they conversed very familiarly with all their attendants, and the men who guided their camels were as well dressed as themselves. They wore common yellow shirts, made like a blouze, with large loongees round their waists. Noor Mahomed asked why we had no kummerbunds, or waist-sashes, and I replied that we wore tight clothes instead. He said that the sash was a great ornament. The Sindians of the party were as noisy as their countrymen are in general, and the number of "bismillas" (in the name of God), and "Ya Ali" (Oh Ali), as the camels climbed the side of an aqueduct, or as they shuffled along the road, was highly amusing. The cortége was very scattered: there seldom were more than thirty people in all with the Ameers, the falconers and the physicians following as they pleased; but, by the evening, we were all gathered together at Mesa, a mean village, which has a garden and a hunting-box, where the chiefs alighted. At night they sent to us,

requesting a sight of the caps we had worn, and which they perceived had shaded us from the sun, by which they themselves had suffered so much. Lieutenant Leech's cap in particular, a large white *broad brimmer*, turned up inside and out with green, had drawn forth great laudations during the march. As for mine, it was a "*shocking bad hat*," and I was absolutely ashamed to submit it to the inspection of these potentates, its days of service had been so many. I sent it nevertheless, convinced that anything which taught a Talpoor to screen himself from the sun would be of important service to him. At dinner we enjoyed the roast meat of our entertainers, and all our people, as well as their own, shared the hospitality of the Ameers, not only on this evening, but throughout the excursion.

The Sindians are very expert in putting their horses in and out of boats, but at the ferry this morning one of the horses dislocated his shoulder, and his terrified groom brought him to us for our advice. After examining the poor animal, I ordered him to be thrown down, and all our horse-keepers to pull and tug at the limb. The struggles of the animal, probably more than the skill of the operators, set all to rights, for to our great surprise, and to the decided increase of our reputation for universal science, he sprung up as well as ever. The Ameers soon heard of the affair, and the owner of the horse was far more delighted at the honour done to his steed than he had previously been when I presented him with a lithographed copy of the Goolistan. He was Ali Khan, the brother of Ahmed Khan, the Lagharee chief.

On the afternoon of the 7th we set out on camels and followed the Ameers to Majindu. The distance was about 20 miles through an open and arid country, very near the outlying hills, and the Lukkee range was in sight. We found the chiefs in another of their hunting-boxes, examining their weapons and talking over their expectations of sport. They received us without any ceremony, and placed Lieutenant Leech and myself on a cot opposite to them. Lieutenant Wood was unavoidably absent. Noor Mahomed made me a present of a small Sindian rifle, and taught me the manner of using it, he and his brother adjusting my hands. At last the Ameer got up and fired at a jar as a mark which was placed so near that he could not well miss it. I followed him and shivered the vessel twice; no great feat, but which fixed my character as a "topchee." A dagger was then given to Lieutenant Leech, and another was sent to Lieutenant Wood. We promised to join the party next day in the Sindian dresses with which their highnesses had provided us; it having been decided *nem. con.* that the game in the hunting-grounds could not but be frightened at so novel a sight as the tight habiliments of a Firingee.

We started at sunrise, as usual, on camels, and after proceeding about three miles entered the preserve. The Sindians, usually so noisy, became at once quite silent. Meer Nusseer Khan, near whom I was riding, dismounted, and, desiring me to do the same, took me by the hand and led me to a grass hut, in which was a raised platform, where he seated himself, and me beside him. The front of the hut was open, and here we remained in anxious expectation till the game should be driven down towards us by men and packs of ferocious-looking dogs, which we soon heard yelling and barking from the opposite side of the thicket. One solitary hog came, but he did not give us an opportunity to fire, though the Ameer had passed to me one of his fine guns, and insisted upon my taking the first shot. After the lapse of half an hour the arrival of the dogs, bloody and almost breathless, showed that this preserve at least was cleared. We therefore mounted our camels and joined Noor Mahomed Khan, who led the way to other ground. Here the same arrangements were made; and I sat by the side of the principal Ameer, with the gun which he had given me the preceding evening. The game was here more abundant, and some eight or ten hogs soon showed themselves. The Ameer, like a true sportsman, exclaimed, "That is your side, this is mine." I fired first, and killed a hog,—nor could I well miss, since the animal was not more than 25 or 30 yards off, and I fired with a rifle and a rest.

The Ameer, however, was greatly delighted, seized me by the hand, and shouted his applause; and I, knowing myself to be but a poor representative of the British sportsman, was glad that at least I had not disgraced my nation. After a short interval up bounded a hog-deer (Kotah-pachir, or para—*Cervus Porcinus*), and, as he sprung past the box, and while in the air, was shot dead by the hands of the Ameer. It was a clever quick shot, but the sport would be considered as pure murder by the initiated; for in this instance the distance between the muzzle of the rifle and the game did not exceed three or four yards; but Noor Mahomed is a keen and good sportsman, and there was much both of pleasure and excitement in the whole affair. Covers of young tamarisk generally surround the hunting-boxes, and narrow alleys are cut through these in different directions, but all converging to the hut where the Ameer is seated. It was amusing to notice the poor animals pause as they crossed these paths, and gaze deliberately down them, as if consulting with themselves what course to pursue: then ever and anon frightened at the yells of the dogs behind them, they would rush onwards in despair, and generally to certain death. After this the party broke up; and, bidding farewell to our kind entertainer, Nusseer Khan, who proceeded from hence to enjoy the sport in his own preserves, we trotted on for a dozen miles until we reached the Indus. On our way we overtook Noor Mahomed Khan in his palanqueen, and rode with him for some distance. He and his brother wore plain suits of gray woollen cloth—the only visible indication of their rank consisted in their sleeve-buttons of emeralds, and their jewelled daggers. Their rifles also were richly ornamented, and of these each had three or four loaded by him. The locks were English, but the other parts of the piece of native manufacture. They only used English powder in priming. We crossed the river in the state barge of the Ameer, and now found ourselves in the district of Lakat. Next morning we rode along the river for about ten miles to Nihaya, which is considered the best sporting-ground in Sinde.

The pleasures of the field were for a few days interrupted by a southerly wind, which is considered unfavourable to the sport, but on the 12th a change of wind again drew us forth, and there was a slight hoar-frost on the ground and bushes, but on the boughs of the tamarisk it was soon converted into tear-drops. Noor Mahomed Khan was in great spirits, and laughed heartily when one of the grass huts in which we were sitting came down with us, and we all rolled over each other. On this day we had good sport, and I began to question the opinion I had first formed regarding their mode of killing game; for so densely thick are the covers in this region, that, without some such arrangement as that which they adopt, I doubt the possibility of their killing anything. These parks, or "Moharees" as they are called, seem to be planned with care. A large tract of ground, shaped as a square or parallelogram, is staked off, and wattled all round so as to prevent the egress of the game. This again is subdivided into many triangular divisions, and at each of the angles so formed a shooting-box, or "Koodunee," is placed, and the animals which escape at one point are constrained to pass to another.

During the whole of the sport the Ameers were the only persons, with the exception of myself, who fired a shot. Innumerable sons and nephews were present, but were not allowed to pull a trigger.

We passed several days in this manner, hunting and fishing. The venison from the hog-deer is most delicious, but the society we were in prevented our eating the wild hog: we had, however, roasted partridges and Beloochee kabobs daily sent to us, and fared extremely well. Some mornings we went out hawking with the Ameers' falcons. This is a spirited sport, and I should say there was as much certainty of the game being killed by a hawk well managed as by a gun in the hands of a good shot. With a couple of hawks we generally returned, after two hours, with six brace or more in our bag. The birds were of two sorts—the "baz," or gray falcon, with large yellow eyes, from Khorasan, and the "bashu," a native

of Sinde, a kind of sparrow-hawk. The mode of training seems much the same as in Persia—the eyes being sewn up for many days, and the creatures denied all sleep till subdued.

We received many friendly visits from the Ameer, and had frequent and familiar conversations with him. He was evidently anxious to impress upon us that he had no higher way of marking his favour than by bringing us with him through his own country to his preserves, since it showed to the people that we were "as one." We cordially acknowledged the justice of the observation and our full appreciation of his kindness. "A better understanding," said I, "has lately arisen between the governments, and this friendly intercourse will cement it." Foreseeing, I suppose, the inevitable departure of independent greatness, Noor Mahomed asked much about the treatment shown by us to the native princes of India. He inquired as to the pension granted to the Great Moghul. This information I gave him, at the same time claiming credit to England for her liberality in not only releasing that personage from the Mahrattas, but assigning to him an annual stipend of fifteen lacs of rupees. He expressed surprise that the Guicwar, the Mahratta ruler of Baroda in Guzerat, should have an income of nearly a crore of rupees, and asked how the resident at his court was paid. He enlarged on the wealth of Guzerat, inquired into the cause of Girnar having fallen into decay, also whether there was still a place named Champaneer, and what was the state of Ahmedabad, as all these had been noted places in the time of Mahomed Begra. He asked if I had ever seen any river which could be compared with the Indus? I replied that I had seen the Ganges, the Oxus, and the Nile; but never any river so favourable for the ruler, the subject, and the merchant, as the Indus. "Most other countries," added I, "require rain, but Sinde can do without it." He said Sinde was a fine country, particularly the lower part of it; that rain always brought with it disease, and that they were better without it. The Ameer also told me that he had five histories of Sinde which he would give me—a promise, by the by, which he never fulfilled. He seemed tolerably conversant with the annals of his country, of the Soomras and Sumas, and quoted the tradition of the Sund Rajas having captured Cutch by concealing themselves under grass and entering one of the principal forts. These subjects drew him on to speak of his own ancestors, and their connection with the British government. He asked after Mr. Ellis, whom he said he remembered, adding that his abilities were great, and that a saying of his was often repeated by his father and uncles. When a native agent was to be stationed in Sinde, the Ameers wished to fix him at Tattá. Mr. Ellis replied, "No; let him be under the shade of the Ameers;" and Hydrábád became his residence. I give the foregoing as a specimen of the general tone of his conversation. We bade farewell to his highness on the 16th at Nasree, and proceeded to join our boats near Sehwun, the Ameer departing the same day for his capital; both parties, if protestations could be relied upon, delighted with the expedition, and with all its incidents and adventures.

Now that I had made the journey from the sea to near Sehwun by land, and had acquired a more extensive knowledge of the country, I perceived how liable we are to be mistaken as to its wealth and fertility. Nothing can be more tiresome to the eye than the monotonous plains of tamarisk which bound the view in every direction: but it is quite certain that a great portion of these plains might be irrigated. The tamarisk is easily hewn down, and the Ameers never proceed to hunt but a broad road is cut through it with little labour. The rich part of Sinde is not to be found on the banks of the Indus, but at some miles inland, where the water is conducted by canals. Often too, in the interior of the country, there are large "dunds" or stagnant lakes left by the inundation, and these are also used for irrigation. I have already mentioned those of Kinjore, and in Lakat also we met with several. They abound in fish, and innumerable fresh-water shells are found round the banks of all these pools: some of these are transparent and delicate. It was

remarked that, though we are in low countries, we had not seen a frog, a scorpion, or a snake; the cast-off skins of the latter had, however, been found.

On our way to the river we were met by many of the inhabitants, and it was curious to see the interest which even the poorest of them took in the late sport. They invariably asked us if the Ameer had killed much game. I expected such questions from the higher orders, but was not prepared to find the peasants equally interested in the matter. Near Tatta one of them brought to me the head of a wolf, which he had killed in one of the preserves, and demanded a gift, not because he had destroyed the enemy of man, but because wolves injured the Ameer's sport. Laws very similar to the old forest-laws of England seem to obtain here. Any trespass on the hunting-thickets is severely punished; and a stray bullock or buffalo which enters them is confiscated. Our presence among the Sindians had evidently made no little impression upon them, for they asked if they would still be allowed to kill beef and say their prayers aloud, the interdiction of these privileges being the proofs of conquest which their neighbours, subdued by the Sikhs, have had imposed upon them. The Sindian, however, whether his station be high or low, has attained but an humble place in the scale of civilization. Throughout this journey we found all parties dissipated and indifferent to almost everything but sensuality. The tamarisk, their native shrub, is a type of the country—weeds overgrow the soil, physical and moral.

Before passing on to Sehwun we visited the mineral springs of Lukkee, which flow from a fissure of the rock under a perpendicular precipice of about 600 feet, which, in its nakedness, put me in mind of Hindoo Koosh. The temperature of the water was 102°, the air being at 70°, and the odour sent forth was sulphureous and unpleasant. The spring flows unintermittingly, and deposits near its source some caky substance, or silica. The rock is entirely formed of shells and limestone, and the rents and fissures present a singular chaos, as if nature had been convulsed. The organic remains of former ages are innumerable; the asteroid, the cockle, the oyster, the nummulite, and almost all kinds of sea-shells, may be collected on the Lukkee range. In the clefts I found bones, but these were modern, and had evidently been dragged there by hyænas and jackals. A more minute search would, however, reward the geologist in this interesting range. I have also little doubt that the loftier mountains of Hala, seen to the west, are similar in their conformation to those of Schwun: both are destitute of vegetation.

On the 20th we moored in the Arul; and proceeded to revisit the singular mound or castle of Sehwun, on which so much discussion has been expended. I felt still as much puzzled and pleased with these curious remains as I had formerly been. I however avoided the tomb of Lal Shah Baz, for a visit once in a man's life to such a scene of noise and importunate begging seemed to me sufficient. The town of Sehwun did not appear to contain one-half the number of people which I had formerly assigned to it, viz. five thousand souls: the inhabitants were chiefly beggars and fishermen. The fish here are very numerous, and a favourable opportunity was presented to us of largely increasing our drawings of them. In the end these formed a valuable portfolio of every specimen to be found in the Indus, 36 in number. The water-fowl of Lake Munchur, which Lieutenant Leech went to visit, were also figured with care. Some of them were very curious, particularly the "aree," with three joints to its web-foot, which overlapped each other like armour. Of these, and others of the feathered tribe, the drawings at length amounted to 191, those of quadrupeds to 20, and those of reptiles to 11. The whole of these were presented by government to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, together with about 200 specimens of natural history, and the extensive geological collections which we made throughout the journey.

The trip to Munchur gave us an insight into that singular tract. As the water retires, cultivation is resumed, while the lake itself is covered with small fishing-boats not overrated at a thousand in number. They are in the custom of spearing the fish, the weeds rendering it impossible for them to spread their nets.

On quitting Sehwun, my former fellow-traveller, Mohun Lal, met me from Bhawulpore. He had been placed at my disposal, and I was glad to see him after a lapse of five years. I had been previously joined by another protégé, Nourozjee Furdoonjee, a young Parsee educated at the Elphinstone college in Bombay. I was very anxious to give an opportunity to the youth of that presidency to distinguish themselves on so important an occasion as the present journey afforded them; and young Nourozjee had volunteered to accompany me. Besides the recommendation which he possessed from promising talents, he had been educated under the care of a respected and venerated friend of my own, now no more, the Honourable James Sutherland, than whom no one was ever more beloved, or commanded more universal esteem; and thus I took a double interest in the welfare of the young man. The absence however from his countrymen pressed heavily on Nourozjee, and he ultimately returned to Bombay, after giving me, throughout the journey, the highest satisfaction. He is at present an assistant professor in the Elphinstone college—an institution which bids fair to do honour to the name it bears.

On the 1st of March we reached Meetanee, the frontier of my old friend Meer Roostum Khan, and were received as well as old friends could wish to be; I need say no more. Our entrance into this chief's territory was marked by a very successful operation on the part of our native doctor Mahomed Ali. A boy about nine years old presented himself with a capsular cataract in both eyes: he had been born blind. One of these cataracts the operator broke; and we kept the patient in our boats for several days till he could distinctly see, count numbers on his fingers, and move about without a guide. It was an interesting occupation to note the progress which he made, and with it the gratitude of his relatives. They did not wait for the second being cured, but were anxious to return home with their present success. This was not the only work of the native doctor: he removed with celerity and success a cataract from the eye of an old woman who had had it for six years. The woman saw at once; and prayed aloud for joy. This practitioner had acquired his experience in India under Dr. Richmond, whose pupil he had been for a considerable time. There is nothing in which European surgery produces a stronger impression on the minds of Asiatics than in operations on the eye, a branch of the science of which they are altogether ignorant.

After some very squally and rainy weather, in which we nearly lost one of our boats, we passed Chandkoh, and, disembarking, proceeded to visit Larkhanu, a town of about 12,000 inhabitants, fourteen miles from the Indus. Half way we crossed the Nara river, which was about three feet deep, with a current of a mile an hour. Up to this point the soil was saline, and entirely covered with a salt efflorescence, but after crossing this river we entered a rich and well-cultivated country. Larkhanu is pleasantly situated among date-trees, and is a place of note, having a bazar of 370 shops and some manufactures of coarse cloth. It lies also on the road between Curachee and Shikarpoor. We found a few Hindostanee soldiers here under Moosa Khan, an Armenian, who sent us very civil messages, but was afraid to visit us. Larkhanu cannot boast of the morality of its population, and its intoxicating liquors were too great a temptation for our people, some of whom had, I am sorry to say, become decided drunkards since our entering Sinde. A Sindee proverb runs "Jeehoo nano, goom Larkano" (If you have money, go to Larkhanu and get rid of it); but the same may be said of many other places.

After a day's residence we quitted Larkhanu, and joined our boats at the ferry of Keree, where we were received by a deputation from Ali Moorad, who had sent his brother-in-law, and Simon Michael, an Armenian, the commander of his troops, to welcome us. They brought dogs with them, and a civil invitation to us to go to their hunting-grounds, but political circumstances obliged me to decline the offer. We passed up the river to Buttee ferry ("putung") twenty miles from Khyrpoor, where we were joined by the minister, Futteh Khan, who with the usual ceremonies escorted us next morning to Khyrpoor, passing on our route through the large village of Peer-gote. One of the commanders of the boats accompanied us,

and, sailor-like, seemed uneasy on shore: I asked him why he did not enjoy himself? "Enjoy myself!" exclaimed he; "why, what is this to a boat? In a boat we are kings, and go ten cosses a day, but here we are nothing better than tired mortals!" I differed widely in opinion from this man; for it was always with pleasure that I exchanged the boat for the shore. We were joined at Khyrpoor by Dr. Lord, who had been escorted from Hydrábád by a young Englishman, named Howell, in the employ of the Ameers, and who was distinguished by the title of "Chota Khan," or the little lord.

On the 16th we all paid our respects to the Ameer, who received us even more kindly than his relative had done at Hydrábád. He seated me on the same cushion with himself, and said that I had founded the friendship between him and the British, and that I was his dearest friend, with many other obliging speeches which I leave untold; but it is only justice to him to remark that, in the day of need, nearly two years after, his Highness proved by his conduct towards the British the sincerity of his professions, and, when all Sinde was hostile to us, he separated himself from the local confederacies and surrendered to us the fort of Bukkur for a dépôt, which, as he justly styled it, was "the heart of his country." I, however, found myself not altogether pleasantly situated with this good chief, for the Hydrábád family were at this time exerting themselves to secure the supremacy in Sinde, in which they in the end failed, but which retarded the cordiality between our government and Khyrpoor which subsequent events have happily established.

The second "eed," or festival, happened while we were at Khyrpoor, and it gave us an opportunity of seeing the national dance of the aboriginal Sindees of the Mai or Myanee tribe, who subsist by fishing. The women of the tribe all came dressed in holiday clothes, and, forming a circle round the musicians, moved in slow time, beating the ground and clapping their hands, which they raised above their heads. In marriages and festivals men and women join in the dance together. All these women were on a very large scale, thick-set and dark; few were handsome, and their ear and neck ornaments were so large as to be unseemly.

After this the prima donna of Khyrpoor, Jewun Bukhsh, entertained us with a "natch." This girl is a religious courtesan, who builds mosques and gives away large sums in charity; her features were melancholy but handsome, and the shape of her feet peculiarly elegant. She and her sisters, beautiful girls also, exerted themselves to amuse us. They danced with naked swords and guns, personifying jealous husbands and ardent lovers, and fell at last, as it appeared to us, more from the effect of *ardent spirits* than from fatigue.

There was at this time, at Khyrpoor, a mission from the Brahooee chief of Kelat, and through it we opened a communication with the ruler of that country, Mehrab Khan, and his young son, who reside at Gundava; and for a time this negotiation gave promise of being useful to us. The Vakeel, or agent, by name Ghoolam Nubee Khan, visited us in our camp, and we derived from him and his people much information. I showed him some drawings of Asiatic costumes, which so delighted him that he actually leaped for joy. On seeing the portrait of Runjeet Sing, he ejaculated, "Are you then so little and so blind, and yet trouble the world so much?" On turning over to a Eusoophzye of Peshawur he exclaimed, "And you, you wretch! why don't you cut out the Sikh's heart?" And then, placing the one picture before the other, he continued, "Look at the diminutive infidel,—look at him,—kill him! Would you not like to be as near him as you are now?" All this was said with an energy that made it amusingly ridiculous.

The chief of Deejee, Ali Moorad Khan, finding he could not tempt us to hunt, got politically sick, and requested me to send Dr. Lord to him, which I did. The day following Roostum Khan paid that chief a visit of condolence on the loss of an infant child; and we, having received an invitation, went also, and joined Dr. Lord. Deejee is about fourteen miles from Khyrpoor. It is a neat mud fort, built on one of the flat hills of flint, lime, and sand, which occur in this part of the country. It is a showy castellated work of some little strength, and

contains the riches of this scion of the Talpoors, who has the credit of being the wealthiest chief in Sinde. The town near it is small, and chiefly occupied by retainers. The desert, which stretches towards Jaysulmeer, begins at Deejee. The chief received us well, housed us in his fort, and, soon forgetting all his ailments, proposed a hunting excursion for the next day. He pronounced himself cured by Doctor Lord's medicines, who, however, had only given him a glass of maraschino, which was discovered in Sinde to have effects unknown to us. The medicine was so highly appreciated, that we were not only constrained to part with the little stock which we had with us, but to send an order for three dozen of it, for the special consumption of the invalid.

In the morning we set out on our excursion to hunt the antelope on the skirts of the desert. The Ameer mounted me with himself on his own camel, and Doctor Lord was driven by the chief's brother-in-law, which greatly surprised the people. Ali Moorad is about 25 years old, and a clever sharp man, with some energy of character. He put many questions to me on political matters, and it was very evident that sport was not the only object he had in view in arranging the party. We rode in among the antelopes; then dismounted, and advanced under the cover of a camel near enough to fire. I essayed twice, but was unsuccessful. At length Ali Moorad killed a fine buck; and great was my surprise to hear him shout out to his people in praise of my firing, and declare that the successful shot was mine! I laughed outright on receiving gratulations so undeserved; but I could undeceive no one except the gentlemen of my own party. There is more sport in antelope-shooting than in the preserve and hut affairs in which we had been engaged lower down. It a good deal resembles what we call in India deer-stalking. After some hours of exertion, we sat down under the bushes and enjoyed some camel's milk, which we got fresh from the herds grazing on the ground; when drunk thus it is palatable. We returned to Deejee, where we partook of a splendid entertainment; and in the evening returned to Khyrpoor, the Ameer again mounting on his own camel, and driving me himself. The whole affair was got over in the most amicable manner, without giving offence even to Meer Roostum, which was a delicate point. Before parting, the Ameer gave permission to Lieutenant Leech to visit the manufacturing districts of Raneepoor and Gumbut, which lie in his territories, and that officer accordingly proceeded thither direct from Deejee. Lieutenant Wood was absent on the river during these festivities, and his unremitting zeal had already enabled him to send me very perfect nautical information regarding the lower Indus.

This Ameer, Ali Moorad, had some very fine hawks, which amused us on our way to and from the hunting-grounds; and as I have heard sportsmen express much curiosity on the subject of these birds, I give the list of falcons, &c., known to the Sindians:—

Luggur, female, Juggur, male.	Native of Sinde; a large sparrowhawk, with dark eye, trained for the season and then let loose.
Baz, female, Zorru, male.	Native of Khorasan; goolab (yellow) eye: a noble bird.
Bashu, female, Bisheen, male.	Native of Khorasan; goolab eye: small.
Churgh, female, Churghela, male.	Native of Cuthee; black-eyed: fastens on the antelope, and kills the "tuloor."
Bahree, female, Bahree buchu, male.	Native of Sinde; found near the Indus, and not prized.
Kohee, female, Koheela, male.	Also called Shaheen; native of Sinde; black-eyed.
Tooruratee, female, Chatway, male.	Native of Sinde; black-eyed: let loose after the season.
Shikra, female, Chipuk, male.	Native of Sinde; goolab eye.

The Ookab, or vulture of Sinde, attacks all these hawks; and it is a curious fact that the domesticated hawk, when let loose, is frequently set upon by all the wild birds of its own species.

On the 30th of March, we took leave of Khyrpoor and proceeded to Roree Bukkur. So great a change had taken place in the feelings of the inhabitants towards us, that we had now only to express the wish, and we were at once ferried across, by the Vizier himself, to the celebrated fortress of Bukkur. He chose this singular time to renew some requests that had been previously made to me, with a view of cementing more closely our alliance; but I asked him, and I did so with perfect sincerity, what he could wish for more, since our mutual confidence was already so great, that we stood together as friends in Bukkur? Little at this time could I have ventured to hope that on Christmas-day of the ensuing year, I should have been the envoy to negotiate a treaty placing Khyrpoor under British protection. Such, however, was the case; and on the 29th of January, 1839, in company with my respected friend, General Sir Willoughby Cotton, I saw the British ensign peaceably planted on this important fortress, and waving over the waters of the Indus.

CHAPTER III.

Sukkur—Shikarpoor—Its commercial communications, population, bazars, &c.—River festival—Beauties—Character of the people—Wild tribes—Muzarees—A chief—Native song—Crocodile-steaks—Alligators—Mittuneote—Bhawul Khan, chief of Bhawulpoor—A French adventurer, Mons. Argoud—Mahommedan convent—Don José Gonsalvez, our artist—Runjeet Sing's officers—Kind reception—The Indus at Mittun—Dera Ghazee Khan—District of Deerajat—Its great importance—Lohanee Afghans—Their routes—The "Gates of Khorasan"—Traffic of Dera Ghazee Khan—Vicinity—Bazars.

From Bukkur we crossed to Sukkur, and marched next day for Shikarpoor, then a *terra incognita.* We were conducted through its dirty but extensive bazars by representatives from Hydrabad and Khyrpoor: the governor shortly after waited upon us; and the whole host of merchants, bankers, and money-changers soon besieged our camp. From them we gathered intelligence of the designs of Persia on Herat and Candahar, and altogether found our attention transferred, in consequence of their communications, from the Indus and Sinde to matters of more stirring interest, and which, in the end, brought about unlooked-for changes. The chief of Bhawulpoor had been keeping up an active correspondence with us since we had entered the Indus, and now begged me "to quicken my steps and withdraw from between us the screen of separation." Runjeet Sing, although not over-pleased at our stepping between him and the wide region of Sinde, which he looked upon as his prey, was nevertheless most kind in his invitations; and his rival, Dost Mahommed Khan, of Cabool, likewise sent his messengers to urge us to visit him. We continued at Shikarpoor for ten days, engaged in inquiries regarding its commerce, which, as is well known, extends over all Asia, China and Turkey excepted. Shikarpoor is a town of the first importance to the trade of the Indus. This does not result from any superiority in its home manufactures, but from its extensive money transactions, which establish a commercial connection between it and many remote marts. It stands near the northern frontier of the

Sinde territories, 28 miles directly west of the Indus, and about the same distance from the fort of Bukkur. Towards the north the Sinde boundary extends to Rozan, on the road to Candahar and Kelat, by the well-known pass of Bolan: so that the merchants always speak of Shikarpoor and Dera Ghazee Khan, a town higher up, as the "Gates of Khorasan;" by which name they here distinguish the kingdom of Cabool. In every direction commercial roads conduct the trade to Shikarpoor; but the communication is entirely carried on by land, although all the merchants of the town, great and small, agree in the opinion that their profits would be much increased, and their interests promoted, were a communication by water established.

Shikarpoor is not a town of any antiquity, though there has always been a place of note in its neighbourhood. Alore, Sukkur, Bukkur, and Roree have all followed each other, and the present town has succeeded Lukkee, a place eight miles south of it, which was held by the ancestors of the present chief of Bhawulpoor, who were expelled by Nadir Shah. It appears to have been built A. D. 1617, since its date is preserved in the Arabic word ghouk, or frog, the numeral letters of which give the year of the Hegira 1026; the word likewise conveying some idea of the neighbourhood, which lies low. The slope of the country favours its easy irrigation; and in consequence of the Emperors of Delhi having caused extensive canals to be cut from the Indus, Shikarpoor is supplied with abundance of food, and cheaper than any part of Sinde. The obscure term of "nou Lakkee Sinde" has reference, I am informed, to this part of the country, that being the amount of revenue above Sinde Proper derived from the province called Moghulee. Natives of Shikarpoor who have seen British India assert that their own town is capable of being made a second Bengal. Nadir Shah visited Shikarpoor in his conquests; but its vicinity to countries so much disturbed prevented its becoming a commercial mart, till the Suddozye princes established their authority in it; and its prosperity may be dated from the year 1786, in the reign of Timour Shah, who first located Hindoos in the town, after he had conferred the government of Sinde on the family of the present Ameers. Shikarpoor is the only place in Sinde where that tribe have established a paramount influence, and the Ameers have hitherto had the good sense not to seek to deprive them of it, although Shikarpoor has been subject to Sinde for the last 16 years. The revenues collected in it are divided between the Hydrabad and Khyrpoor chiefs, the latter having three shares and the former four, and the expenses incurred in defending it are borne by them in the same proportions. The population of the town exceeds 30,000 souls; but it is to be remembered that, in addition to the actual residents, there are a considerable number of Hindoos belonging to the place, who are scattered all over Asia in commercial pursuits, and who return to their families in after life. The inhabitants consist of Hindoos of the Bunya, Lohanu, and Bhattea tribes; but Baba Nanuk Sikhs compose more than half the number. About one-tenth of the population is Mahommedan; most of these are Afghans, who received grants of land, or "puttas," as they are called from the name of the deed, and settled around Shikarpoor, in the time of the Dooranees. The town, though surrounded by gardens and trees, is quite open; for a mud wall, which has been allowed to fall into decay, can scarcely be called a defence. There are, however, eight gates. The bazar is extensive, having 884 different shops. It is covered with mats as a shade from the sun, but has no architectural beauty. The houses are built of sun-dried bricks: they are lofty and comfortable, but destitute of elegance. The climate is said to be very hot and oppressive in the summer, and there are so many stagnant pools around the walls, that it is surprising the people do not find the place insalubrious. The thermometer had a range of 26° in the middle of April, falling to 59° in the night, and rising to 82° in the day; but we are informed that the temperature this year was unusually moderate, and that across the Indus, at Khyrpoor, the thermometer had already stood at 96°. Water is found at 12 or 15 feet from the surface, but the river has for three or four years past flooded large tracts in the neighbourhood. The land revenues, exclusive of expenses in collection, &c., now

average two lacs and a half of rupees per annum; and the customs and town-duties are farmed for 64,000 rupees, the currency being inferior by 5½ per cent. to the company's rupee. This statement, however, does not include the whole of the districts which were held by the Afghans, Noushera being under Larkhanu, and several rich jagheers having been bestowed on religious persons. The inundation, having lately inclined towards Shikarpoor, has also increased its revenues, probably to half a lac of rupees, but the addition cannot be considered as likely to be permanent. It will only be necessary to name the towns at which the Shikarpoor merchants have agents, to judge of their widely extended influence. Beginning from the west, every place of note from Astracan to Calcutta seems to have a Shikarpooree stationed in it. Thus they are found at Muscat, Bunder, Abbass, Heeman, Yezd, Meshid, Astracan, Bokhara, Samarcand, Kokan, Yarkund, Koondooz, Kooloom, Sulzwar, Candahar, Ghuzni, Cabool, Peshawur Dera Ghazee Khan, Dera Ishmael Khan, Bukkur, Leia, Mooltan, Ooch, Bhawulpoor, Umritsir, Jeypoor, Beecaneer, Jaysulmeer, Palee, Mandivee, Bombay, Hydrabad (Deccan), Hydrabad (Sinde), Kurachee, Kelat, Mirzapoor, and Calcutta. In all these places bills may be negotiated, and at most of them there is a direct trade either from Shikarpoor or one of its subordinate agencies. The business seems however, to be more of a banking nature than a commerce in goods; but still there is not any great quantity of ready money at Shikarpoor, for there is no mint to which gold or bullion may be carried, and consequently a loss ensues upon its import. The Hindoos of Astracan, I am informed, have lately been converted to Islam, and within these two years those of Bokhara have been molested, for the first time, on account of their creed.

On the 6th of April we had a good opportunity of seeing the people of Shikarpoor, there being on that day a great festival in honour of the river, which is held at the new moon, and happened this year to be also the beginning of the Moohurrum, or great Shiah holiday. Shikarpoor was quite deserted on the occasion, for nearly the whole of its population betook themselves to the banks of the Sinde canal, where there was a fair under some lofty trees. I think that two-thirds of the assemblage were composed of women and children. They prostrated themselves in the canal and prayed; then shook each other by the hand, with a good hearty European shake; and mothers and brothers bought toys, and suitable English whirligigs, for their children and sisters. Confections and meats were in great demand. We threaded the crowd; and not the least remarkable feature of the scene was a couple of gray-bearded men, more fit to personate Moollahs than anything else, dancing like girls, with bells at their feet, striving to personate two lovers and to look bewitching. Shikarpoor can certainly boast of the bright eyes of its daughters; and this day gave us an excellent opportunity of judging of them. The Shikarpoorees are an astute, shrewd body of men, with no literature, however, and little education beyond accounts and reading. I doubt if I could describe them in language so graphic and true as that used by the inimitable author of "Anastasius," in speaking of their brethren of Smyrna: "Their whole hearts are wrapped up in cotton and broadcloths: they suppose men created for nothing but to buy and to sell; and whoever makes not these occupations the sole business of his life seems to them to neglect the end of his existence; and I verily believe that they marry for no other purpose but to keep up the race of merchants and bankers."

On the 10th we returned to the Indus at Moulanu Chacher, about twenty miles above Bukkur, where we found our boats. The country was a perfect thicket for half the distance: near Shikarpoor it was more open, and the cultivators of the ground were now cleaning out the small aqueducts which run from the Sinde canal, and on which the prosperity of the land depends. A few days after this time the water will enter the canal. At this season the country was overgrown with a shrub of a purple colour, like heather. I never saw in any country a greater profusion of roses than in Upper Sinde, but they are destitute of fragrance.

This was also the season of the mulberries, which are large and of good flavour. They ripen well under the great heat, which was now above 95° of Fahrenheit.

The wild tribes who occupy the western bank of the Indus, the Boordees, Boogtees, and Muzarees, now flocked about us full of promises of obedience and good behaviour. The plundering disposition of the Muzarees had for some time engaged the attention of our government, and we had made it a point of express stipulation with the authorities in Sinde that they should suppress it, in order that peace might be maintained on the river. This had become the more necessary as the Sikhs had marched troops into their country, and now held two of their villages—an event which was to all parties a subject of alarm and regret. The chief of the Muzarees, Behram Khan, had taken an early opportunity of showing his submission to the British, and had met me at Khyrpoor, with some sixty persons of his tribe from the plains and hills, "to seize," as he said, "the hem of the garment of the British nation." This chief attended us with his bards, who, as he entered the camp, sang his praises and deeds of valour, accompanying their voices by a kind of "siringee," or guitar, which sent forth softer sounds than could have been expected from the instrumental music of the *pirates* of the Indus. These barbarians, for they are little better, were astonished and enchanted when we produced our musical snuff-boxes: their chief, however, Behram, was evidently a man of sense and judgment. They all rode mares, which they said were more docile than horses, and capable of enduring greater fatigue on their "Chupaos," or forays; and that, when it was necessary to dismount, one man could hold half a dozen of them. They illustrated this by a curious proverb: "A man with a saddle on a mare has his saddle on a horse;—a man with his saddle on a horse has his saddle on his head." Whilst the musicians were singing I requested to be informed what was the subject they had selected, and found it to be, as I have stated, the praises of their chief. The following is a free translation:—

MUZAREE SONG.

"Thanks be to God for destroying the fort!
It will smooth away the difficulties of the poor.
Lend an ear to the supplications of Behram,
A generous chief, and the lord of castles.
His forces are like the waves of the sea;
Kurman, Dildar are his experienced commanders.
Aid him, oh the Ghilanee saint!
Aid him, oh the Ooch saint!
He slew one hundred men of the enemy;
His fame as a hero is spread afar;
Those at a distance will find what they fear.
There are twelve thousand chosen Muzarees.
His court is like Mitta the Great.
Ali has given him power.
The light of God shines upon him.
The ears of his mare are like a pen.
His saddle is worth a thousand rupees.
The world knows that the Lagharees came against him;
He relied on God, and went to fight.
Ghoolam Mahomed Baum, the general of his army,
Roostum Maseed defeated the enemy:
Five hundred of them were slain;
All their property was plundered.
Behram Muzaree conquered the enemy."

The country of these people is rich in wool, but their garments were all of the coarsest cotton cloth. Of their boldness of character we had ample opportunities of judging in the army of the Indus.

Eight days carried us beyond the Sinde frontiers, as we had a fair wind, and in fact a little too much of it, for it carried away a mast and some spars, and nearly

killed our barber, who was knocked into the river; but he was a Hajee, and had made four pilgrimages to Mecca, to which circumstance he of course attributed his escape. One day, as we were proceeding rapidly through the water, we were followed by a man, and the extreme anxiety which he evinced induced me to stop the boat and listen to him. His request was, that, as we had now become masters of the country, we should restore to him certain lands which had been wrested from his family in the time of Nadir Shah, and of which he still possessed the title-deeds; and, as statutes of limitation are unknown here, he assured us, again and again, that we had the power to do this if we had but the will. We found it impossible to persuade this man, and many others at different times, that we had no intention to interfere in domestic arrangements in this country more than in any of the others with which we had treaties. It was in vain that I frequently explained the objects of my mission: some loudly expressed their astonishment; others, particularly the chiefs, listened to my declaration in silence, but almost all evidently disbelieved it.

Near the ferry of Bara we found the fishermen actively engaged in sharing amongst themselves an immense alligator (seesar) which they had just caught. The monster had been cut up into joints and bits, some of which they were about to eat, assuring us that the steaks were delicious. I asked if these animals did not eat men, but the fishermen boldly got rid of this objection by assuring me that alligators and crocodiles lived entirely on fish! Having partaken of frog, horse, shark, and camel, I resolved to add a new item to my list of gastronomic experiences, and to try my hand at crocodile-steaks; but I found the food to be poor, close-grained, dry, and deficient in flavour, and I was very soon satisfied. Probably the art of cooking crocodiles may be yet in its infancy. The gall-bladder of the animal is carefully preserved, and used as a medicine in cases of obstinate wounds and defluxions. We had an opportunity not long after this of verifying the truth of the statement made by the fishermen, that these creatures live on fish. We had employed above a hundred men to try and catch the "boolun," or water-hog, and in their unsuccessful attempts to do so they caught a large crocodile (gurial) some thirteen or fourteen feet long, which they pinioned and bound in such a way, that Mr. Waterton's feat of mounting on his back for a hunt might have been performed without danger.* When the monster was killed, his stomach was found to contain four pulla, or sable-fish, showing, at least, that his taste in fish was refined, and disproving the assertion of the Sindians, that these fish do not ascend the Indus higher than Bukkur. On the authority of the crocodile we caused search to be made for this fish, upon which a waterman naïvely observed, "Why should not that animal have the best of the river, seeing he is the governor of it?" Wherever the current was slack, we found the alligators in great numbers, and could approach them within pistol-shot: I have seen as many as a hundred on one bank, and innumerable young ones, which were always easily captured.

On the 22nd of April, we reached Mittuncote and found ourselves on new ground; but previously to ascending the Indus we disembarked a few miles up the Chenab, and proceeded to visit my old and respected friend Bhawul Khan, at his residence of Ahmedpoor. From thence we passed to Bhawulpoor; and, descending the Gara, as the Sutledge is here called, passed by Ooch, and returned to Mittun after nearly a month's absence, which period, however, had not been uselessly employed. We found Bhawul Khan, as Englishmen have ever found him, a true friend and a princely host. He erected "landees," or wicker-work cottages, at each of the stages where we had to alight on our route to join him; and, not satisfied with his usual display of cooked meats, he had kindly been making inquiries as to what we would most relish. Some wag had assured him we were immoderately fond of frogs: whereupon all the pools and ditches were searched and

* This specimen may now be seen in the museum of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society.

cleared, and the frogs cherished and fattened up in ponds; but, alas! the worthy Khan on our arrival found out that he had been imposed upon: so the frogs were again let loose, and we had much fun and no death, contrary to the well-known fable. At Bhawulpoor we met a respectable officer in the Khan's service, Captain M'Pherson, and an Englishman named Crawford, a singular character, who had nearly forgotten his native language.

At Bhawulpoor we heard of an European being in a caravanserai, and immediately sent him an invitation to join us. He proved to be Monsieur Benoir Argoud, Capitaine d'Infanterie, who had arrived here from Lahore: he was a red-hot republican; and, after we had risen from table, the good things of which had a little overtaken him, continued half the night shouting out "Liberty! Equality! and Saint Simonianism!" Early the next morning he broke into my apartment and exclaimed "it was seven o'clock, and that I must instantly rise, as the battle of Wagram had been fought, and his father killed at it, before that hour!" To crown all, Monsieur announced himself to be *en route* for Cabool to join Dost Mahommed Khan, and constrain him to raise the green shirt of the Prophet, and attack these canaille the Sikhs; being determined, as a preliminary part of his plan, to plant potatoes for the subsistence of the troops. We concluded Monsieur to be mad; but, as Fanny Kemble says of the Americans, "it might be otherwise;" and the question of "How comed you so?" would in this instance also have led to the explanation of the whole affair. Monsieur Argoud too had method in his madness, for he made out his journey safely to Cabool by the Bolan Pass and Candahar, not a very easy thing; and afterwards, when I had the honour of again meeting him, he told me that he had "saved himself from death, *with the sword over his head!*" by ejaculating the Mahommedan "Kuluma," or creed, of there being but one God, and Mahommed was his prophet.

We were however witnesses, shortly after these amusing scenes, of a real conversion, in the person of one of Dr. Lord's grooms; who, becoming dissatisfied with Hindooism and its dogmas, resolved to become a Mahommedan. This happened at Chacher, opposite Mittuncote, where the peer, a sleek but burly Moollah, named Khodah Bukhsh, has the reputation of working miracles, and the more certain merit of keeping a school for children. Sundry messages and interviews passed between the parties: but the priest stood in awe of us, and declined to officiate without our sanction. On our interrogating the man as to his reasons, he affirmed that it was a voluntary act on which he had resolved for some time; and as we felt that we had no right to oppose his intention, Lieutenant Leech and myself determined to be present at the ceremony. We found an assemblage of about 150 persons, sitting in great solemnity and quietness under a grass shed, the ground being laid with mats. Here, after a few complimentary words, we saw the Hindoo Mankoo admitted into the bosom of Islam; and his name changed to the more euphonious one of "Shekh Deen Mahomed." Before the ceremony, the priest, bringing him to the front, repeated, in three distinct sentences, the Mahommedan creed; and the quondam Hindoo followed him, word by word, without a trip: whereupon the assembly shouted out their "Moobahik," or congratulations; and the affair ended with a feast. This conversion will not satisfy a Christian; nevertheless, it is no small step to advance from Hindooism, its superstitions and abominations, to Mahommedanism, even with all its imperfections and absurdities. From that day this man became one of the "people of the book," and was exalted in worldly station and religious truth. The priest at Chacher is a man of influence in these parts, and I believe of respectability; his family once held Mittun, in which place are the tombs of his ancestors. Lately, when the Sikhs were descending the Indus, the Ameers sent to implore his blessing. He replied, "It is unnecessary, they will not advance,"—a guess founded on a knowledge of circumstances, and which, as it proved true, has vastly increased the saint's reputation. He however rebuked the Sindians for their neglect of their own interests; and told them that, although the world was governed by fate (tukdeer), it was governed also by arrange-

ment (tudbeer), and that they should not have lost sight of this, but should have prepared their troops.

On the 22d we set sail from Mittuncote, and took leave of Bhawul Khan's officers. The Kahn promised to send me the history of his tribe, and this promise he fulfilled by transmitting a long and elaborate account of it, concluding with an enumeration of *all his own successes in hunting*. In return for this production he requested me to give him an orrery, which at a subsequent period I forwarded to him, and in the mean time I sent him a splendid drawing of Medina, executed by our draftsman, Mr. Gonsalvez, to match one which he had of Mecca. I have hitherto omitted to introduce to my readers this very useful member of our party.

Don José, for I must give him titles which, if not inherited, were readily accorded to him by every one, was a Portuguese, a native of Goa, and educated at the Propaganda of that city. His forte was music, to which he added the sister accomplishment of drawing. Besides his own language he knew some Latin, a little French, and spoke tolerable English: in fact, he did high honour to the city of Albuquerque, and could sympathize with his illustrious countryman Camöens, when far from home. His heart he had left behind him, but not his good spirits, and his gay disposition and musical talents often enlivened us whilst on the Indus, and when the snows of Hindoo Koosh were frowning over us. The guitar was the Don's favourite instrument, but sometimes he played on the accordion, and would give us "Home, sweet Home" in our own native tongue, a "Ca ira" in French, a loyal air in Portuguese, or the merrier accompaniment to his own fandango. Altogether Don José Gonsalvez was a very original character, and a vast favourite with us all: during the day he laboured with industry and attention at his proper calling of draftsman; and, when invited to join us after dinner, never failed to enliven the evening. He is, I believe, still in Bombay; and, if this page meets his eye, I hope he will consider it as written with sincere good wishes for his future success, and accept my congratulations at his safe return to his senhora.

At Mittun we were joined by the officers of Runjeet Sing, and were received by them with all that pomp and distinction which he is accustomed to bestow on his visitors. Money, confections, &c., were brought to us, and Hurree Sing, an old acquaintance, was appointed our Mihmandar. This functionary's first present to us was a ram with six horns, which I at first thought he meant should be typical of something or other, but it appeared that he merely brought it as a *lusus naturæ* which he had no doubt would be highly prized. We did not find Mittuncote, although so favourably situated in a geographical point of view, at all suited for an emporium of trade. The country was low, and liable to be flooded. There is a place of some antiquity west of this, called Aguee, and the mound on which Mittuncote stands has the appearance of great age. Hurund, near Dajel, which stands inland from this point, is believed to derive its name from Huree, one of the slaves of Alexander.

From Mittun upwards all was novelty to us: we were on an unexplored river, which had never been navigated by Greeks or Britons, and it was problematical how far we could ascend. The inundation had now fairly set in, and the river consequently was somewhat rapid and looked large; but I am satisfied, after careful observation, that the Indus is a much fuller river in its upper than in its lower course; as in the latter it is diminished by drainage for cultivation, as well as by evaporation. Above the confluence of the Indus and Chenab the country was already in part under water, and the sedgy plants show that the soil is very humid. In the inundation the waters tend towards the west. The subject of the discharge of the Punjab rivers, as well as the Indus, was carefully attended to by Lieutenant Wood, whilst Doctor Lord bestowed a good deal of care in ascertaining the quantity of silt held in solution in the water of these rivers, and the nature of it. It was found to be composed of silex, alumine, carbonate of lime, and a small pro-

portion of vegetable matter. The result is thus given by Doctor Lord in his "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus:"—

"To make the quantity of water discharged round numbers, let us assume 300,000 cubic feet as the mean discharge per second. Let us take $\frac{1}{500}$, which is less than the experiments warrant, as the proportion of silt. This being a proportion by weight, let us take the specific gravity of silt at 2; which, being that of silica, is probably not far from the truth. The proportion by measure then will be $\frac{1}{1000}$; and from these premises it will follow that, for the seven months specified, the river discharges 300 cubic feet of mud in every second of time; or a quantity which, in that time, would suffice to form an island 42 miles long, 27 miles broad, and 40 feet deep; which (the mean depth of the sea on the coast being 5 fathoms) would consequently be elevated 10 feet above the surface of the water. Any person who chooses to run out this calculation to hundreds and thousands of years will be able to satisfy himself that much may be done by causes at present in action towards manufacturing deltas."

A run of eight days brought us to Dera Ghazee Khan, for the southerly winds continued strong and favourable. It is said that Amrou wrote to the Caliph Omar that Egypt presented in succession the appearance of a field of dust, a fresh-water sea, and a flower-garden. Dust we had in Lower Sinde in abundance; a fresh-water sea we now encountered, as we often could not see from bank to bank; but, as we had as yet beheld nothing but high grass and tamarisk, we presumed that we had to look forward to Cabool for the flower-garden. On our voyage we passed Noushera Raik, the ferry of Juttooee, and Sheroo; but these are inland, and can only be seen from the mast-head, their position being marked by the trees which are near them. The river is divided into many channels, but we made our way without a pilot through a scene of wearisome monotony. At two P. M. the river had a temperature of 84°, whilst that of the air was 108°. On the evening of our arrival the wind blew from the south long after sunset, and was oppressively sultry. We could not dine without tatties (cooled screens), nor did they reduce the temperature below 94°. The climate, as may be imagined, was oppressive. The sun rose like a globe of intense fire, and threw forth a scorching heat as long as it remained above the horizon. Sickness, chiefly fever, overtook many of our people, but their complaints were no doubt aggravated by the state of inactivity in which they were compelled to remain whilst in the boats, and by the over-feeding to which the liberality of the chiefs had given occasion.

It will be necessary to give a brief description of the tract we had now entered, as, from many considerations, it is one of considerable interest. The country on the right bank of the Indus, below the salt range and to the point where that river is joined by the waters of the Punjab, is known by the name of Derajat. It is so designated from the two principal towns in the tract, Dera Ghazee Khan and Dera Ismael Khan; Derajat being the Arabic plural of the word Dera. The lower part bears the local name of Sinde, and the upper that of Damun (or border) from its bordering on the mountains of Soleeman. The country itself is flat, and in many places fertile, particularly in the vicinity of the two Deras; but to the westward of the river, even at the distance of only a few miles, there are no wells, and the soil is entirely dependent on rain, and on the water from the hills, without which there is no crop. On the opposite bank of the river, in Leia, the Indus overflows to the east, and the land, which is exceedingly rich, yields heavy crops, and is known by the name of "Cuchee." From Leia the great ferry of Kaheeree conducts the traveller beyond the Indus into Derajat, where the mountains are crossed by caravan routes which lead to Cabool and Candahar; and as it is here that the greatest of the Indian caravans assemble before passing to the west, the Derajat is invested with a high degree of commercial importance.

From Calcutta by Lucknow, Delhi, Hansee, and Bhawulpoor—from Bombay by Pallee, Becaneer, Bhawulpoor, and Mooltan—from Umritsir by Jung and Leia—and from Dera Ghazee Khan itself on the south by Bhawulpoor—all these routes

join at the small town of Derabund, about 30 miles west of Dera Ismael Khan. At this point commences the well-known road by Goomul river to the pass of Goolairee, which is always traversed by the Lohanee Afghans. Some of these people enter the mountains higher up, west of Tak, and also by an inferior pass, named "Cheree," lower down; but all these routes eventually unite about 45 miles from Derabund. The Lohanee Afghans are a pastoral and migratory people, and many of them proceed annually into India, to purchase merchandise: and assembling here towards the end of April, and being joined by their families who have wintered on the banks of the Indus, they pass into Khorasan, where they remain during the summer. They effect this change of residence in a fixed order by three divisions, or "hirees," which term, I believe, simply means migrations; and these kirees bear the respective names of Nusseer, Kharoutee, and Meeankhyl, which are also the names of the branches of the tribes conducting them. The first is the most numerous, and with it go from 50,000 to 60,000 head of sheep; but it is with the last that the Hindoo merchants and foreigners generally travel. The extensive nature of the traffic is proved by the custom-house books, which show that 5140 camels laden with merchandise passed up this year, exclusive of those carrying the tents and baggage of the people, which are rated at the enormous number of 24,000 camels; the Nusseer having 17,000, the Meeankhyl 4000, and the Kharoutee 3000. The tract which they pass leads by broken, rugged roads, or rather by the water-courses of the Goomul, through the wild and mountainous country of the Wuzeerees; but the Lohanees have arms and numbers to protect their own property and that of the strangers who accompany them. They all reach Cabool and Candahar by the middle of June, in sufficient time to despatch their investments to Bokhara and Herat; and at the end of October, as winter approaches, they again descend, with the same arrangement, into the plain of the Indus, bringing horses, dyes, fruits, and the productions of Cabool, in return for the goods of India and Britain. This channel of trade is ancient; for we find that in A. D. 1505 the Emperor Baber states that, when campaigning in the Derajat, he had fallen in with Lohanee merchants and plundered them of "a great quantity of white cloth, aromatic drugs, sugar (both candied and in powder), and horses," which are the self-same articles in which the trade is now carried on. It is due to the Emperor to state that if, during his own difficulties, he plundered these Lohanee merchants, he afterwards, when firmly established on the throne of Cabool, clothed them in dresses of honour.

Having given the routes of the Lohanee caravan, I ought to note also the whole of the other roads leading from India to Cabool; but it would be difficult to do so clearly by a mere verbal description. There are three great roads leading from India: the first, by Lahore and Attock, the second from the Derajat (already described), and the third by the Bolan Pass, from Shikarpoor to Candahar. Intermediate to these lines there are also various routes, some or which have been used even by large bodies of armed men; but they are not at present traversed by merchants. The one leading from Dera Ghazee Khan, across the Sukhee Surwur Pass, by Boree to Candahar, has been used in modern times by the kings of Cabool, to obtain the luxury of mangoes; and I met persons who had seen the fruit arrive by it at Candahar from the Indus in eight or nine days. The climate of Boree is described in very favourable terms, not only by Mr. Elphinstone, but by all the natives I have interrogated on the subject; and it was by this route that Baber passed up to Ghuzni with his army after the campaign of 1505, already alluded to. His horse suffered from the want of grain; but, as a caravan route, this seems not to be inferior to the Golairee Pass, and to have been deserted only of late years; indeed at the present time it is used by couriers (cassids) to bring speedy information to and from India. From Dera Ismael Khan, north to Peshawur, there is no direct traffic. The roads are bad and the people predatory. To Cabool, however, there is a good road by the Koorum river. From Dera Ghazee Khan, south to Dajel and Hurrund, there are roads leading over low hills to Bagh,

Dadur, and the Bolan Pass: these have been used by large caravans within the last twenty-five years. Dera Ghazee Khan, indeed, and Shikarpoor, as I have already stated, are always spoken of by the people as the two "Gates of Khorasan."

From a neighbourhood so advantageously situated the merchant exports the native productions of the soil with profit; and the manufacturer converts them and the imports from other countries into cloth, which accompanies the foreign goods that pass through for consumption in the interior. Dera Ghazee Khan itself is a manufacturing town, but it is surpassed by Mooltan and Bhawulpoor, which are in its neighbourhood. At one time its trade with the west, and even with the east, was brisk; and though, from the great influx of British goods, it does not now exhibit its former prosperity, its native manufactures are still healthy and thriving. It is celebrated for its goolbuddens and durriees, or striped and plain silken cloths, which, being much sought for and admired, are annually exported to Lahore and Sinde, and are there considered to surpass those of every other country. To the east it sends its silks, the raw material being obtained from Bokhara and the west. To the west it sends its cotton and a coarse white cloth, which is the most important of its exported manufactures, and is sought after in Khorasan, where it yet stands its ground in competition with English cloth, as far at least as demand goes, for it is much inferior in quality. The demand for British calicoes has decreased this year by one-half; last year the sales effected amounted to 50,000 rupees, and this year it is under 24,000. Chintzes of different descriptions, with soosees, bafta, and some coarse loongees, complete the list of manufactured cloths: there are none made of wool. The value of all the cloths made here may amount to about one and a half or two lacs of rupees; and the greater part is exported. A coarse kind of cutlery, swords, scissors, and knives, such as are used by sailors, is also made at Dera Ghazee Khan, and exported. The bazar consists of about 1600 shops, 530 of which are engaged in weaving and selling cloth. The town has a prosperous appearance, which is altogether attributable to the protection afforded it by Monsieur Ventura, who was lately in charge of the district. The population is about 25,000. It is said to have been built by a Beloochee about 300 years ago; and its name long fluctuated between "Ghazee Khan" and "Hajee Khan." It was formerly subject to the crown of Cabool, but fell into the hands of the Sikhs about twenty-five years ago. They farmed it to Bhawul Khan, who had no interest in protecting it, and his officers were guilty of the grossest extortions; but since 1832, when it was resumed by the Sikhs, it has greatly recovered itself.

The land around Dera Ghazee Khan is very rich: the town is pleasantly situated in a flat country about four miles from the Indus, and is surrounded by gardens and lofty trees, among which the date predominates. It is said, indeed, that around Dera there are no less than 80,000 date trees. By far the most valuable production of the place is indigo, 2000 maunds of which were this year exported to the west; and I am informed that this is about as much as the district can produce. The best sort now sells for sixty-five rupees per maund, that of medium quality for fifty, and the worst for thirty-two: this export alone amounts to about one lac of rupees in value. The dye is inferior to that procured in Bhawul Khan's country; but it is cheaper, and has a ready sale in Cabool and Bokhara, besides being nearer at hand. The cotton of Dera Ghazee Khan is of a superior quality, being soft in staple; 25,000 maunds are procurable: it is at present exported. Sugar is cultivated, but in small quantities, and only of late years. The place is rich in grain; the wheat and barley are excellent, but the rice is red, and of a poor quality. The price of grain in June, 1837, was as follows, the currency being that of Shooja-ool-Moolk, and much the same as that of Shikarpoor already detailed:—

	Rupees
Rice, per maund of 40 seers, 80 rupees to a seer	3
Rice, 2nd sort, 1½ maund	2 to 1¾
Wheat, 1½ maund	1
Grain, 70 seers	1

	Rupees.
Dale, or mohree, 2 maunds	1
Moong, or mash, 50 seers	1
Ghee, per maund	8½
Oil, per maund	4
Salt, per ruja, or piece of 1 maund, 25	3¾
Native salt, 2 maunds	1
Goor, or molasses	3½
Sugar-candy, per maund	16

Under Cabool, Dera Ghazee Khan yielded a yearly revenue of about twelve lacs of rupees; it now produces eight and a half or nine lacs, and that only within the two or three last years. The country which gives this income includes the district of Sungur on the north, and Hurund Dajel on the south; also Cuchee, across the Indus. The revenue is farmed to the same person who is now Governor of Mooltan, and is improving daily. The villages around Dera Ghazee Khan are exceedingly numerous: they are nearly all peopled by Mahommedans; and in the town of Dera Ghazee Khan itself the two tribes are about equal, there being in it 125 Hindoo temples, and 110 mosques, great and small, every description of religious buildings being included in that number. Dera Ghazee Khan communicates with all countries around it by good roads, except those to the west, which have no claim to commendation. A list of the marts or places of note to which they lead may not be useless:—Asnee, Hurund, Cutch Gundava, Mittun, Shikarpoor, Bhawulpoor, Khyrpoor, Ullah, Yan, Hydrabad, Mooltan, Lahore, and Umritsir.

I will conclude my account of this place by an enumeration of the different classes of shops in the bazar, which I deem to be somewhat curious as a statistical document.

List of the shops in the Bazar of Dera Ghazee Khan, on the Indus.

	No. of Shops.
Sellers of cloth,	115
Sellers of silk,	25
Weavers of white cloth,	128
Weavers of silk,	112
Cleaners of cotton,	25
Sellers of cotton,	17
Dealers in grain,	219
Boot and shoe makers,	55
Do. Hindoo,	25
Cap-makers,	15
Tailors,	50
Butchers,	15
Dealers in vegetables,	40
" in fruit,	32
" in milk,	30
Confectioners,	75
Cooks,	40
Hukeems,	10
Grocers—passaree,	30
Dealers in ivory, glass, &c.—mamgur,	30
Blacksmiths.	45
Coppersmiths,	25
Jewellers,	60
Cutlers,	12
Turners,	9
Shroffs,	30
Saddlers,	20
Washermen,	50
Painters,	15
Dealers in tobacco and bang,	30

	No. of Shops.
Dealers in salt and "maté,"	12
Pipe-sellers,	18
Paper-sellers,	18
Shops shut up, and consequently unknown,	165
Total,	1597

CHAPTER IV.

Battle between the Afghans and Sikhs—Departure from Dera Ghazee—Baber's routes—Voyage upwards—Sungur—Gurung—Dera Ismael Khan—Bazars, &c.—Corps de ballet—Donna of the Indus—Voyage to Kala Bagh—Romantic country—Kussooree hills—Singular formation—Villages—Sooleeman range.

On the 1st of June, and whilst at Dera Ghazee Khan, despatches of a late date, and of an important nature, reached me from our ambassador in Persia, Sir John Macneil; and on the following day further intelligence arrived from Peshawur, by which we learned that a battle had taken place between the chief of Cabool and the Sikhs, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, in which the Sikh general was slain. There appeared, therefore, every reason to fear that these countries would shortly be in a very disturbed state; and, weighing deliberately the instructions under which I was acting, I did not deem it advisable to tarry much longer at Dera Ghazee. I accordingly sailed from that place on the 5th of June; and at the same time Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Leech passed over to Mooltan, where they gathered much important information; and, although they experienced some difficulties, their stay there was by no means disagreeable. The difficulties which they met at Mooltan, and the neglect which we had to complain of at Dera Ghazee, all arose from the same cause. It had been arranged that Captain (now Colonel) Wade should meet us at Mittun: this he had not been enabled to do, the Lion of Lahore, who did not altogether relish our political measures on the Indus, having detained him at his capital.

Observing that Baber states that, after his campaigns in Bungush and Bunnoo, he passed up to Ghuzni by Choteealee, it appeared to me certain that he must have taken the road of Sukhee Surwur, and I therefore sent Lieutenant Leech to explore it. He proceeded to the mountains called "Kala roh," and found the road a mere pathway, and much molested by robbers; and from subsequent information we learned that these routes to the west of the Indus are rendered impracticable, even more from the poverty of the country than from the badness of the roads. It would also appear to be imprudent to use them for the passage of armies, after Baber's statement that he lost many of his horses in the attempt.

In the neighbourhood of Sukhee Surwur, a kind of argillaceous earth, called "maté," is found and exported to India, where it is used in baths and to cleanse the hair.

On the 8th we anchored above Deradeen Punna; we passed Leia on the 9th, Gurung on the 11th, Kaheeree ferry on the 13th, and moored off Dera Ismael Khan on the 16th: thus performing a voyage of about 200 miles in eleven days, the wind being fair all the way, although the weather was squally, with rain,

thunder, and lightning. We frequently sailed at the rate of four and five miles an hour against the stream, and at a time when the inundation was at its height. If we were enabled to do this by the force of the wind alone, what could not steam achieve? The birds—a kind of tern—which hover in flocks over the banks of the river, are a good guide to the navigator. These birds are always to be seen near spots where the river is washing away its banks, and where they pick up slugs; and thus the rapid parts of the stream may be descried from a distance and avoided.

The first district in ascending this portion of the Indus is Sungur. It is a fertile tract, lying under the hills about fifty miles north of Dera Ghazee. Water runs down upon it by a rivulet from the hills, and the harvest is so plentiful that a part of the produce is exported. Manglote is the name of the fort in Sungur, and Taösa is a village in it. We found nine boats loading at the ferry, and about ten miles higher up we halted on a bank which had all the appearance of an English park. The trees, it must be confessed, were babool, but they were lofty and clear of underwood, so that we could see far through them over a green sward. They would afford abundance of firewood, which may some day prove of use. At Gurung, which succeeds Sungur, and is within four miles of the river, the cultivators of the land came in crowds to see us. They were Beloochees of the Kolaichee tribe, but I found that the rest of the population were chiefly Mahommedan Juts. There were also some Koreeshee Mahommedans, and a few Hindoos. Their subjection to the Sikhs is complete, and newly-built Sikh temples are to be seen in several places, which testify their power. The people complained bitterly of the want of money, the collectors having sent out of the country all that they possessed. Their rulers would not consent to take the revenue in kind, but insisted on payment in cash, and this formed the grand subject-ground of grievance. I have heard similar complaints in the British provinces, and indeed the deterioration of our revenue may be traced to this cause. These people informed me that their crops were for the most part obtained by irrigation; the water being drawn, not from the Indus, but from the hills. This is also the case at Sungur, as I have already mentioned. Gurung is watered by the Vahova; the Rumal irrigates the country near Dera Ismael; and, higher up, the Goomal serves the same purpose, the whole of it being expended before it reaches the Indus. The crops consist of wheat, barley, and juwaree: rice is not produced.

Our camp was soon pitched at the ferry of Dera Ismael, and the Governor invited us to proceed to the town, which is about three miles inland. It was at this ferry that we first noticed a description of boat called "dugga," differing from the rounded "zohruk," and which we were informed was the only craft suited to the rocky part of the river above Kala Bagh. They have a large prow and stern, which protect them when driven on shore with violence, as they frequently are. A zohruk exposed to the same danger would, to use the phrase of the natives, be certain to "split her breast." In the evening, whilst loitering near the ferry, I watched the lights floating down the river—offerings made by the people to the stream—pleasing emblems of devotion, which twinkled for a while and were lost for ever. I saw here also a strong instance of devotion of another kind in the behaviour of a deer belonging to one of our own people. The animal was so thoroughly tamed, that it even followed its owner into the river, and swam after him. It was strange to witness in a creature so timid, and in general so afraid of water, nature thus conquered by affection. The ferry presented a bustling scene—the whole town crowded to it, and the Hindoos swam about on red skins in their forbidden river with great dexterity. I had never seen the race *take to the water* so readily before. They have benefited by the change of masters, and have therefore become cheerful and elated.

Of all the towns in this district Dera Ismael Kahn ranks next in importance to Dera Ghazee; but it is only a third of its size, and, from its position, labours under many disadvantages. About twelve years ago the town was washed into

the Indus, and on a new site, about three miles from the river, the inhabitants have again fixed themselves. Until lately the place was held by an Afghan chief, to whom the Sikhs assigned it in *perpetuity*, after a brave and memorable resistance. A year ago they forcibly repossessed themselves of it on the fictitious plea of strengthening Peshawur; whereas, in reality, the places have no connection with one another, being separated by the Khuttuk country, which is strong and mountainous, and only pervious to a large force, although there is a gun-road through it. The new town of Dera Ismael is laid out with order and regularity, having wide streets and a good bazar; but it is unfinished, and the present rulers are not likely to carry out the plans of its founder. The houses are of sun-burnt brick. The town when we saw it had a deserted look, but it is said to be a place of much life and bustle in the winter, when the Afghans return to its neighbourhood from Khorasan. There is a large caravanserai in it, where they transact business and dispose of their goods, as this is their bazar-town. The fruits of Cabool were to be had in abundance, and were excellent. The bazar contains 518 shops; but there are no native manufactures here as in Lower Dera. The transit of coarse white cloth from the Punjab is great, the annual quantity sometimes amounting to 1,800,000 yards, or 3000 camel-loads. The revenues of Dera Ismael exceed four and a half lacs of rupees, and are derived from the town itself, and from the country extending to Puharpoor north, and Derabund west, including Koye, Kolaichee, and the tributary district of the Eesa Khyl. Grain and the necessaries of life are more expensive than in Dera Ghazee, although supplies are received by the river from Marwut, which is a grain country to the north-west.

On the 20th of June I was joined by Captain Mackeson, the British agent for the navigation of the Indus, with whom I had much conversation on the commercial prospects by the river, and as to the advantages of establishing a fair on its banks. I give, in an appendix (*vide* Appendix No. 1), the result of the inquiries which I made, together with my own views on this very important subject, which appears to me to demand much more attention that has hitherto been accorded to it. Had a more active part been taken some years ago in extending our commercial relations in this quarter, we might, perhaps, by means of our manufactures, have successfully coped with our rivals, and been spared the necessity of using our arms beyond the Indus. That great geographer, D'Anville, however, used to congratulate himself on the certainty of distant wars adding to our geographical knowledge; and there can be no doubt that foreign conquest tends to produce this effect more rapidly than the slow progress of commerce.

A messenger here reached us, bearing an extremely kind letter from Runjeet Sing. It was full of his usual professions, and was accompanied by some half-dozen orders (purwanus) which would insure us attentions we had not hitherto received from some of his subordinates. Everything now went on merrily; but his Highness's parade of the extent of his kingdom, which he stated in his letter to extend from Ladak to Omercote, showed his fears that the British government had some intention of clipping his wings. These fears were, however, totally without foundation.

On the 2d of July, Doctor Lord and Lieutenant Leech rejoined us from Mooltan; and the corps de ballet, from Dera Ismael, came down to do us honour and show their accomplishments to the five Firingees. The number of these young ladies was very considerable, and they displayed a profusion of ornaments which I had not before seen, and which we all agreed were in bad taste. These women use antimony in the eye, the effect of which extends beyond the organ, and gives to it the shape of an almond: indeed, it is called "badam-chusm," or almond-eye; and, strange as the assertion may appear, the effect produced is certainly good. Some of them wore necklaces of cloves, and one young lady had adorned her neck with a pod of musk, the scut of the deer. She was the Hebe of Dera, and bore the name of Mulam Bukhsh: although dark, she was extremely handsome, and elicited loud applauses from the citizens of Dera Ismael, who pronounced her to be

"the Donna of all the Indus." Among the company present was the young son of the Governor, whose intelligent and beautiful countenance interested us all greatly.

From this place I addressed a letter to the chief of Cabool, enlarging on the advantages of peace; and on the 3d of July we again embarked on the Indus, and reached Kala Bagh at three P.M. on the 13th, not without adventures on our route. On the third day after our departure from Mooltan we closed with the hills of Khussooree below Beloote, on the right bank, and had a romantic sail along their base to Keree, where we halted. A sheet of verdure, covered with palms and other trees, now and then separated us from these hills. The landscape was striking—bare, brown, and bleak rocks overlooked the plain; their summits crowned with the ruins of infidel forts (Kaffir Killa); intermixed with which were some Hindoo pagodas, blackened by age, and now deserted. We landed to examine these buildings, and thought the locality well suited to the taste of sequestered men. The formation of the hills was limestone, with flints and fossil shells thickly embedded in it, some of which were very curious, as sea-weed could be distinctly traced upon them. On the next day, the 7th of July, we passed Sheenee, sailing literally among date-trees: for many of them had been, by the invasion of the stream, detached from the land; and the labour and difficulty of tracking was, in consequence of this, extremely great. The heat was most oppressive during the day, the reflection from the bare hills augmenting the effects of a sultry atmosphere; and even during the night the temperature was so high that not one of us could sleep. At dawn of the 8th the thermometer stood at 90°. We pushed off at once, and crossed, during the day, to the opposite shore; as the Khussooree hills, which are here very steep, and in some places almost perpendicular, pressed in close upon the river. Lieutenant Wood, however, subsequently surmounted these difficulties by the aid of the Eesa Khyl Afghans, who were most friendly towards us. From the eastern side of the river the view of these mountains was very imposing, the absence of ruggedness in their outlines giving them the appearance of a vast fortress formed by nature, with the Indus as its ditch. On the right side of the river we found a secure and permanent bank, some forty feet high, with fixed villages on it, and small forts differing from the reed houses, lower down. Herds and flocks were numerous, and the sheep appeared to thrive on the furze of the thull, or dry country. We got into a still branch of the Indus, called Bumberwah, and made rapid progress, passing the villages of Kolla, Koondee, Rokree, Moje, and Daöd Khyl, and at length arrived at Kala Bagh. Long before we reached it we saw the crevice through which the Indus issued. The salt range to our right, which is here called "Soah-Roh," looked well, and stood out with a bold, well-defined outline in the transparent sky, which had been cleared by the recent rains. The Takht, or throne, of Sooleeman, with its table summit, was also a grand object in our rear. The people flocked about us; and the women—stout, sturdy dames, unveiled—begged us to buy their melons and vegetables. The men were also on a large scale, bony and muscular. The dress, too, had changed—the females wearing loose trousers falling down in folds that were becoming, and which reminded us of the garb of the Kattees of Kattywar. We became objects of special curiosity, for a dozen boats had never been seen here; and the appearance of a Firingee camp, with its novel paraphernalia, I doubt not, yet marks an era in the annals of these people. They all took to the water like amphibious beings, and swam to our boats on inflated skins, coming down to see us always skin in hand. As we approached Kala Bagh the water of the river became much clearer, and ere we crossed to that town we could see the rounded pebbles at the bottom: an agreeable contrast to the muddy Indus of the lower countries.*

* Lieutenant Wood's extremely valuable report on the River Indus is given at the end of the volume, Appendix ii.

CHAPTER V.

Our critical position—State of the country—Influence of the Sikhs—The Euzoofzyes and their Chief—Plain of Peshawur—Futtighur—The Khuttuks—Kala Bagh—Eesa Khyl Afghans—The Wuzarees—Ascent of the Indus—Coal deposits—Excessive heat—Duncote—Husn Abdal—Dr. Falconer—Arrival at Attock.

We now found ourselves in the theatre of war, and in a somewhat critical situation. The Sikh garrison at Puharpoor had, shortly before our arrival, been massacred, and the Eesa Khyl Chief, Ahmed Khan, having refused to pay his tribute and do homage, a force of 3000 men and ten guns had arrived from Lahore to reduce him to submission, and was now on the other bank of the river, under the command of Futteh Sing Man. From neither party had we any danger to fear, but it might be difficult to steer a medium course that should not give offence to one or the other. The Eesa Khyl had acted throughout a most friendly part towards us, and some of them were now in our camp, while the drums and fifes, gongs and bugles, of the Sikhs echoed among the mountains within our hearing, and their troops were often in sight. On the 19th the Sikhs began to cross the river, and as the "Ghazees," or champions, were assembled hard by, we thought it advisable to change our quarters to the right bank, and thus escape all chance of molestation. That the reader may understand the state of parties here and higher up the Indus, it becomes necessary that I should give, once for all, a rapid sketch of the power which the Sikhs possess on its western bank.

Their legitimate influence beyond the river may be said to be confined to the plain country, as their authority can only be enforced in the mountains by the presence of an army; and in some of the hilly tracts, even those bordering on the river, as has been seen, the Mahommedans can successfully resist it. It is, however, the strength of their country, and not their military power, which enables them to cope with the Sikhs. The low country, on the other hand, is under complete subjection to Lahore: the Derajat is without the presence of a regular force, which is, however, necessary in the plain of Peshawur. For six degrees of latitude, from 34° 30′ north down to 28° 30′, on the frontiers of Sinde, the Sikhs have either actual possession of the country west of the river, or exercise some degree of influence over it. An enumeration of the condition of the different petty states will best illustrate these observations.

The most northern territory is that of Poyndu Khan, a Turnowlee or Moghul by descent. This state consisted of a small but rich tract of country eastward of the Moo-seen, as the Indus is here called, in Puklee, yielding yearly about a lac of rupees. Of this the Sikhs have deprived him; but he yet holds the fort of Chuttoorlye, on an island in the Indus about 10 miles north of Derbund, and also a country of about 240 square miles on the west bank. From this tract the Sikhs draw no tribute; and even on the eastern bank they hold their possession with difficulty, Poyndu Khan making continual forays across the river, and carrying off prisoners, on whose ransom he supports himself and his people. He has about 500 horse and 2000 infantry, most of whom are natives of Hindoostan, and wandered into this country during the crusade of Syud Ahmed, who was slain by the Sikhs in 1831.

Next to Poyndu Khan's country, and below Derbund, lies the district of Sittanu, about fifteen miles north of Torbaila. It is held, with a very small river tract, by Syud Akbar, a holy man who is much revered by the Mahommedans in

this country: he has no tribute to pay to the Sikhs, nor are he or his few subjects molested by them.*

Below these petty districts, and less immediately on the Indus, lie the territories of the Euzoofzyes, a numerous and powerful tribe of Afghans, whom the Sikhs control by retaining a regular force cantoned in the plain country north of Attock, between the Indus and river of Cabool. This body of troops is protected from surprise by a fort of some strength, called Jangura, built on the north bank of the river of Cabool, about five miles from the place where it falls into the Indus. The Euzoofzyes are the tribe from which the ruler of Lahore experienced so much opposition in his approaches on Peshawur, and with whom some of his most sanguinary battles were fought. The late Sirdar Huree Sing, who fell in the recent battle of Jumrood, was in the habit of making yearly incursions among the Euzoofzyes, burning their villages and crops, and seizing horses, &c., as tribute. At different times he destroyed the villages of Topee, Minee, Kota, Moonera, and Buree, which belong to the Otmanzye Euzoofzye. From these he used to exact about sixty horses; but, two years since, by mutual agreement, a tax of four rupees per house was fixed in lieu of every demand; and this would not be paid were it not for the presence of a force which overawes them. The sum realized sometimes amounts to sixty thousand rupees. The principal personage among the Euzoofzyes is Futteh Khan, chief of Punjtar, whose territories to the west are bounded by Swat and Hushtnuggur. He has about 1500 foot and 200 horse, besides village (Ooloosee) troops. He occasionally sends presents of horses and hawks, but pays no regular tribute to the Sikhs,† nor will he allow their agent to enter his country. This chieftain has greater means of resisting than his more southern neighbours.

The plain of Peshawur is the most northern of all the actual conquests of the Sikhs west of the Indus. For many years it paid to Lahore an annual tribute of horses and rice; but, in 1834, when Shah Shooja Ool Moolk made the attempt to recover his kingdom by an attack on Candahar, the Sikhs seized upon Peshawur, and have since retained it. It is stated that the Maharajah's design in possessing himself of Peshawur was to counteract the power of the Shah, should he re-establish himself on his throne; but there is reason to believe that his foresight did not extend so far, and that Sirdar Huree Sing, who had long been stationed on the Attock and engaged in incessant wars with the Mahommedans, persuaded him to take the step, against his own better judgment. The policy of the conquest was always dubious: from first to last it has proved a source of much anxiety; and, latterly, a cause of serious disaster. Previous to its conquest Peshawur was held by a branch of the Barukzye family, under Sooltan Mahommed Khan and his brothers, who realized a yearly revenue of upwards of eight lacs of rupees. The assessment under Lahore amounted to ten lacs, and this sum has since been realized by the Mahajarah's officer, Monsieur Avitabile, who fixed it. Only a small portion, however, now reaches the coffers of the Sikhs; for, at the present time, Sooltan Mahommed Khan and his brothers possess jaghires to the amount of four lacs and a half of rupees, and hold Cohat, Hushtnuggur, and the Doaba, the richest portion of the plain. The country of the Khuleels, which yielded about a lac of rupees, is now entirely deserted; and that of the Momunds, which was nearly as valuable, is only half cultivated. Six out of ten lacs are thus abstracted; and besides all this, extensive lands are alienated to religious persons, a large gar-

* Lieutenant Leech ascended the right bank of the Indus opposite to Derbund, and it is to him that I am indebted for these particulars.

† An agent of this chief waited upon me with a letter, tendering his master's allegiance to the British government, and offering to pay us the usual tribute. Finding his country adjoined Kaffiristan, I made some inquiries regarding it, and the agent immediately offered to commute the tribute of horses into one of an equal number of young Kaffirs, thinking the change of terms would be more acceptable.

rison is kept up, and much additional expense is incurred: so that Peshawur is a drain on the finances of the Lahore state, with the additional disadvantage of being so situated as to lead the Sikhs into constant collision with fierce and desperate tribes, who, were it not for their poverty, would be formidable antagonists. In the city of Peshawur the Sikhs have built a fort on the site of Bala Hissar.—It is strong, and, in the late war, afforded protection to the wealthier inhabitants. They have also strengthened their position by erecting another fort, called Futtihghur, near Jumrood, opposite the Khyber Pass.—It is a square of about 300 yards, protecting an octagonal fort, in the centre of which is a lofty mass of building which commands the surrounding country. This fort is dependent on the mountain streams for its water, which the Afghans can and do dam up. At the time of our visit they were sinking a well, which they had carried to the depth of 170 feet without coming to water; but, from the indications in the soil, it was expected to be soon reached, and has since, I am informed, been obtained, but not in abundance. Even with these defences the position will be a troublesome one, as both the Afreedes and Khyberees consider it meritorious to injure the Sikhs.

Between the plain of Peshawur and the salt range at Kala Bagh lies the country of the Khuttuks and Sagree Afghans. The Khuttuks are divided into the petty chieftainships of Acora and Teree. Acora is situated east of the plain of Peshawur, on the river of Cabool; and as its chief, Hussun Khan, serves the Sikhs, he is permitted to retain his country. Those Khuttuks of Acora, however, who live in the hills, are not subject to Runjeet Sing. The southern division, under the chief of Teree, maintains its independence, in so far, at least, as refusing to pay a direct tribute; although it acknowledges the supremacy of Sooltan Mahommed Khan, who is but a servant of the Sikhs. When Peshawur was first captured, a Sikh officer was stationed at Cohat and Bungush; but he found it impossible to keep the country in order, and it has since been wisely confided to the intermediate government of the ex-chief of Peshawur: by this means a small tribute of about 1000 rupees per annum is drawn from Teree, in the plain of Bungush, which lies westward of the Khuttuk country. Below the Khuttuks are the Sagree Patans, a tribe entirely independent of the Sikhs: they hold the country on the west bank for nearly thirty miles above Kala Bagh; and also on the opposite shore as high as the plain which commences at Husn Abdal: they are shepherds, and their flocks are numerous. It will therefore be seen that from Attock to Kala Bagh the Sikhs have little or no power along the line of the Indus. The inhabitants, during the last campaign, resisted the ascent from Kala Bagh of the boats which were required for the construction of a bridge, till Sooltan Mahommed Khan interceded; and had the Sikhs met with further reverses at Jumrood, the Khuttuks were ready to have attacked them on their retreat to Attock, as they passed the defile of Geedur Gullee. The number of the Khuttuk tribe is variously stated at from 6000 to 8000 armed men.*

The town of Kala Bagh, so famous for its rock-salt, is subject to Lahore, but is held by a native malik, or chief, who pays only 10,000 rupees yearly, though he collects 32,000. The situation of the malik is one of uncertainty and peril; for he is surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the Maharajah, with all of whom he is obliged to live on friendly terms, lest they should injure him when the Lahore troops are withdrawn. Kala Bagh is an important position to the Sikhs, as it is here that their armies cross the river to make inroads and levy tribute upon the tribes of which we shall presently have occasion to speak. The subjection of Kala Bagh is complete.

Following the course of the Indus is the country of the Eesa Khyl Afghans, which extends to within thirty miles of the province of Dera Ismael Khan. It is a strong and mountainous strip of land, and its valley abounds in water, and is

* Lieutenant Wood passed through the country of the Khuttucks and Sagrees, and it is on his authority that I am enabled to state the precise condition of this tract.

well peopled. The Sikhs have, however, approached it from Puharpoor, on the south, and also from Kala Bagh, and exact, pretty regularly, a tribute of 34,000 rupees per annum. To enforce their authority, a detachment was last year stationed in the country: but the whole party were massacred, as I have already stated, during a popular insurrection, and the present chief, Ahmed Khan, who has the character of a humane and good man, has resisted all attempts to replace the detachment, though he acknowledges allegiance to Lahore and agrees to pay tribute. The mountains of Eesa Khyl and Khussor rise so abruptly from the Indus, that, were not the country accessible on other sides, it might make successful resistance; and, in fact, the Eesa Khyls have been lately left to govern themselves without a garrison.

On the other side of Eesa Khyl lies the district of Bunnoo, intersected by the Koorum river, which renders it rich and fertile. It consequently excites the cupidity of the Sikhs; and the Lahore troops have frequently entered the district, and did so last year, exacting from it a tribute of a lac of rupees. They can, however, obtain nothing from it without a large force, and troops are generally sent into it every second year. In the times of the kings, Bunnoo paid a yearly tribute of one lac and 40,000 rupees; and the level and defenceless nature of the country will always enable the most powerful chief in its vicinity to exact something from it. The Sikhs enter Bunnoo by the village of Lukhee, but retain no permanent force in it.

South of Bunnoo lies Murunt. A tribute of 28,000 rupees is exacted from this district; but, as in Bunnoo, an armed force is necessary. It is a country rich in grain, which is sent down the Indus to Dera Ismael Khan.

The district of Tak adjoins the province of Dera Ismael Khan, and, being partly in the plains, has become subject to Lahore. At present, it forms part of the jaghire of the prince, and is farmed for one lac and 20,000 rupees; but the amount realized varies from year to year, although some payment is certain, as a Sikh force is located in the country. The chiefs, for some years, paid a tribute of 100 camels and 25,000 rupees, but they have now left the country and fled to Cabool. The only enemies of which the Sikhs here stand in awe are the Wuzarees, a barbarous tribe of Afghans; who inhabit the mountains to the westward, and sometimes descend into the low country and plunder the inhabitants.

Descending the Indus and passing by Dera Ismael and Dera Ghazee Khan, already described, we next come to Mittun; beyond which lie Hurund and Dajel, which, being late acquisitions from the Brahooees, require a watchful eye. In other respects the Sikh rule is paramount in this country; their Grinth, or holy book, is placed in mosques, and sometimes in temples built expressly for its reception; the cow is a sacred animal; and no Mahommedan raises his voice in praying to his God,—the clearest proofs of conquest, but, at the same time, an inteference so impolitic, that, should a reverse occur westward of the Indus, the subdued and sullen population would, at once, rise *en masse* upon the invaders of their soil, whose position, during a portion of the year, is further endangered by the inundation of the Indus, as, at that time, it cannot be bridged, and is, therefore, with difficulty passed by an army.

From the political I will now pass to the physical geography of these countries. Our object, as I have already stated, had been to ascend the Indus to Attock, and even to Peshawur, but the information which we had lately received held out but little encouragement to us to attempt to do so at this season of the year: nevertheless, on the 16th of July we embarked with a southerly wind, and passing Kala Bagh and its romantic cliffs, stemmed the river merrily to Maree, where, losing the wind, we found the stream too rapid for the track-rope, and were obliged to return. The river was smooth, and, at its narrowest part, about 400 yards in breadth. The water, although the thermometer proved that its temperature was 72°, produced so strong a sensation of cold, that the boatmen who were tracking complained much of it; and the rope having pulled some of them into the river.

one man was picked up benumbed and exhausted. Our failure, however, did not daunt a British sailor like Lieutenant Wood; and, although it now seemed advisable that the mission should prosecute its journey by land, he resolved to stand by his own element as long as there was any prospect of success; accordingly, he set out with a well-manned boat, and reached Sharkee, about one-third of the distance to Attock, when some of his crew left him, and he was obliged to return. He found the river running in a channel of rock, while detached cliffs stood up in the middle of the stream like basaltic pillars, having marks upon them which indicated a rise of the river of 50 and 60 feet above its bed. It is, however, for three or four months only that the upward navigation of the Indus is here interrupted; and the downward passage is open all the year: for Lieutenant Wood, having proceeded by land to Attock, descended the river from that point. In the beginning of May, the Sikhs, having occasion for boats to complete their bridge at Attock, dragged them up from Kala Bagh in twenty-two days, with only fifteen or twenty men in excess of their crews: since then, however, the strength of the current had increased, and the Indus was now rapid, noisy, and dangerous. From Attock we navigated the river of Cabool to Peshawur and Muchnee; and Lieutenant Wood ultimately descended from Jellalabad to the sea, as he has stated at large in his very interesting and able work.

The mineral riches of Kala Bagh—its rock-salt, alum, and sulphur—require no further mention from me; but it is important that I should state that we have commenced a series of inquiries for coal, and that our search was crowned with complete success. It was found close to the town at Shukurdura and Muckud, and, ultimately, in no less than twelve localities, stretching in the direction of Cohat towards Ghuzni, along the salt-range after it has crossed the Indus, and lower down at Kaneegoorum. Lieutenant Wood was also fortunate enough to discover it at three places on the eastern bank,—Joa, Meealee, and Nummul, between Pind Dadun Kahn and Kala Bagh, and at distances from 25 to 50 miles of the river. On both banks the localities in which the coal is found were similar, viz., in deep, dry water-courses, and the channels of winter torrents. Anthracite was also brought by my messengers from Jummo, high up the Chenab; and Dr. Lord procured coal at Kobal, on the north bank of the Oxus. I have not by me the analysis of the coal discovered by Lieutenant Wood; but Mr. James Prinsep, in reporting to government on that found on the western bank, stated that "four of the specimens were, in fact, of the very finest form of mineral coal, that in which all vegetable appearance is lost:" of one of the specimens, a kind of jet, he remarked, "that, if found in sufficient quantities, it would not only answer well as a fuel, but be superior to all other coals for the particular object in getting up steam, from the large proportion of inflammable gas it disengaged under combustion." It is to be hoped that the time is not distant when these discoveries will be turned to good account by the British government; and it is satisfactory to find, even at the present time, the enterprising Parsee merchants of Bombay navigating the Indus by steam as high as Kala Bagh, from which point, by means of land conveyance, they are enabled to supply the wants of Cabool.

Our stay at Kala Bagh now drew to a close, and as the road to Peshawur by Cohat had been already traversed by Mr. Elphinstone, and, moreover, was infested with robbers, we determined to proceed to Attock, up the eastern bank of the river; and accordingly commenced our march on the 22d, heartily glad to get away from Kala Bagh, the heat of which can only be compared to that of an oven. So intense is it, that all the population leave their houses and live under trees on the banks of the river, in which they are perpetually to be seen spinning and amusing themselves. A quarter of the population suffer from goître. We found, however, that as far as related to temperature we had not bettered our condition by leaving the Indus; for at Musan, our first halting-place, the thermometer rose to 115° in a single-poled tent, and in the smaller tents, occupied by our people, it reached to 135°. We lay gasping all day, stretched out beneath tables as a pro-

tection, and at sunset the mercury did not sink below 100°! A week's suffering was, at length, terminated by a violent thunder-storm, which cooled the atmosphere.

Our halting-grounds were at the hamlets of Neekee, Jubbee, and Toote, and thence to Pindee Nurlik Oulia, according to the name given on the maps, but which is more properly called Pindee-Gaib-ne. We had made but little northing in a distance of 51 miles, for all the maps of this district are erroneous, and we had only, as yet, reached the latitude of 33° 10′. Steep ravines and execrable roads brought us, at length, to the Swan river, which we crossed, stirrup deep, at a point near Toote: it was rapid, red, and swollen. Nature seems to have been sportive in this neighbourhood, for the strata run in all directions—soft, red sand lies under hard sandstones, and time has furrowed the hills into peaks of singular irregularity. As we approached Pindee the face of the country changed. We had now an undulating upland moor, nearly destitute of vegetation, and, as I suppose, forming part of the "Chool-i-Julalee," or desert of Julal-e-deen, thus called from the hero of that name who so nobly swam the Indus when pursued by his enemies. Pindee was a cheerful-looking village, and, at the time of our arrival, was enlivened by the presence of Sikh soldiers, who were passing through it to join the force at Kala Bagh. Their commander, Soojet Sing, waited on us and was very civil: we had previously met a regiment of cavalry in the ravines of the Swan river, commanded by Captain Foulkes, an Englishman of high character in the Sikh service. These military movements disconcerted the people, and were considered as proofs of some ulterior designs beyond the Indus.

While in this neighbourhood I ascertained the position of Duncote, the village at which, according to Rennell, Timour crossed the Indus. The correct name is Dingote. It is a small hamlet on the west bank, marked by a bluff mountain, six miles above Kala Bagh. The route from Bunnoo leads down upon it, and not upon Kala Bagh, which circumstance settles the question as to the place of passage.

After remaining an entire day at Gaib-ne, in consequence of the rain, we prosecuted our journey; and, passing Tattee, Kote, and Futtih-jung, at each of which places we halted, and near the last sighted the snowy mountains, we found ourselves once again on beaten ground at Husn-Abdal, where we arrived on the 1st of August, the distance being 52 miles. Until we reached Futtih-jung we had the same sandstone formation as before; but the country was less broken and the road excellent. As we approached Husn-Abdal the vegetation became more abundant, the formation being limestone; and we at last found ourselves among the beautiful but decayed and neglected gardens of this celebrated spot: we pitched our camp by the crystal rivulet, filled our glasses with Burgundy, and drank to the memory of Noor Muhal and to the fame of her immortal poet, Thomas Moore. We were joined here by Dr. Falconer, the superintendent of the botanic garden, who accompanied us to Peshawur, and afterwards proceeded on a scientific tour to Cashmere. The researches of Dr. Falconer, and his able coadjutor Captain Cautley, in the lower Himalaya, and their success in unravelling the mysteries of fossil remains, afford good proof that their time was not wasted in the "happy valley;" and the public may hope, ere long, to profit by their labours.

The intelligence which reached me at Husn-Abdal induced me to quicken our advance to Attock, for which place we set out on the 4th, and arrived on the following day, under a salute from the fortress.

On the banks of the Hurroo, where we halted the first day, we experienced a smart shock of an earthquake, about three P. M., or, in Greenwich time, at six minutes past ten, A. M. It was accompanied by a loud rumbling noise, and the ground vibrated under us. The shock was from the east or north-east, and was succeeded by heavy rain and wind, under which my tent fell upon me, but I scrambled out unhurt.

CHAPTER VI.

Cross the Attock—Khyrabad and fort—Bridge of the Indus—Inscriptions at Hund—Arrival at Peshawur—Reception by General Avitabile—Prince Kurruck Sing—Review of his troops—A Peshawuree's story—Changes by the Sikhs—Curious incident—Arrival at Jumrood—Enter the Khyber Pass—Ali Musjid—Duka—Visit from the chiefs—Customs of the Khyberees—Bassoul—Kuju—Its pomegranates—Gundamuk—Anecdote of Nadir Shah—Hyat—An old friend—A facetious Mooftee—Meet Mr. Masson—Arrival at Cabool—Cordial reception.

We crossed the Attock on the 7th August, and encamped at Khyrabad, on the opposite side: in making the transit the boat rolled and pitched with violence, and one man began to blow into a skin with which he had provided himself, and to invoke his saints. When we had got safely over one of the watermen exclaimed, "The Firingees do not change colour in danger!" Of danger, however, there was more in appearance than in reality. Whilst at Khyrabad we experienced much civility from Runjeet Sing's son, who was stationed at Peshawur. He sent to us ice and fruit, and freely permitted us to examine the fortress, which, in spite of many defects, I found to be a much stronger place than I had expected. I made a trigonometrical admeasurement of the river from the "ab doozd," or sunken sluice, which supplies the garrison with water, to the rock of Kumalia, and found it to be exactly 800 feet wide; afterwards, however, I saw the stream bridged below the fort, and, upon crossing and measuring it, I found that it was only 537 feet broad in that part. The bridge was formed by thirty boats, and the water where it was placed was twelve fathoms deep; but, between that point and Kala Bagh, Lieutenant Wood found it in some places thirty fathoms deep. I sent Lieutenant Leech to Torbaila to examine the fords across the Indus at that place, of which we had heard much; but he found that, although there are fords there, they are not practicable at this season: at an earlier period of the year they are constantly used. Lieutenant Leech ascended higher up the Indus to Drabund, where it is but 100 yards wide, and he returned from thence to Attock on a raft, much pleased with the treatment he received from the Mahommedans. By way of an experiment I sent our heavy baggage up the river of Cabool to Peshawur, under the charge of Mr. Nock, a European surveyor. He found the river rocky near its confluence with the Indus, but quite navigable throughout.

The interesting nature of the district in which we now found ourselves led us to use every possible exertion to obtain information. I had learned from my friend General Court that there were some inscriptions between the Indus and Cabool rivers, and the messengers whom I despatched in that direction soon returned with the fac-simile of a very valuable one from Hund; and a few days afterwards the marbles themselves were sent to me, and have now finally been transferred to the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The inscription proved to be Sanscrit, and did not long elude the skill of James Prinsep, who lithographed the fac-simile; and, although the marbles had been mutilated, was enabled to translate the most important of the inscriptions. He assigned it to the seventh or eighth century, and, as it refers to the powerful Turuschas (or Turks) as foes overcome by the nameless hero whom it celebrates, it proves the fact of the extension of the Indian rule to this point of the Indus, and the early struggles of that race with the Tartar tribes beyond them. I subjoin the translation.

Translation.

1. . . . blessings; whose kingly and priestly rule even among his enemies spreads.
2. Above his glory goes . . . . for pleasure . . . . . .

3. . . the powerful flesh-eating *Turushcas*, causing alarm to . . . .
4. . . lavishing bland speech on spiritual superiors and Brahmins without number.
5. Such a prince as attracts all things to him; persevering in the protection of his people.
. . . what in the world is difficult (for him) to accomplish?
6. . . husband of Parbati . . went on a road. . . . . .
7. . . elephant . . whose mothers (?) and fathers' virtue
8. . . endure forages . . . glory and excellence.
9. Virtue . . . . . .
10. Of Deva the great riches, . . rule . . moon.
11. . . . great . . . sun . . living among
12. . . . the cheerful minded; . . . . . .
13. . . . then Seri Tillaka Brahmin . . (shall be made beautiful?)

On the 11th of August we set out for Acora. On our route the Sikh garrison of Jangeera, a fort that stands on the southern bank of the river of Cabool, sent a party to welcome us, and fired a salute. The next day we drove into Peshawur in General Avitabile's carriage, who very kindly came out some miles to meet us, accompanied by a large suite. It afforded me great pleasure to renew my former acquaintance with the chevalier, and letters which I received from his compatriots at Lahore, Messieurs Allard and Court, carried me very agreeably back to former times. Peshawur was indeed changed since my former visit: a French officer now governed it, and certainly in a splendid style, whilst the former chiefs, Sooltan Mohammed and his brothers, came to see me in their fallen state. I found it somewhat difficult to steer through the maze of conflicting parties; but I endeavoured as much as possible to confine my communications to personal matters, and my remembrance of past kindnesses was so strong, that, if I could not meet the wishes of my old friends, I at least took care to point out the causes of my inability.

Our first visit after alighting at the Baghi Wazeer, which was assigned as our residence, was to the Prince Kurruck Sing. His imbecility is such that he can scarcely return an answer to the most simple question; he was, however, extremely obliging; invited us to visit the new fort of Sumungur, which is now building on the ruins of the Bala Hissar, and promises to be, when finished, a place of considerable strength. He also paraded his forces for our inspection, both infantry and cavalry: the first consisted of twelve battalions and twenty guns, and went through its brigade-exercise well. The sight, however, of 12,000 cavalry was much more imposing as they passed in review order before us in the fine plain of Peshawur. The only drawback to the enjoyment of these scenes was the weakness of the poor prince, which was really distressing: he could neither put a question, nor answer one, without being prompted. A Peshawuree told us an amusing anecdote of a half-witted king of Balkh, who was ruled by his minister. On one occasion, when a foreign ambassador was to be presented, the vizier, fearful that his master would commit himself, prevailed on him to allow a string to be tied to his foot, and passed under the carpet in such a manner that the minister might hold the other end; and it was arranged between them that, whenever the vizier pulled, the king was either to speak or to desist from any inappropriate speech. The audience took place: the ambassador spoke; and the king replied; but, alas, the reply was only "Kush mu koonud!!" (he pulls). Again the ambassador spoke, and even more deferentially than before; but again the poor king shouted out "Kush mu koonud! kush mu koonud!" to the unspeakable grief and dismay of his prime minister. "Now," added the Peshawuree, "our prince wants a guide-string as much as the king of Balkh."

I found that the Sikhs had changed everything: many of the fine gardens round the town had been converted into cantonments; trees had been cut down; and the whole neighbourhood was one vast camp, there being between 30,000 and 40,000 men stationed on the plain. Mahommedan usages had disappeared—the sounds of dancing and music were heard at all hours and all places—and the fair Grisis

of the Punjab enchanted the soldiers with varied strains of Hindee, Cashmeree, Persian, and Afghanee. If, however, some things be changed for the worse, others are improved. The active mind of Monsieur Avitabile has done much to improve the town and tranquillize the neighbourhood: he was building fine bazaars and widening streets; nay, that most conclusive proof of civilization, the erection of a gallows, proved how much he had done towards bringing this wild neighbourhood under subjection. The general did not pretend to be guided by European ideas; and although at first his measures appeared to us somewhat oppressive, his proceedings were, I am sure, in the end, more merciful than if he had affected greater lenity. It is quite impossible for me to give an adequate idea of the princely hospitality and unvarying kindness of this gentleman to every one of our nation, and I hope he may soon return to Europe and enjoy his colossal fortune in his native city.

At Peshawur I was told of a signal service performed by an old favourite of mine, a fine iron-gray Toorkumun horse, which had been presented to me by Runjeet Sing. He was by far too splended an animal to suit the appearance of poverty which I then deemed it prudent to assume, and, being constrained to part with him, I gave him to two Moollahs at this place, whose services I was glad thus to reward. They sent him down to their father, who was with Shah Shooja, at Loodiana, and in the defeat which that monarch sustained at Candahar, in 1833, he rode this very horse, and actually owed his life to the speed with which the gallant animal carried him away from the field. I had not anticipated that he was destined for such royal services, and was pleased to find that I had, indirectly, been enabled to render a good office to the king in his misfortunes.

During our residence in Peshawur Dr. Lord, accompanied by Dr. Falconer, proceeded to Cohat to examine its mineral formation; but the people there had metal in their human clay as well as in their earth, and the tone which they assumed, and also the disturbed state of the country, constrained the two geologists to return. Lieutenant Wood, however, passed up by Cohat; and as he had also descended the Indus, he had altogether examined three lines of route. The whole of our party now concentrated themselves at Peshawur, and prepared for an advance on Cabool; and as the thermometer was as 98°, we anticipated an agreeable change. The heat of Peshawur was less than was expected; still it was oppressive, and a constant haze hid the surrounding mountains. The fruits at this season were excellent and extremely grateful to the palate.

On the 30th we took our departure from Peshawur, and were driven by Monsieur Avitabile in his carriage to Jumrood, three miles from the mouth of the Khyber Pass, the scene of the late battle between the Sikhs and Afghans, and where the former were now actively engaged in building the new fort to which I have before alluded, and which has been named "Futtehghur," or the fort of victory, although in reality it was the scene of defeat. The village of Jumrood is in ruins, but is marked by a brick fountain: its little fort is also contemptible, and hence the necessity for erecting the new place of defence: they have chosen for its site an old mound, with which they, as usual, couple traditions of Man Sing; and it is certain that, whilst digging the foundations, coins similar to those obtained at the tope of Manikyala were found. The work was proceeding with great activity, and, as each Sikh commander had a portion assigned to him, it would soon be finished. The position is ill chosen, inasmuch as its supply of water is uncertain.

We found our situation at Jumrood by no means agreeable. The deputation sent to escort us through the Khyber Pass had not arrived; and although some months had elapsed since the battle, the effluvia from the dead bodies, both of men and horses, were quite revolting. Some camel-keepers who had left the place the day after our arrival, escorted by a few soldiers, were attacked by the Afreedee mountaineers, who came down upon them, drove off the camels, and beheaded two of the people, whose mangled trunks were brought into camp; and we were informed that this murderous outrage was one of very frequent occurrence. The garrison, in this instance, pursued the marauders and brought back the cattle.

At length, after a good deal of discussion, and very contrary to the advice of our worthy host, Monsieur Avitabile, we resolved to wait no longer for our escort, but at once to enter Khyber. Some half-dozen letters had already been exchanged between the chiefs of the pass and myself; and the individual commanding the small detachment of the Cabool troops, a renegade of the name of Leslie, alias Rattray, who now figured as a Moslem, under the name of Fida Mahommed Khan, assured me they were to be relied upon. We set out on the morning of the 2d of September. Monsieur Avitabile saw us a few hundred yards from his camp, where we parted from him, with many thanks for all the kind attentions which he had shown us. The Khuleels, a tribe of Afghans, escorted us for about two miles to Kudun, and then handed us over to the genuine Khyberees, who occupied the gorge of the valley. The first salutation which we received from them was a message directing us to get rid of our escort: we accordingly sent the Khuleels back, and at once abandoned ourselves to the tender mercies of Ullah Dad Khan, the chief of the Kokee Khyl, who, with his numerous followers, led us to Ali Musjid, a weak fort in the centre of the pass. Our march was not without a degree of anxious excitement: we were moving among a savage tribe, who set the Sikhs at defiance, and who paid but an unwilling allegiance to Cabool; we had no guard of our own, except about a dozen Arabs, and we had considerable property with us. We were also stopped at every by-road and defile as we came among the different subdivisions of the tribe. At Jubugee they, in conclave, requested us to halt for the night, and pointed out the rock near which Nadir Shah had slept on his advance to India; but not even the historical association attached to the sleeping-place of that "Persian robber," as Gibbon calls him, could convince me of the propriety of halting there; and, after a good deal of parleying, we were allowed to advance, and reached Ali Musjid about eleven o'clock, all our baggage preceding us—a very necessary precaution in journeying among Khyberees. By the road they showed to us many small mounds, built to mark the spots where they had planted the heads of the Sikhs whom they had decapitated after the late victory: on some of these mounds locks of hair were yet to be seen.

We had scarcely pitched our camp in the confined ground below Ali Musjid and in the dry bed of the river, when the rolling thunder gave notice of rain; and it soon came down in such torrents as must have washed us back to Jumrood, had it not been for the great activity of our own people and the assistance afforded us by the Khyberees. Tents, boxes, and everything were dragged by main force up the steep sides of the defile, on which we were constrained to remain, drenched to the skin and totally without shelter, and by no means in that placid state of mind which would enable us to have enjoyed the sublimity of the scene—for sublime it certainly was—the water rolling in a torrent down the bed of the pass, driving bushes and everything before it, whilst waterfalls in all directions and of all hues came rushing down around us, some of them in an unbroken leap of more than 300 feet—all of these bursting out, one after another, from unseen crevices in the towering rocks by which we were surrounded. In all this confusion, and indeed throughout our previous march, we had a good opportunity of studying the Khyber Pass, which must always be formidable, and more especially so in rainy and boisterous weather. We had found the road as good as it had been represented; and the people, lawless as their habits undoubtedly are, had been more friendly than we could have hoped for. Next morning we were joined by Agha Jan, the Governor of Julalabad; the Momund chief, Sadut Khan; and a Shahghassee, or officer of the court, who came with about 5000 men; and the hills rang with shouts and noise of men and arms, during all which din and tumult we remained looking on as patiently as we could, but heartily wishing ourselves fairly out of the defile. This we effected on the following morning by a march of twenty miles to Duka, and at length cleared the far-famed pass of Khyber without an accident. The last half of the pass is the most formidable; but even there it is pervious to heavy artillery. The formation is black slate and limestone rock, with

deep beds of conglomerate, in which are rounded pebbles. At Ali Musjid the water jets beautifully out of the rock and flows towards Jumrood, but for some distance between these two places it has a subterraneous course. There is something in this water which renders Khyber extremely unhealthy in the hot weather; and we were told, that after standing for a night it is covered with an oily substance.

In the last part of the road, at Lundee Khanu, a village composed of thirty or forty small forts, and built where the pass opens, we saw a "Tope" in good preservation, and in a commanding position. Farther on, and before reaching a place named "Huft chah," or the seven wells, we passed to our left a hill crowned by a long fort, and called by the inhabitants the "Kaffir Killa," or infidel's fort, to which tradition assigns a very ancient date. There is a ruin of a similar kind north of the Cabool river, and my inquiries led me to the conviction that there are many such remains in Afghanistan: they are doubtless the relics of former kings, whether the word "infidel" has reference to a Bactrian, a Greek, or a Hindoo.

At Duka the whole of the chiefs of Khyber visited us: there are four principal and several petty ones. They asserted that in the time of the kings of Cabool they received a lac and 32,000 rupees pay for guarding the pass, besides the transit-duties; and they offered, on a renewal of this, again to open the road to commerce. I found, however, that it was at this time actually open, and that Dost Mahommed had satisfied all their demands by the payment of some 15,000 or 20,000 rupees a year; but their religious animosity towards the Sikhs was the best safeguard against an advance of that nation on Cabool in this direction. There are, besides, more obstacles to commerce in the Punjab than in the mountains of Khyber. The easy terms on which we were enabled to satisfy the Khyberees for the friendly and really important services which they had rendered us did credit to their moderation. A few coarse gun-locks, some still coarser loongees and pelisses (choghas), with 375 rupees in cash, making the total value of the payment about 500 rupees, satisfied all parties. An Ornkzye Ruhmutoollah came with us all the way from Peshawur: he was an eccentric being, with a tongue much too large for his mouth. We gave into his charge a palanqueen, in which Dr. Lord, in consequence of indisposition, had been obliged to travel through the pass: no sooner was it intrusted to him than he very coolly seated himself in it, and ordered the astonished bearers to proceed. It was curious enough that we had been driven in a coach to Jumrood, and that one of our party had travelled in a palanqueen through Khyber. Too favourable ideas of Khyber society must not, however, be inferred from what I have stated: they live in miserable caves; and one tribe of them, the Momuzye Afreedees, I was positively assured, sometimes change their wives, paying the difference in value! When a man dies and leaves a widow without children, his brothers feel no hesitation in selling her. Altogether, the women are badly off, and do much of the laborious out-of-door work: their condition, however, is not such in all the tribes.

We passed through Bassoul and Butteecote to Mazeina, a village near the base of Sufued Koh, where we halted by a fine stream of running water and in a bracing climate, which we greatly enjoyed after having been so long roasted on the Indus. The mountains near us were thickly clad with pines and julgoozas, and the snow was on their summits; but it was that of last year, as none had yet fallen. We next passed up the fine valleys of Nungeenar, and the districts of Chupreeal, to Beea and Kuju, and encamped in the latter on the 11th. This is the place so famed for its pomegranates without seed, although the best fruit is brought from villages half-way up the mountains. Kuju has a hot summer, the elevation not being great. We have received abundant presents of fruit from Cabool, chiefly peaches and pears; but we were admonished not to eat too freely of them until the autumnal equinox, when all food is considered to have become wholesome. We now found ourselves in a country altogether different from that which we had left; beggars and heat had ceased to annoy us, and, although the people crowded to see us,

they were well-behaved and well clad; many of them had books under their arms, and, more strange to say, on their heads, for such appears to be the fashionable way of carrying octavos in these parts. These *bookish* men were of course Moollahs and students. The Hindoos of Kuju were numerous: they were Sikhs, and had a temple; but, nevertheless, professed poverty, to save themselves from the exactions which were imposed on the people for the purpose of carrying on war with the Punjab—a war which, they truly said, required a greater treasury than Cabool could furnish.

In Kuju we found a park of artillery, which had been detached from Julalabad, that the men might not suffer from the excessive heat. The pomegranate-growers were not within twenty days of their harvest, and the traders who transport the fruit to India were assembling in numbers. The tree differs altogether in appearance from the common pomegranate; and only grows at Kulghoo, Tootoo, Hissaruk, and one or two other villages, which are beautifully situated above Kuju: the fruit comes to greater perfection if sheltered from the sun. 1500 or 2000 camels laden with it leave the place yearly: it was selling for three rupees a hundred. The rind is also an article of considerable export, as it is used at Cabool in the preparation of leather, which, by means of it, they dress in a superior manner. The great carriers are the Lohanees and Sheenwarees: the former go to India, but it would appear that the latter only pass between Cabool and Peshawur. Very fine camels are to be had from the one region, and mules still finer from the other.

From Kuju we passed through the garden of Neemla to Gundamuk. This royal garden was in good order, and we halted to admire it: cypress-trees alternate with the chinar or plane; all of them reaching to the height of 100 feet, and, as the Persian verse has it, "holding each other by the hand and rivalling each other in beauty." The walks which they shade are lovely. We were here visited by the son of Shah Shooja's vizier, Akram Khan: he came with his two sons to express his devotion to the British, and his hopes that he would be remembered for his father's sake, who fell at the king's stirrup. He put the hand of one of his sons into mine and said, "He is your slave: I have brought him by his mother's desire, and she was the daughter of the great Futteh Khan." Both the grandfathers of this little fellow had, therefore, been viziers of the empire. Agha Jan, our conductor, speaking of Akram Khan, said "He had exalted ideas of kingly dignity, never relaxed into a smile, nor sat carelessly on the ground." I said that a great man should sometimes relax. He replied by relating an anecdote of Nadir Shah, to whom one of his courtiers once made a similar remark, adding "That he might safely so indulge himself, as there was no one present to observe him." "What," answered his master, "is not Nadir Shah *himself* present?" This said Agha Jan here took leave of us, being relieved by Nazir Ali Mahommed. Agha Jan was a sedate, good sort of man; tolerably well informed, and very fond of wine, which, however, he took care to drink in secret. The best wine he told me was to be procured from the Kaffir country, and in praise of the juice of the grape he quoted the Toorkee proverb: "Drink of it in moderation, that you may fight the lion: not in excess, that the crow may peck out your eyes."

On our way to Jugduluk we passed the bridge of the Soorkhrood, the date of which is quaintly given in an inscription which is let into the rock, and of which the following is a translation:—

"In the reign of the impartial Shah Jehan, the founder of this bridge was Ali Murdan Khan: I asked Wisdom the date of its erection; it answered, 'the builder of the bridge is Ali Murdan Khan:'" which words give the year of the Hegira 1045; A. D. 1635.

On this bridge I was welcomed by my old friend Hyat, the Cafila-bashee, who, after convoying me safely over Hindoo Koosh, now saw me returning from the opposite direction again to represent my nation. He brought with him a dozen mule-loads of fruit from the Nawab, and our meeting was a very cordial one. The

worthy fellow seemed to me to look younger than when we parted: I clothed him in a Cashmere shawl, and he could scarcely speak for astonishment and delight. We ran over together our adventures in Hindoo Koosh; and I did not fail to take care of him who had so long taken good care of me, and gave him a comfortable tent and a good pilao.

Here the chief, or, as he is called, Padshah of Kooner sent a messenger to tell me "his country was ours, and he hoped we would command his services: it extended," he said, "from Nijrow to Bajour, and from Shew to Pushoot; and bordered on the Kaffirs, over whom he had influence." The bearer of this communication was a Mooftee of a facetious turn of mind, who had been in the Punjab, and amused us with his accounts of an interview with Runjeet Sing, who interrogated him closely regarding the habits of the people to the west, and the state of their affairs. At last one of the courtiers, who understood Persian, asked if it were true, according to the couplet, that every woman at Cabool had a sweetheart. The Mooftee replied that he had seen nothing but courtesans since he had left his country, and gave in return a wittier verse than the one alluded to.* The Maharaja at length gave him a dress of honour, and the Afghan was no sooner clad in it than some thirty cormorants demanded each his perquisite. This was too much—he returned into the presence of the Raja, placed his dress at his feet, and upon it the 200 rupees which he had received with it; and began as follows: "A person gave some cloth to a tailor to make into clothes, who, when it was brought home, demanded more for it than the value of the cloth. 'Take the garment,' said the man, 'and wait till I return with some borrowed money to discharge the demand.' So is it with me, Raja! Pray receive back the dress and money, till I can sell one of my horses and pay the balance of the fees which your courtiers demand." The merriment occasioned by this illustration saved the Mooftee from the usual exactions, and he left the court with his dress of honour, and his 200 rupees to boot.

Near Jugduluk we saw holly-trees (beloot) to our left; and crossing a lofty pass of about 8500 feet, clad with pine-trees, descended direct upon Tezeen by a short route. From the summit of this, Lughman and Togour lay in sight beneath us: the distant hills over Cabool were pointed out to us: and behind us were the forests of Kurkuju. As we descended we observed the bitter almond and the mulberry, and a pleasing fragrance exhaled from the aromatic grass: there were also the wild lavender, the wild rose, and the thistle. Half-way up [this mountainpass our road led through the bed of a water-course, which was strewed with rounded pebbles; and, as we got higher up, the rock cropped out in vertical dykes. From Tezeen we passed the "huft kootul," or seven passes, to Khoord Cabool and Bootkhak, where we were joined by Mr. Masson, the well-known illustrator of Bactrian reliques. It was a source of great satisfaction to all of us to make the acquaintance of this gentleman, and we were highly gratified by our intercourse with him. On the 20th of September we entered Cabool, and were received with great pomp and splendour by a fine body of Afghan cavalry, led by the Ameer's son, Akbar Khan. He did me the honour to place me on the same elephant upon which he himself rode, and conducted us to his father's court, whose reception of us was most cordial. A spacious garden, close by the palace and inside the Bala-Hissar of Cabool, was allotted to the mission as their place of residence.

* Adam wu Huwa humih ek-abee und
Wahee! bur an quoum ki Punj-abee und!

CHAPTER VII.

Interview with Dost Mahommed Khan—Gracious reception by the Ameer—Nawab Jubar Khan —State of affairs at Cabool—Siege of Herat—A Russian agent—Fears and hopes of the Ameer — Alchymy — Famous swords — Visit Koh-damun and Kohistan — Istalif — Its fine scenery—Wild inhabitants—Blood feuds and customs—Chareekar—Pass of Hindoo Koosh—Mines of Furreenjal—Ghorbund and Purwan rivers—Value of irrigation—Expenses of farming—Reg Ruwan—Frequency of earthquakes—Objects of our tour—Begram—Topes—Waterfowl and animals—Return to Cabool.

On the 21st of September we were admitted to a formal audience by Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan, and I then delivered to him my credentials from the Governor-General of India. His reception of them was all that could be desired. I informed him that I had brought with me, as presents to his highness, some of the rarities of Europe: he promptly replied that we ourselves were the rarities, the sight of which best pleased him.* Seeing our draftsman, Mr. Gonsalvez, he asked of what country he was, and, upon being told that he was a Portuguese, made many inquiries as to the present power and prospects of that nation. When he heard that the Portuguese had intermarried with Indians, he observed that their spell as Europeans was broken, and their fall certain. From the Ameer's audience-chamber we proceeded to the Nawab Jubar Khan, who received us in his bath, and invited us to breakfast. As we passed through the city some of the people cried out, "Take care of Cabool!" "Do not destroy Cabool!" and wherever we went in this fine bustling place, we were saluted with a cordial welcome. Our visits were soon returned, both by the Ameer and his brother the Nawab. Power frequently spoils men, but with Dost Mahommed neither the increase of it, nor his new title of Ameer, seems to have done him any harm. He seemed even more alert and full of intelligence than when I last saw him. In reply to my inquiries regarding the descent of the Afghans from the Jews, he said, "Why, we marry a brother's wife, and give a daughter no inheritance;—are we not, therefore, of the children of Israel?"† Speaking afterwards on our English law of inheritance, and of a daughter sharing with a son, the Ameer observed that it must have originated from the respect paid by Christians to the Virgin Mary. I did not deem it court etiquette to inform him that it was unnecessary to go so far to find a reason for an act of common justice.

It is difficult to proceed without saying a few words on the state of parties at Cabool: were I to omit doing so, I must fail to make my narrative intelligible. After the action at Jumrood with the Sikhs, both parties withdrew from the contest, and the presence of the British had therefore the good effect of putting an end to the horrors of war. Scarcely however had tranquillity dawned on the east, when the Persians invaded Afghanistan on the west, and besieged Herat, from which, as is well known, they only withdrew under an actual demonstration of our force in the Gulf of Persia, and in consequence of the threatening admonitions of the British government. These circumstances had a prejudicial effect at Cabool, which was further heightened by the presence of an agent from Russia, who reached the place some time after my arrival. To the east, the fears of Dost

* I am indebted to my friend Lieut. Jas. Rattray, of the 2d Bengal N. I., for the portrait of Dost Mahommed, which is a striking likeness.

† I since find that the book from which the Jewish lineage of the Afghans is derived is the "Mujmoo i ansab;" and it is said that the Urz Bege of Hajee Feroz at Herat possess elaborate genealogical trees on the same subject.

Mahommed Khan were allayed—to the west they were increased; and in this state of things his hopes were so worked upon, that the ultimate result was his estrangement from the British government. For the information of those who are interested in the exact condition and relations of Cabool, as it stood while these events were passing, I have, in an appendix, given a sketch (see Appendix No. III.) extracted from the printed records of government.

One of the first applications which we received was from the Nawab, who requested us to supply him with some platina wire, to aid his studies in alchymy. I took the occasion to inquire into the state of the science, which has always been in such high favour among the Afghans, and was forthwith made acquainted with several ways of *making gold*, by which the adepts trick their credulous employers. One of these is by secretly introducing some gold inside the charcoal, and, after the quicksilver has been evaporated, the more precious metal is left to delight the wiseacre, and to tempt him on to further expenses. Another method is to put the filings of gold into a stick or pipe, and fasten the end with wax; with this rod the materials in the crucible are stirred, and the desired result obtained.

We found greater cause to admire the Afghans in their taste in swords than for their chemical studies. Some very fine blades were sent to us for our inspection by a decayed widow lady, whose husband had been one of the former Dooranee lords. One of these scimitars was valued at 5000 rupees, and the other two at 1500 each. The first of these was an Ispahan sword, made by one Zaman, the pupil of Asad, and a slave of Abbas the Great. It was formed of what is called "Akbaree steel," and had belonged to Ghoolam Shah Calora of Sinde, whose name was upon it, and was brought from that country during the wars of Mudad Khan. The especial cause of its great value was that the *water* could be traced upon it, like a skein of silk, down the entire length of the blade. Had this watering *been interrupted* by a curve or cross, the sword would have been comparatively valueless. The second was also a Persian sword of the water called "Begumee." The lines did not run down straight, but waved like a watered silk fabric. It had the name of Nadir Shah on it. The third was what is termed a "Kara" (black) Khorasan blade, of the water named "Bidr," and came from Casveen. There were neither straight nor waving lines in it, but it was mottled with dark spots. All these swords were light and well-balanced, the most valuable one was the most curved: the steel in all the three tinkled like a bell, and is said to improve by age. One test of the genuineness of a sword is that it can be written upon with gold; others, more certain, are its cutting through a large bone, and severing a silk handkerchief when thrown into the air.

After the turmoil of eating dinners and receiving visitors had been got over, and our business put in train, we all of us determined to visit the far-famed mountain-skirts of Kho-damun and Kohistan, which are situated north of Cabool. The Ameer very readily granted us permission to do so, and appointed an individual of influence to conduct and protect us, several parts of the neighbourhood, particularly north of the Ghoorbund river, or what is called Kohistan Proper, having only of late been brought under subjection. We set out from Cabool on the morning of the 13th of October, and halted at Kareez-i-Meer, about fifteen miles from which we could see, in the hazy distance, a vast vista of gardens extending for some thirty or forty miles in length, and half as broad, terminated by Hindoo Koosh itself, white with snow. Next day we reached Shukurdura, where there is a royal garden, but which is now in a state of decay. Our next march was to Kahdura, and thence to Istalif, the great point of attraction. No written description can do justice to this lovely and delightful country. Throughout the whole of our route we had been lingering amidst beautiful orchards, the banks of which were clustered over with wild flowers and plants, many of them common to Europe, and which were also in profuse abundance along the margins of the innumerable brooks which intersect the valleys.

The roads were shaded by noble and lofty walnut-trees, which excluded the sun's rays, never powerless in this climate. Every hill with a southern aspect had a vineyard on it, and the raisins were spread out on the ground, and imparted a purple tinge to the hills. There were very few songsters however to enliven the scene, most of the feathered tribe having flown to a warmer climate. The coldness of the air, which had driven them away, was to us bracing and delightful, and only served to increase our enjoyment. I must not, however, speak in detail of this charming country, nor do the far-famed gardens of Istalif require any aid from me to establish their supremacy. We pitched our camp on one side of the valley, and directly opposite to us, at a distance of about a thousand yards, rose the town of Istalif in the form of a pyramid, terrace on terrace, the whole crowned with a shrine embosomed among wide-spreading plane-trees. Between us lay a deep and narrow valley, at the bottom of which was a clear, rapid, and musically-sounding brook, on both sides of which the valley was covered with the richest orchards and vineyards. Looking down this stream, the dell gradually opens out, and presents to the eye a vast plain, rich in trees and verdure, and dotted over with innumerable turreted forts: beyond all this, rocky mountains are seen with the fresh snow of yesterday upon them; and over these again tower the eternal snow-clad summits of Hindoo Koosh. The scene was as sublimely grand as it was beautiful and enchanting. The yellow autumnal leaves rustled in the breeze, and the crystal waters rushed in their rapid course over craggy rocks with a noise which reached the summit of the valley. Thessalian Tempé could never have more delighted the eyes of an Ionian, than did Istalif please Bœotian Britons. The people illuminated their town in the evening, in honour of their visitors. It had a pretty effect, but the beauties of art could not in our opinion compete with those of nature. Not so with our escort: they declared that Istalif had at all times been the abode of pleasure, and that, without wine, not only would the illumination lose its value, but Nature herself would be worth nothing. We accordingly sent a few bottles of wine, to which they did the amplest justice, although the "Moohtussib," a chief constable of Cabool, was of the party. On the following day I taxed him with this departure from the rules of his sect. He bore my bantering with great equanimity, and replied, with mock heroic dignity, "Who, my lord, suspects me,—me, the 'Moohtussib,'—of indulging in wine? My duty is to reform the morals of others."

It is a source of deep regret that this beautiful country should be inhabited by a race of men so turbulent and vindictive as the Tajiks have here proved themselves to be; and yet, throughout Afghanistan generally, these same Tajiks form the most peaceable classes of the population. Here, however, their blood-feuds are endless: a week never passes without strife or assassination, and I have been assured, on the best authority, that a man frequently remains immured in his own tower for two and three years from a fear of his enemies, leaving his wife to take care of his property, and discharge his duties; nay, that in some instances this durance has lasted for eight and ten years. It is rare to see a man go to bathe, hunt, or even ride out, without a part of his clan attending him as a guard. Lately a strong government has in some respects softened down these asperities; but the retribution of blood, which the Mahommedan law allows, fatally perpetuates these sanguinary habits. "Blood for blood" is their motto and their rule; and as they still rigidly follow it up, every fresh act of violence increases the number of feuds, and extends the misery resulting from them still more widely.

Children born of different mothers and the same fathers are seldom cordial friends; and, singular enough, the word "turboor" among them has the double signification of cousin and rival. When any rebellion is excited, it is customary for the government to expel the traitor, and raise up his "turboor," or cousin, to govern in his stead. If you ask the natives of Kohistan why such desperate habits have become familiar to them, they will gravely tell you that they result from their heating diet of mulberries—that fruit, dried and pounded into flour,

being the general food of the population. These people have the reputation of being the best foot-soldiers in Afghanistan, and from all I could learn they merit the distinction. They are a healthy and handsome race, and are alike fond of sport and of war. In time of need as many as twenty thousand of them have taken the field, well armed with flint-lock muskets. Dost Mahommed rules them with a rod of iron, and has executed many of the principal men. Many others, to whom independence and lawless liberty were dearer than their possessions, have fled the country, and now cultivate fields among the fens of Koondooz and Balkh, voluntarily exposing themselves to poverty and hardship, rather than submit to any regularity of government in their native glens. In bygone times Nadir Shah himself is said to have been satisfied with a tribute of three hundred tent-pins from Doornanu, one of their districts; and the kings of Cabool apportioned this country under an easy tenure to their nobles, contenting themselves with the military sevices of the people. The present chief of Cabool has, on the contrary, been constrained, in order to maintain his power, to destroy many of their forts, which were scattered in clusters all over the valley, and is anxious to reduce the inhabitants to the state of citizens. On our return route from Istalif we passed through Isterghich, Sinjet-dura, Tope-dura, Si-yaran, and Chareekar, the last a large bazar-town of about ten thousand inhabitants. All these places are faithfully described by the Emperor Baber. They are a succession of separate valleys at the base of lofty mountains, glowing and rich in foliage, which forms a striking contrast to the bleak ground by which they are divided, and the still bleaker hills that rise above them. Wherever nature or the hand of man has conducted water, there are to be seen gardens and orchards; and the surplus water, which runs down lower into the valley, nourishes rich crops of grain.

Chareekar lies on the high road between Cabool and Toorkistan, and we saw many travellers hastening to and from both places, as the approaching winter would soon put a stop to all journeyings. Conversation with these people so much excited the curiosity of Lieutenant Leech and Dr. Lord, that they resolved to attempt to climb the mountains, and examine the celebrated pass of Hindoo Koosh. This they effected in a satisfactory manner by a route through the valleys of Ghoorbund and Konshan, dressed as Asiatics, and under the guidance of honest Hyat, the Cafila Bashee. They found the actual pass to be about 15,000 feet high, consequently in elevation little inferior to that of Mont Blanc. They attained it on the 19th of October, and learned that it would be finally closed by the snow in about ten days; after which, until the spring, no caravan could pass. The ascent had been very gradual to within twelve or fifteen miles of its summit, nor was any considerable difficulty experienced till within a mile of the pass. The track then became very steep, and in consequence of a partial thaw, very slippery and dangerous. The horses fell and appeared much distressed, and the party was obliged to dismount and proceed on foot. They did not experience any personal inconvenience, but the natives informed them that they, themselves, were frequently seized with giddiness, faintness, and vomiting. The summit of Hindoo Koosh was of pure granite. On the southern side the snow only extended for four or five miles, while on the northern it reached eighteen or twenty. This difference of climate appears to be characteristic of these regions, for Dr. Lord afterwards found at the pass of Sir-alung, which is next to that of Hindoo Koosh, that on the southern side the ground was clear of snow within ten miles of the summit, although on the northern face it extended for sixty miles. On their return they visited the rich lead-mines of Fureenjal, the underground workings of which are so extensive, that they were occupied nearly three hours in examining them. Farther down the valley of Ghoorbund, they came to the magnificent cavern of Fulgird, which they explored for three or four hundred yards, but found nothing to reward them, except some very large and transparent stalactites. The whole country appears to be rich in minerals.

While our two fellow-travellers were employed in their exciting journey, Lieu-

tenant Wood and myself continued our wanderings in Kohistan. About four miles north of Chareekar, we found the country abruptly sink nearly an hundred feet, and presenting a scene of unrivalled cultivation. Through this basin or valley ran the rivulets of Ghoorbund, Purwan, and Punjsheer, all of which we crossed. At this season they were clear, rapid brooks, with stony beds, and easily forded: in spring and summer they are much swollen. They all unite at the celebrated ruins of Begran, and, passing Joolga and Tugow, reach Tungi Gharoi twenty miles from Cabool, where there is a water-fall which interrupts the navigation. It is one of the great amusements of the people to ensnare the fish as they leap up this cascade. Immediately on crossing the river of Ghoorbund, we entered Kohistan Proper, a country rich without parallel. It is of no great extent, its form being that of the segment of a circle, the length of which is about sixteen or eighteen miles, and five or six its greatest depth. The fertility and productiveness of the soil is equalled by the industry of the people, who, forming bank above bank, acquire, as it were, land from their stony hills, all of which they irrigate with a care and zeal greatly to be admired. Aqueducts may be often seen fifty and sixty feet up the hill, conducted round every swell and valley, till at last they pour out their contents on the embanked fields. Irrigation from natural rivulets is, of course, more economical than by canals or subterraneous watercourses. Near Chareekar there are some magnificent artificial canals, which, according to the people, are as old as the days of Timour. The canals are either dug by the government, or the villagers make common cause. If the former, the revenue derived is considerable, one hundred rupees per annum being charged for every place through which the supply passes. In some parts of the country the water, after being conducted, is made free property: in others it is carefully distributed and sold. A cut from a canal ten fingers broad and five deep is sufficient to irrigate eight khurwars of grain. Much abuse, however, attends the subdivision of the water, and the owners of lands at the lower extremity of a canal are often obliged to watch over the proceedings of those who live higher up, and even to bribe them not to damage their fields by stopping the supply; nay, battles are sometimes fought for the water. For one night's supply to a crop of twenty khurwars, from fifty to one hundred rupees are sometimes given.

On the prices of farming and labour in this country I gathered the following particulars. A landlord who farms his estate is understood to pay one-third of the total produce for sowing, rearing and reaping. The state takes a third, and the remaining third falls to the proprietor. In this case, however, he furnishes the seed, and water for irrigation. If the proprietor also furnishes cattle, and all the materials, &c., which are required, the labourers then receive only one-sixth for their trouble. It is not usual to hire daily labourers; but when a plough, two men, and a pair of oxen are so employed, the wages are half a Khan rupee, or three-eighths of a Company's rupee, per diem. Afghanistan is a cheaper country than Persia, for grain is more abundant. The returns of seed sown vary, of course, with the nature of the grain and the quality of the soil. Wheat yields from ten to sixteen-fold, seldom more than fifteen; rice gives sixteen or eighteen; juwaree as much as fifty-fold. The best soil in the district of Cabool is at Deh Afghanee, a village in the suburbs, where a jureeb of land, or half an English acre, produces a rent of ten tomauns or 200 rupees, and yields, besides the profits of the proprietor, a revenue as high as forty rupees to government; but this is ground on which vegetables are reared, the sale of which is highly advantageous, for the Afghans preserve cabbages, carrots, and turnips, as we do potatoes, placing them on the ground, with a little earth over them and leaves, so that they are thus kept fresh till April.

Some of the natives of Kohistan bore a strong resemblance to the people beyond the mountains, and they repeated to us traditions which went to prove that they had crossed them in the days of Timour. In several places they spoke cor-

rupted Toorkee, and among the villages two were named Togh Verdee and Togh Bogha. There was, however, a more remarkable race inhabiting the valley of Punjsheer, who spoke the Pushye dialect, and whom I shall shortly mention. A few of the people were Safee Afghans, or of the tribe which inhabits Nijrow, an extensive valley eastward of Kohistan, and deeply indenting the range of Hindoo Koosh.

As we were now in the vicinity of "Reg-Ruwan," or the moving sand, we made an excursion to it. It is a phenomenon similar to what is seen at Jubul Nakoos, or the sounding mountain, near Toor in the Red Sea. The Emperor Baber thus describes it:—"Between the plains there is a small hill, in which there is a line of sandy ground, reaching from the top to the bottom. They call it Khwaju Reg-Ruwan: they say that in the summer season the sound of drums and nugarets issues from the sand."

The description of Baber, however marvellous it appears, is pretty accurate. Reg-Ruwan is situated about forty miles north of Cabool, towards Hindoo Koosh, and near the base of the mountains. Two ridges of hills, detached from the rest, run in and meet each other. At the point of junction, and where the slope of the hills is at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and the height nearly 400 feet, a sheet of sand, as pure as that on the seashore, is spread from the top to the bottom, to a breadth of about 100 yards. When this sand is set in motion by a body of people sliding down it a sound is emitted. On the first trial we distinctly heard two loud, hollow sounds, such as would be produced by a large drum. On two subsequent trials we heard nothing: so that perhaps the sand requires to be settled and at rest some space of time before the effect can be produced. The inhabitants have a belief that the sounds are only heard on Friday; nor then, unless by the special permission of the saint of Reg-Ruwan, who is interred close to the spot. The locality of the sand is remarkable, as there is no other in the neighbourhood. Reg-Ruwan faces the south, but the wind of Purwan (bád i Purwan), which blows strongly from the north for the greater part of the year, probably deposits it by an eddy. Such is the violence of this wind, that all the trees in the neighbourhood bend to the south, and the fields, after a few years, require to be re-cleared of the pebbles and stones, which the loss of soil lays bare. The mountains around are, for the most part, composed of granite or mica, but at Reg-Ruwan we found sandstone, lime, slate, and quartz. Near the strip of sand there is a strong echo, and the same conformation of surface which occasions this is doubtless connected with the sound of the moving sand.

In a late number of the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta" there is an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Wellsted of the Indian navy, in which he describes the sounding mountain in the Red Sea, which has also been mentioned by Gray and Seetzen. There would appear, however, to be some variation in the kind of sound produced in the two places; but both are, I suppose, explained by the theory laid down by Mr. James Prinsep regarding Jubl Nakoos, who says that the effect is there produced merely by "a reduplication of impulse, setting air in vibration in a focus of echo." At all events we have at Reg-Ruwan another example of the phenomenon, to excite the curiosity of those interested in acoustics. Reg-Ruwan is seen from a great distance; and the situation of the sand is so peculiar, that it might almost be imagined the hill had been cut in two, and that it had gushed from the opening as from a sand-bag: the probability, however, is, that it has been brought together by the wind.

Convulsions of nature are exceedingly common in this part of the world. Baber mentions one to have occurred in his time, and in this very plain: "so that in some places the ground was elevated to the height of an elephant above its old level, and in others as much depressed." A severe earthquake took place in Cabool six years ago, and shocks happen as frequently as twice or thrice in a month. We had no less than three of these on the 14th of December, and many before and after that day: but they were all slight. A passing shake, with a rumbling

noise, is called "goozur," to distinguish it from "zilzilla," or earthquake, the term used by the inhabitants when a tremulous motion takes place.

Our geological and other similar researches in Kohistan naturally led to our being questioned as to the particular object of our pursuit. "We are seeking," said I to a Mahommedan, "for the organic remains of a former world." After ascertaining from me that Christians and Mahommedans agree on the subject of the deluge, he observed that, "when Mahomed was asked what existed before the world, he answered, the world; and he repeated the same answer seven times. I can, therefore," continued the Moslem, "well understand the motives of your search." Another individual with whom I fell into the same conversation observed, "We do not even know ourselves; what can we know, therefore, of the past and present world?" The remark, however, of my first acquaintance will serve to show that it probably will not be a difficult task to explain to the Moslem the mysteries which geologists have of late years so successfully unravelled.

After a delightful tour we turned our steps towards Cabool, taking the ancient city of Begram by the way. It is supposed to be the "Alexandria ad calcem Caucausi," and the merit of its discovery is due to Mr. Masson, who, during many successive years, disinterred thousands of coins on its site, which is in a vast plain, extending for miles and covered with tumuli. A citadel of natural strength and in a commanding position overlooks the low land of Kohistan, and the three rivers in one wash its base. It is called by some "Kaffir Killa," the infidel fort; and by others Abdollas tower (boorj). No part of it is now inhabited, but its extensive aqueducts may yet be traced, and if repaired would greatly increase the fertility of the country. The position is one well suited for a capital; dry, flat, and elevated, in a rich country, and near the foot of the passes which lead to and from Tartary. Within a few miles of it, at Topedura and Joolga, are two of those curious remnants of former ages called "Topes." They have been opened, and their contents of boxes and coins prove their age. Another of them, called Sir Baolee, in Nijrow, near a cave, and covered with a glazed blue coating, yet remains intact to stimulate future inquiry. I will not enter upon the *questio vexata* of these works. Their antiquity is undoubted, and merely in crossing them we picked up coins. I contented myself with having a careful topographical drawing of the whole prepared, which I transmitted to my friend, General Court, at Lahore, who had expressed great anxiety for it. I believe he has since transmitted it to Paris, and that it now lives in the archives of the Asiatic Society of that capital.

The rivers in this vicinity were well stored with fish, and, as it appeared to me, with ducks also, at which I fired; when, to my great surprise, I found they were but decoy-ducks, admirably executed, and which deceived their natural representative as they did me, for thousands are at this season enticed by them, and ensnared during night by the villagers. Water-fowl abound in these parts: I made a collection of no less than forty-five different species of ducks, and it was quite evident that many additions might have been made. The finest are the large red duck, and the mallard, which looks like the tame duck in its wild state. Besides the water-fowl, they brought to us the skin of another bird of passage, called "kujeer," which, when stripped of its feathers, has a rich down left on it, which is much used in pelisses. But the *rara avis* of Kohistan was the "kubk i duree," a bird somewhat less than a turkey, and of the partridge or chiccore species. It was first procured for us in Ghoorbund, but as the snow falls it may be had nearer Cabool. For the table, it is not surpassed by any bird: but it must be killed when caught, since it loses its flavour in a tame state. The "dughdour," a kind of bustard, was also seen here. In Kohistan the most active search is made for all animals which yield fur, that being an article in high demand in Cabool. There are eight or ten different species to be found here, amongst which are the lynx, the gor-kun, and the moosh-khoorma; but the one most sought after is the "dila khufuk," a large weasel, of grayish colour, and

white in the neck. The Galago crassicaudatus of Cuvier was also brought to us; and the Huzara rat, which is a creature without a tail. Porcupines and hedgehogs abound. Marmots were likewise caught, but the hares in this country are few, and small in size; and, with the exception of water-fowl, there is little which a sportsman calls game, although the Afghans hunt everything that yields a fur. Bears of a reddish-brown colour and wolves make their appearance in winter; as also the red fox, and the common reynard, which is larger than in India, and would not disgrace an English field. The people spoke much of the "sug i kohee," or dog of the hills, brought from the Huzara country, but I doubt if it be really the wild dog, as the region has no wood or jungle. Its young are most sought after. There is also in the same region an animal of a like nature to our badger, and called "tibbergam," which takes to the ground in winter. From Nijrow they brought to us a large bird called "unkash:" it was either the condor or a vulture. Some fine specimens of wild sheep and goats were seen here. They are natives of Hindoo Koosh; and for full particulars regarding them I refer the naturalist to Dr. Lord's very accurate account, which will be found in Appendix V.

On our route we alighted at Ak-Surai, a flourishing village about twenty miles from Cabool. In one of its gardens many families were residing under the trees, as is common during summer in this country. Several of them were preparing grape-jelly, called "sheeru." They first squeeze the ripe Kismiss grape in a wicker basket, from which the juice escapes into a jar, after which it is put on the fire and boiled: it is used in making sherbet. The squeezed husks of the grapes they give to cows and horses. While resting under a tree at a little distance and watching this process, a damsel sent me some kabobs, spitted on a twig of willow and well roasted, which I enjoyed vastly after a march of nearly thirty miles. I suppose I was indebted to the intervention of the officer with me for the fair lady's civility; but as my baggage was in the rear I was doubly thankful. I afterwards retired to the house of a Hindoo in the town, where I rested for the remainder of the day, evidently affording great amusement to all the neighbours of my host; the situation in which I sat enabling them to peep down upon me from every direction, as if I had been shut up in one of the central cells of Bentham's Panopticon. Next morning we rose early, and, crossing the pass of Paeen Moonara and the lake, soon found ourselves in Cabool. On the way we met many travellers, most of them women, still hurrying across the mountains, chiefly to Inderab. They were all on horseback; one horse sometimes carrying a woman, her child, and a slave-girl. They were well clad to keep out cold, and the men had mottled stockings, or overalls, of worsted, that came up the thigh and looked extremely comfortable. Entering Cabool from this side, we were shown two mounds close to the Bala Hissar, called the "Khak i Balkh," from a tradition that when the Afghans took that city they half-filled their grain-bags with earth taken from it, and which they threw down where it now lies as a trophy of conquest. I fear the mounds are too large, and too closely resemble the neighbouring soil, to admit of the reception of this proud legend.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cabool—Agent from Moorad Beg of Koondooz—Letter from the Chief—His change of policy—Answer given to it—The Envoy's character of his Chief—Dr. Lord's journey to Koondooz—Extracts from his letters—Arrival and reception—Conversations with Moorad Beg—The invalid's a hopeless case—The Chief's friendship—Lieutenant Wood's journey—Syud of Talikhan, the friend of Moorcroft—Atalik Beg—Moorcroft's books, &c.—Date of his death—Mr. Trebeck's character—Customs of Uzbeks—Marriages—Man-selling—Traffic in wives—Mode of salaam—Circumcision—Enormous eating—Horse-racing and prizes—Amusements.

On our return to Cabool I had the unexpected pleasure of finding there an Elchee, or agent, from Moorad Beg, the chief of Koondooz. Ever since my arrival in the country I had been endeavouring to conciliate this hostile personage: I had addressed not only his minister, but the ruler himself, by the intervention of certain merchants. I had not forgotten the dangerous situation in which I had once found myself in his country; and, as subsequent conduct on his part towards Dr. Gerard and Mr. Vigne showed that his asperity towards Europeans was little abated, I was not prepared for the gratifying prospect that now developed itself. The Elchee waited upon me, and presented to me the following letter from his master. It was addressed to "Sikunder Burnes, Firingee Angrez," and after sundry compliments ran thus: "I have heard much of you and the great wisdom you possess: I have learned from many quarters that you are as the renowned Hippocrates among wise men. My younger brother has become dim-sighted: if you can cure him I will be very thankful to you, and send him to Cabool. If it please God that the eyes of my brother be cured, you will have a great name throughout Toorkistan (Tartary). The bearer of this, Mirza Budeea, will tell you all, and rely upon what he says. Accept also the horse, which I send to you as a rarity from this country and a remembrance of me."

Here indeed was a change of fortune, when contrasted with that day on which I had been dragged as a suspected culprit to Koondooz. An opportunity was now afforded us not only of terminating Moorad Beg's hostility, but also of making him our friend, and, by his means, of pushing our inquiries even to Pamere and the sources of the Oxus. The time was not one for hesitation, and the plans determined upon will be fully shown by my reply to his epistle, which was as follows: "I have received your letter with the greatest satisfaction, and I feel sensibly the confidence which you place in me, and still more so the high opinions which you entertain of European knowledge. It is a source of much regret to me that one so dear to you as a brother should labour under a disease so afflicting as a threatened loss of sight; but where would be the proof of the friendly feelings which I entertain towards you, if I allowed such a one to cross the snows of Hindoo Koosh and seek for medical aid in Cabool? In company with me is a physician renowned and skilled in the sciences of Europe: the cure of disease is in the hands of God, but Dr. Lord and Mr. Wood will omit nothing which can render their services valuable to you. These gentlemen are servants of the Government of India, and my fellow-travellers: they are very dear to me, and I commend them to your care. That which has passed between your confidential agent, Mirza Budeea, and myself will be made known to you: the promise which he has made to me, as to the restoration of the papers and books of the lamented Moorcroft, is worthy of yourself. As the sight of your own brother is dear to you, so are the relics of a countryman who died in a distant country dear to all his friends and relations." Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood forthwith made every

arrangement for commencing this highly interesting journey, as it was resolved that they themselves should be the bearers of this letter, and also of sundry curiosities as presents to the chief. All this was arranged not without reluctance on the part of Dost Mahommed Khan, who wished to summon the Uzbek to Cabool: his objections, however, were at last overcome, and the prediction of the 'Edinburgh Review,' when speaking of my last work, was thus fully verified: "'The turbulence of Moorad Beg *has* been subdued by a mission."

Before, however, I relate the departure of my fellow-travellers, I must give a few particulars of the information which I received from Mirza Budeea, a loquacious, simple-minded, but honest Uzbek, who stood high in the confidence of the chief of Koondooz; nor am I deterred from doing so by the subsequent and more accurate information acquired during the journey of the two travellers.

The Mirza faithfully promised me to attend with zeal and fidelity to the wants of my companions, and enlarged on the bounty of his master to every one, even to those he subdued. He dwelt at great length on the activity which he evinced in his "chupaos," or forays; on the liberality which led him to kill fifteen sheep a-day in his own house, and sometimes to entertain 1000 persons; and seemed, in fact, lost in admiration of the "tyrant of Koondooz," on whose fame and power he discoursed *con amore*. "My master," said he, "can bring 20,000 good cut-horses to proceed on 'allamanee' (plunder) for forty days; and man and beast will exist, each day, on three handsful of grain and a bit of bread as large as the hand." He stated that the Mir was accustomed to assemble these men at a certain place, and that none knew what would be the direction of the foray, whether to the Huzara country, to near Candahar, Balkh, Durwaz, Shughnan, Shah Kutore's country, or to that of the Kaffirs. He added that the only people who were harshly treated in the Koondooz dominions were those whose countries had been captured, and that this was necessary for the preservation of peace; but Shah Mahmood of Doornaz, whom without interrogation he called the descendant of Alexander the Great, had, he said, been much favoured. "We Uzbeks," said Mirza Budeea, "live on horseback: we have none of your trading as in Cabool. Dost Mahommed bids me inform my master that man-selling is discreditable; but I tell him to negotiate with his new ally, the king of Bokhara, and make him prohibit man-purchasing, and that then the enormity of man-selling would soon cease. We have the power to shut up the caravan-roads from Cabool to Bokhara," continued he, "which would injure both places and not in the least affect us—we scorn to do it: we dress in mottled garments, the produce of our own country and Toorkistan, while every one here wears European chintzes, &c., and their ruler's subsistence is largely derived from the duties levied on those articles: from such a source Moorad Beg has never sought profit. He lives contentedly at Koondooz: the eastern part of his country he gives to his son, Shah Moorad Khan, who has the title of Atalik Khan, and also rules over Budukshan, Shughnan, and Talighan: to his brother, Mahmood Beg, he intrusts his northern limits, Bulijeewan, &c.; while he himself at Koondooz manages the country south and west of it. The whole stretch of his power is about fifty days' journey, from Sir-i-kool to near Balkh, although he interferes but little with some of the intervening tracts. From Shughnan he takes but 500 'yamoos,' or ingots of silver: from Chitral he receives slaves more beautiful than the Kaffirs, and these he distributes to his Begs, or sends to Bokhara: he mulcts no strangers who come to his country, and even Chinese may pass through it." I have thus left the Elchee to speak for himself, and my own leading questions to be inferred. He said he had *partly* satisfied himself that we were not infidels, but had a good book of our own and much knowledge; adding that he had five sons, and begging me to write their names down in the book of Firingees. After this long conversation we strolled about the garden in which was our residence, and which was beautifully adorned with variegated stock and other flowers; and I asked him if Toorkistan had such a display? His reply did not do

much honour to his taste: "Fools and fakeers (devotees)," he said, "only attend to such things." Mirza Budee, however, proved himself an amiable, worthy man. I regret to add that he was barbarously assassinated a few months after this interview.

On the third of November Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood set out on their journey by Purwan* and the Sir-aulung Pass, in ascending which they experienced a terrific snow-storm: some of their followers became incoherent in their speech, others went raving mad; and the party were compelled to return to Cabool, and finally took the road by Bamian. I shall leave them hereafter to describe their own adventures, and will at present only give the following extracts from Dr. Lord's letters to myself: they will be read with deep interest, and with a melancholy regret at the death of their energetic and accomplished writer:—

"*Koondooz, 7th Dec.*, 1837.

"We left Cabool on the 15th of November, and arrived here in perfect health and safety on the 4th of the present month, having experienced no difficulty worth mentioning on the way. On the 21st we had reached Bamian, and next day entered Mir Moorad Beg's territories, from which moment the Mirza Budeea took on himself the duties of Mihmandar, and continued to perform them with the utmost regularity and attention. We held the direct road as far as Koorum, which being his jag-hire, we halted there one day to oblige him, and had the satisfaction to receive a letter from the Mir expressing his regret at the difficulties he heard we had experienced in our first attempt at crossing Hindoo Koosh, and his satisfaction at hearing that we had now safely reached his country. There was a letter from Atma Dewan Begee, requesting we would send him full information of our movements, and when we might be expected. To this I despatched an answer; but our messenger had delayed so much on the road, that we reached Aleeabad, within one stage of Koondooz, before he had delivered his letter. In consequence, on our arrival at Aleeabad there was no one to meet us as had been intended. The Mirza expressed much disappointment at this, and requested leave to precede us next morning, saying he was certain the cassid could not have arrived. He did so, and about four miles from Koondooz we were met by the Dewan Begee himself, who, on receiving from the Mirza news of our approach, had hurried out to receive us with whatever horsemen were at hand. We afterwards learned it was intended the Mir's brother (my patient) should have come, but he happened to be asleep when the Mirza arrived: he came, however, to visit us on the very evening of our arrival, at a most comfortable house of Atma's, where we dismounted, and which has been placed entirely at our disposal. We received also a congratulatory message from the Mir, desiring us to consider the country as our own: this was followed by a present of tea and sweetmeats; and next morning, having heard that we had used native costume on our journey, he sent each of us a full suit of Uzbek clothing and a present in money of 200 rupees. He also intimated that we might name our own time for paying him a visit, which, as we required a day to prepare, we arranged for the following morning. In the evening I had a long visit from Atma, who came after dinner and sat with me more than three hours; during which I took occasion to explain to him the objects of your mission as far as they could be interesting to him; mentioned the views of our government in opening the navigation of the Indus, and their intention of establishing a fair somewhere on its banks. He appeared much pleased and struck with the intelligence, and made many inquiries respecting the rate of tolls, duties, &c. I mentioned Runjeet Sing's fleet of twenty boats going to Bombay, and said

* It was at this very place that Dr. Lord afterwards fell, in the last action with Dost Mahommed Khan, on the 2d of November, 1840, when two squadrons of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry basely fled before our eyes and sacrificed their officers. I had to deplore the loss of two dear friends, Dr. Lord, and Lieutenant J. S. Broadfoot, of the Bengal Engineers, an officer of the highest promise.

our government as an encouragement had promised they should enter free of all duties.

"Just as I had written this, Atma called and brought with him a letter of yours, which had been round by the way of Khooloom, and had only just been forwarded by his agent, Chumundass. It was opened and read in my presence, and he was evidently most highly gratified by the expressions of friendship it contained, and which I assured him were no more than what you really felt: he has desired me in return to give his best salaam, and assure you that himself and everything he has shall be at our service as long as we remain here.

"But to continue my journal.

"Next day, December 6th, we went to wait on the Mir. He appeared to us quite a plain, good old man; came outside his door and down his steps to receive us; gave us his hand, invited us in, and placed us at the top of the hall, while he himself sat down at one side, and those few courtiers who were allowed to sit occupied the other: the greater number stood below a couple of pillars which divided the upper from the lower end of the hall. The Mir then inquired after your health, and said it was an honour that Firingees had come to visit him. After a little conversation I produced your letter, which was read, and which he pronounced at its termination to be full of kindness. I then said you had sent some presents, of which, though not worthy of him, you begged his acceptance. This, he said, was quite unexpected—our coming he looked on as a great thing, and never looked for anything more: on the presents being produced he examined each of them with much attention, appeared pleased, and. I heard afterwards from the Mirza, was highly satisfied. He then resumed the conversation, inquired about the relative size of Firingistan (Europe) and Hindostan, the nature of our power in the latter, and whether it had any other king than ours: this enabled me to mention the kings whom we had pensioned, with which he seemed much struck; and one of his Mirzas explained to him that it was the policy of the English, when they conquered a country, to keep in place those whom they found in it, by which means they avoided driving people to despair, and more easily attached them to their government. He then inquired whether the Russians or English were the cleverest: to which the same Mirza, a Peshawuree as I have since learned, at once replied that the English were far the cleverest people in all Firingistan; an assertion which I did not feel myself called on to contradict. After a little further conversation we took our leave, and I next went to visit my patient, and regret to say his case is almost hopeless, being amaurosis (gutta serena), complete and of eight years' standing in one eye, incomplete and of eighteen months' duration in the other. I have fairly informed him that I consider the former quite gone, and that I have but slender hopes of benefiting the latter; but that, as his general health, and particularly his digestive powers, seem much impaired, I shall require some time to improve these before I give him a definite answer regarding the chances of recovering his eye-sight. On this understanding I have commenced his treatment.

"I had almost forgotten to say that during our interview with the Mir, though he spoke freely of Moorcroft, and mentioned his knowledge of Persian and Toorkie, yet he avoided saying anything of his books and papers, which were expressly mentioned in your letter. I have since heard that there has been some difficulty about procuring them, and that they are not yet arrived, which probably may account for his silence."

"*Khamu-abad*, 13*th January*, 1838.

"You will perceive by the date that I am at the place where your anxieties reached their acmé, and received their happy termination. I came here four days since to give my patient the last chance in the benefit of a purer air than Koondooz: I am now perfectly convinced that the case is utterly hopeless, and should have announced this before but for my fear of compromising Wood, and my

anxiety to have him back and ready to start with me, should it be necessary, as soon as I have made the communication. I have, however, told my patient that I am now trying the last and most powerful remedies, and that, if within forty days no effect is produced, it will be in vain to continue them any longer, and he must submit to what is written in his destiny.

"The way is thus paved; and meantime I am looking round for some other way of maintaining my footing here, as the road back will not be open for nearly four months.

"And your letter has given me, I think, no bad commencement. On receipt of it I rode into Koondooz, and, waiting on the Mir, said I had come, by your orders, to offer your best thanks for all his kindness to Wood and myself since we arrived in his country, more particularly his having allowed Wood to go to the source of the Oxus, a favour which Firingees highly appreciated. This was received most graciously; and I then went on to inform him that Candahar had seceded from the Persian interest and was now anxious for the friendship of our government, in consequence of which a Firingee had been despatched there. In telling him this I only told him what common report would have brought to him in half an hour afterwards, as the cassid had begun to spread it everywhere. This intelligence proved as highly satisfactory as I had anticipated, for the Persians are equally hated and feared here; it also produced divers exclamations of astonishment—'What wonderful men these Firingees are! Three months ago four of them came into the country; now one is at Cabool, one at Candahar, one here, and one at the source of the Oxus. Wullah! billah! they neither eat, drink, nor sleep: all day they make syl [enjoy themselves], and all night they write books!' When these exclamations were over I inquired what news he might have from the seat of war; 'Hech,' (nothing,) he said; 'people will talk' (gup me zunund), 'but the news of one day is the lie of the next: however,' said he, 'I wish very much I had some sure information what these Kuzzilbash dogs are about, as some people say they are coming this way.' This was the very point I wanted to bring him to, as I was myself just at the same loss for information to send you: so I said at once, 'What difficulty can there be about this? If it is your pleasure, I will send off a man who will go to Mei-muna, and, please God, even to the Persian camp, and will tell us all that is going on.' 'By all means,' said his highness, who, much as he wanted information, seems never to have thought of this simple way of getting it—'by all means, send three, four, six men: let us have good pookhtee (information) every day, and when it comes let me know of it.' 'Bu chusm,' (on my eyes,) said I; and, fortified with this permission, I have started off Rujab Khan this morning, who is to go first to Balkh, where he is acquainted with some few families who have connections in Herat, and will probably have good information. He is then to go on through Akchu, Siripul, and Shibberghan to Mei-muna, getting the statistics of these little independent states on his way. From Mei-muna he is to send me another cassid, and also either to go himself or procure some one to go and reconnoitre the Persian camp. He is also, on leaving it, to engage some of his friends there to write him occasionally, should there be anything new: so that I hope by this arrangement to get you not only present information, but a continuance of it while the war is in that quarter, and that without committing either you or myself.

"During the whole interview Moorad Beg was, I think, in better humour than I have seen him before, though he has always been gracious; and I afterwards heard from Atma that he was much pleased at the idea of my coming in from Khánúábád to make 'salaam,' as attending his durbar is called here.

"Before taking my leave I represented that, as Talikan was but a short distance from Khánúábád, I meant, with his permission, to go down there for one night, in order to make my salaam to the holy man there. 'Why not?' said he. 'Go everywhere, and see what you like.' I here terminated our interview, with which I am the more satisfied as some unpleasant rumours had reached me re-

specting his dissatisfaction at my not having done his brother any benefit; and it was in some measure to test their accuracy that I made the visit, and to his inquiries after his brother's eyes answered distinctly that I saw no improvement. I therefore entertain hopes that, even after I have announced the melancholy truth, I may not find my situation here wholly untenable; and may even get permission to ramble along the banks of the Oxus, the fords of which I wish to examine, as Wood seems to have turned his back upon them.

"Yesterday was altogether, as Dominie Sampson would say, 'a white day;' for, on returning here in the evening after this successful interview, I was saluted by a man who turned out to be a messenger bearing a letter from the 'holy man of Talikan,' every word of which was a full-blown rose in the garden of friendship. Of course I 'khoosh amudeid' the worthy gentleman; told him of the leave I had that day received to pay my respects to his master, who, I said, was well known through all Firingistan as the friend of our nation; tied a turban round his head; and sent him back with a letter containing as many peonies as his master's had roses, and announcing my intention of making my salaam within a few days at furthest. I look on this man as no bad peg to hold by in case of accidents, and have prepared a grand posteen (fur pelisse) to invest him with on occasion of my visit."

"*Koondooz*, 30*th January*, 1838.

"You will be prepared to hear that I have given up my patient's case as hopeless; but the resignation with which this destruction of all his hopes of regaining his sight has been borne, both by himself and Mir Moorad Beg, is far greater than either you or I could have anticipated, and in fact is such as to do high honour to the Uzbek character. I had from the first declared the case to be one of extreme difficulty; and, latterly, told him that one after another of my remedies had proved ineffectual, and that the slight hope I originally might have had was daily becoming less. My final announcement he anticipated by sending me a message on the evening of the 17th to this effect:—'He felt it was written in his destiny that he was not to recover his sight: he was satisfied I had done everything possible, but that he was now resigned to the will of God, and content to go back to his own house convinced that a cure was not to be expected.' These were so nearly my own sentiments on the matter that I did not offer much opposition. I said, 'If he wished for my advice it was this—that he should persist in the use of the remedies twenty days longer, within which time, if there was no amendment, I was hopeless; but that if he was determined on going now I had little to say against it, as my hopes of ultimate improvement were now very slight.' I added, 'It would be well he should think it over for the night, and that in the morning I would call and hear his decision.' With these words I dismissed the mission, which consisted of Mousa Yessawul, the governor of Khánúábád, at which place we then were, Zohrab Khan, the governor of Inderab, and a Mirza.

"About 8 P.M., having heard that the Mir had finally determined no longer to struggle against his fate, I went over to take leave of him and offer such consolations as might occur to me. He expressed himself in every way satisfied with the exertions I had made, said he was under obligations which he never should forget; and begged I would continue his guest as long as it suited me to remain in the country, every part of which I was at liberty to visit. He added numerous other expressions of kindly feeling, and explained that he had given orders to Mousa Yessawul that all my wishes were to be attended to. He then reverted to his own melancholy condition, and, losing all composure, burst into tears, accusing himself loudly of the many crimes he had committed, and acknowledging the hand of God in the judgment which had now overtaken him. The scene was a strange mixture of the pathetic and the ludicrous. I could not help sympathising sincerely with the poor old man and his son, a fine lad of fifteen, who

shared deeply in his father's grief; but then every broad-faced Uzbek about the room, seeing his chief in tears, thought it incumbent on him to blubber a little also, and the wry faces some of them made in attempting to look melancholy were perfectly irresistible.

"I was obliged to bury my face in my sleeves, and hope I too got credit for crying a little. After the first burst of grief was over, I took on me the office of comforter. I said 'He had undoubtedly committed crimes, as all men had, but then he had also done much that was good: he had cherished the ryot, distributed justice, and I had with my own eyes seen that the people who lived under him were contented and happy.' I added that God had taken away one blessing, but had given him many—lands, houses, children, wealth, and power; that it became him to look on these, not on what was taken away, and to be thankful. I further advised him to have the Koran constantly read to him, and to reflect on the instability of this world; and having so said I got up and went away.

"Next morning the old man returned to Koondooz, and I, wishing to commence my new game by leading off a trump card, started to pay my long-promised visit to Moorcroft's Syud.

"The village of the Holy Man is about six miles on the other side of Talikán, in all thirty miles from Khánúábád. I reached it about four in the afternoon, and on dismounting was conducted to a small, neatly-carpeted apartment, where I was told to expect a visit from the Syud as soon as he should have finished his afternoon devotions. In about half an hour he came. I stooped to kiss his hand in acknowledgment of his sanctity, when he gently raised and embraced me: I then endeavoured to express to him the obligation which I, in common with all Firingees, felt to him for the service he had rendered our ill-fated countryman, Moorcroft, and added that it was a favour which none of us should forget. I explained to him that this was the very first day I had been disengaged since my arrival in Moorad Beg's territories, and that I had impatiently awaited the opportunity it afforded me of expressing to him these the common sentiments of my nation. He appeared gratified, but modestly disclaimed any merit, saying it was not in his power to do much for Moorcroft. He added that it astonished him not a little to find that so trifling an action as it had appeared to him at the time should have reached a country so remote and so great as ours. After a little further conversation, in which I said I had been charged to add your acknowledgments to my own, he retired, and soon after slaves made their appearance, leaving trays of pilaos and sweetmeats, to which my long ride induced me to do ample justice.

"After dinner he again came, and sat with me nearly an hour. The conversation ran chiefly on European politics, and commerce, as connected with India and Persia. Knowing his influence over the mind of Moorad Beg, I took occasion to explain to him the objects of your mission, and more particularly the intention of our government to establish a great annual fair on the banks of the Indus, and showed the benefits which must arise from this to the Mir, whose country would necessarily be the grand line of communication between Hindostan and Toorkistan. He seemed perfectly to comprehend all my sentiments, and made several inquiries that evinced his intelligence. He then inquired what I meant to do with myself until the road back should be open. (I had informed him that I had relinquished Mahomed Beg's case as hopeless.) I replied, that if the Mir would permit me, I wished to travel a little about his country, as it was the custom of Firingees to observe everything that came in their way. He said he had heard this from Moorcroft, and thought I should find no difficulty here. Before I went away he again expressed his astonishment at our being acquainted with what he had done for Moorcroft. 'Is it really a fact,' said he, 'that this is known in Firingistan?' 'Wullah, billah,' said I; 'the very children repeat the name of Syud Mahomed Kasim, the friend of the Firingees.' He did not attempt to conceal his satisfaction. 'God is great!' said he; 'feel my pulse.' 'Praise be to God,' said I, 'what strength and firmness! If it please God, one half your

life is not yet passed.' We stroked our beards, said a 'fatha,' or blessing, and the old man departed. I saw him again in the morning, when I was about to return: he had been praying from cock-crow until past nine o'clock He stopped for a few moments as he passed my door, said a few words of inquiry, asked for some medicine for his eyes, and, having ordered breakfast to be brought me, took his leave.

"On proceeding to mount I found a handsome young horse, which he had ordered to be presented to me in return for some articles I had given him. A man also was in readiness to show me the salt-mines, which I had expressed a wish to see.

"Having visited them, I thought it well to make my salaam to the heir-apparent, Atalik Beg, as I was in his vicinity. He received me in the same distinguished manner his father had done—standing outside his own door, with all his court drawn up around him—placed me in the highest seat, and at my departure presented me with a horse and a dress of honour. The two first tricks being thus clearly won, I thought it proper to lose no time in going to Koondooz, to ascertain my fate there.

"The day after my arrival (22d January) I had visits from Atma and Mirza Buddeea, who both assured me that the Mir's friendly disposition towards me was not in the least altered by the result of his brother's case, which, he said, was his destiny. Atma further added that Mahomed Beg, my patient, in passing through, had spoken of me in the highest terms, as not only possessing professional skill, but as 'being perfectly acquainted with good manners,' and as having paid him every possible attention. This is all as it should be."

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In the middle of April Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood set out from Koondooz, on their return to Cabool; and previous to their departure the books of Moorcroft, with a few of his papers, were made over to them: with these poor Lord sent to me the following interesting memorandum:—

"I have to present to you a list of books and papers belonging to the late Mr. Moorcroft, which I have been so fortunate as to recover during my recent journey to Toorkistan.

"For the greater part of them I am indebted to Mir Mahommed Moorad Beg, who, immediately on my arrival at Koondooz, wrote to the Khan of Muzar, desiring that all such relics of the European traveller should forthwith be sent. In reply to this, fifty volumes, all of printed works, were immediately forwarded; the remainder, including the map, Mr. Moorcroft's passport in English and Persian from the Marquis of Hastings, and a MS. volume, with several loose MS. sheets, chiefly of accounts, I was enabled to recover when, by the Mir's permission, I myself made a visit to Khooloom and Muzar.

"I think the evidence I have received proves, as strongly as the nature of negative evidence will admit, that no MS. papers of any value belonging to that ill-fated expedition remain to be recovered.

"I paid every person who brought books; and always explained that I would give double reward for anything that was written; and though in consequence of this several sheets of MS. were brought me, they never appeared, on examination, to contain anything beyond accounts and such routine matters. Now, as the natives must be unable to make the distinction, the chances evidently are, that, if any papers of importance existed, one or two of them at least would have found their way to me amongst the number presented.

"I append a letter from Mirza Humeedoodeen, the principal secretary to the Khan of Muzar, and a man who attended Mr. Trebeck in his last moments, saying that two printed and one MS. volumes are in existence at Shehr Subz, and that he had sent a man to recover them for me. As I have since been obliged to leave the country, and as all communication is, by the present state of affairs at

Cabool, rendered impossible, I mention this fact as well worthy the attention of some future traveller.

"The map is in itself a document of much interest, as containing Mr. Moorcroft's route, traced evidently with his own hand, and continued as far as Akcha, within one stage of Andkhoee, where he is known to have fallen a victim, not more I believe to the baneful effects of the climate than to the web of treachery and intrigue by which he found himself surrounded and his return cut off. On the back of the map is a MS. sketch of the route through Andkhoee to Mei-muna, and back through Sireepool to Balkh, as though he had planned a tour though these little independent states, partly perhaps to see the horses for which they are famed, and partly to while away the uneasiness of expectation till a safe-conduct should be granted him through the territories of the ruler of Koondooz. We can thus almost trace the last object that engaged his mind, and in the prosecution of which he laid down his life.

"Connected with this I beg to subjoin a slip of paper which I found amongst a pile of loose accounts, and which bears, in Mr. Trebeck's writing, the following entry, date September 6th, 1825:—

"'Arrived at Balkh, August 25th. Mr. M. died August 27th.'

"This places the date of Mr. Moorcroft's death beyond a doubt; and also, I think, affords negative evidence against the supposition of its having been caused by any unfair means.

"But the same paper is further interesting from an accidental coincidence. The Mirza, I have before mentioned, accompanied me from Tash Koorghan to Muzar, and in the course of conversation, which naturally turned in a great measure on the melancholy fate of Moorcroft's party, he said that, about a month before the death of Trebeck, he had one day gone to him, by desire of the Khan, to purchase some pearls which he heard he had. Trebeck produced the pearls; but, when questioned about the price, said, in a desponding tone, 'Take them for what you please; my heart is broken: what care I for price now?' The entry is this:—

Total on the strings	280 grs.
Oct. 15th. Taken by Mirza . . .	131 grs. or 4 miskals.
" 16th. Taken by Dewan Beghee .	33 grs. or 1 miskal.

"It will be observed no price is affixed: probably none was received. A stranger in a foreign land, far from the soothing voice of his countrymen or kinsfolk, surrounded by rude hordes, who looked on him as the only obstacle to possessing themselves of the countless treasures which they believed to be in his charge, his youthful spirit pined and sunk. The bright visions with which he had commenced his career had long since vanished; where he had looked for pleasures he had found toils; where for rest he had to guard against dangers; sickness had carried off many of the companions with whom he had set out; and when at last it struck his guide, his own familiar friend, to whom he looked for support under every adversity, and for rescue from every difficulty, and when in addition he found that all hopes of return to his native land seemed, if not cut off, at least indefinitely deferred,—his heart, as he too truly says, was broken, and in a few short weeks he sunk into an untimely grave. I should apologise for a digression unsuited, I confess, to the character of an official paper, but it is impossible to hear the warm terms in which poor Trebeck is still mentioned by the rude natives among whom he died, without feeling the deepest sympathy in the fate of one who fell

'So young, and yet so full of promise.'

"It is only necessary I should add one or two more observations. The account-book, which I now forward, is a valuable document in more respects than one. It contains an accurate list of the stock originally purchased by Mr. Moorcroft when starting for his journey, and will serve to modify considerably the

extravagant ideas that have been entertained of the quantities of goods which he carried. Taken in connection with the loose MS. accounts, it will serve also to evince that the greater part of this stock was sold off previous to his leaving Bokhara, and, as far as my information goes, I am inclined to believe the proceeds were chiefly expended in the purchase of horses, of which I understand he had when he died somewhat under a hundred, including specimens of all the best Uzbek and Toorkooman breeds.

"The account-book is further interesting, as containing, in Mr. Moorcroft's own handwriting, a list of the articles which he offered on his presentation to the King of Bokhara; and a note at the end, to the effect that the King had in return ordered him a remission of the duties on his merchandise, rather more than equaling the estimated value of the goods. It is further satisfactory to be able to add, on the authority of several Bokhara merchants who were on terms of intimacy with him during his stay in that city, that his character was highly appreciated by the King, who frequently sent for him to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation, and conferred on him the high privilege, never before granted to a Christian, of riding through the city, and even to the gate of the King's palace, on horseback.

"In addition to the list of his merchandise, this account-book contains also a list of his private property, which, it appears, Mr. Moorcroft was obliged by order of the Koosh Begee to make out on entering Bokhara. From this list we learn he possessed ninety volumes of books. The number I have recovered, and which I have now the honour to place at your disposal, is fifty-seven. Amongst them are several odd volumes, of which the sets, if complete, would give an addition of about thirty—total eighty-seven; so that there are probably not more than two or three volumes of which we may not consider ourselves to have ascertained the fate. As to MSS., I have already shown the high improbability that any of consequence have eluded our researches.

"Scattered through the printed volumes, numerous notes and corrections in Mr. Moorcroft's own handwriting will be found. Of these some, referring incidentally to the dangers of his journey, or laying down plans as to the route by which he meant to return, cannot be read without emotion.

"In conclusion, it is but justice to add that the impression everywhere left by this enterprising but ill-fated party has been in a high degree favourable to our national character.

"Translation of a letter from Mirza Humeeoodeen to P. B. Lord, Esq.:—

"'A. C. Two books and one MS. are in the city of Shuhr Subz. I have sent a person to bring them, and when they reach me I shall send them to you. In all things I will never forget your kind offices. Let me always hear of your welfare. Believe what this man says, and that I am your well-wisher. Dated Mohurrum, 1254, A. H.'"

While at Koondooz, Dr. Lord wrote a single sheet on the customs of the Uzbeks, which I give entire, as illustrative of their manners:—

"At weddings, a party of the friends of the bride and bridegroom, provided with large quantities of flour mixed with ashes, meet in the open plain, and have a grand engagement until one party is obliged to turn and fly. After that, peace is made; and they both join at a great entertainment. Sometimes serious consequences arise if the beaten party get enraged. It is only a few years since the Mir's son, Malik Khan, married the daughter of Nuzry Min Bashee, a Kutaghan of his own tribe of Kaysumúr. On this occasion each party came provided with twenty-one jowals of wheat and an equal quantity of ashes, the Mir himself heading his own party: he was beaten, and pursued about two kos from the field; when, suddenly losing his temper, he turned about, and ordered his party to draw swords and charge, to the no little dismay, it may be supposed, of the victor. Some white-beards, however, interfered, and prevented the effusion of blood.

"Men here sell their wives, if they get tired of them. This is by no means uncommon; but the man is obliged to make the first offer of her to her family,

naming the price, which if they do not give, he is at liberty to sell her to any one else. On the death of a man his wives all become the property of his next brother; who may marry them or sell them, giving the pre-option, as before, to their own families.

"Jándad, a Kaboolee Attari, to whom I spoke of the custom of selling wives, which I did not entirely credit, said, 'I'll tell you what happened to myself. I was one day returning from Khanuabad; and, being overtaken by darkness, halted for the night at Turnab, three kos short of this. After feeding my horse and going to the house for shelter, I found three men busily engaged; and, inquiring the subject of their conversation, was told that one of them was selling his wife to the other, but that they had not agreed about terms. Meantime, Khúda Bérdí Ming, Bashí and chief of the village, came in, and whispered to me that, if I could go halves with him, he would purchase the woman, as he had seen her and found her very beautiful. I agreed; upon which we purchased her for seventy rupees, thirty-five each, and she went home with me for that night. Next morning Khúda Bérdi came, and said that partnership in a woman was a bad thing, and asked me how I intended to manage. I said she should stay with me one month, and then go to him next. To that he would by no means agree; because, if sons or daughters were born, there would be disputes to know to whom they belonged. "In short," said he, "either do you give me five rupees profit on my share, and take her altogether, or I will give you the same profit on your share, and she shall be altogether mine." To this latter alternative I consented; and she is now living with him, as every one well knows.'

"A man who has a daughter marriageable must give intimation of it to the Mir, who sends his chief eunuch to inspect her: if handsome, he takes her; if not, he gives permission that she should marry another.

"Every man who meets the Mir out riding dismounts as he passes, and gives him the 'salâm alaikúm.' The rulers of districts, and other employés, are expected to come at least four or five times a-year to make their salâm. The mode is,—on entering the door each shouts out 'Salâm alaikúm' as loud as he can; then runs forward, falls on his knees, and, taking the Mir's hand between both of his, places it to his forehead, or kisses it, I could not clearly see which, and exclaiming 'Tukseer' (pardon me), retires to the wall, where he stands, and answers any questions the Mir may ask about his government; after which he mixes with the crowd, or walks out as soon as he pleases. On these occasions an offering is brought,—horses, slaves, &c.,—which are paraded for the Mir's approval.

"A child is circumcised at the age of seven or ten years. This is a time of the greatest festivity among the Uzbeks; and on such occasions considerable expense is incurred, and feasts given which last fifteen or twenty days. The eating is truly enormous; but, indeed, to our ideas, it is always so: two Uzbeks not unfrequently devouring an entire sheep, with a proportional quantity of rice, bread, ghee, &c., between them; and afterwards cramming in water-melons, musk-melons, or other fruit: but these they say go for nothing, being only water. On the occasions to which I have referred horse-racing is a favourite amusement, and the horses for the purpose are generally trained for a fortnight or three weeks preceding; and they require this—for a race here is not a matter of one or two mile heats, but a regular continued run for twenty or twenty-five kos (forty or fifty miles) across the country, sometimes wading through morasses and swimming rivers, but more frequently crossing their magnificent extended plains; one of which, as level as our best race-courses and with a beautiful green turf covering, not unfrequently extends the entire distance to be run. The scene on these occasions is highly animated, as not only the racers, generally about twenty in number, set off, but the whole of the sporting assembly, perhaps 100, or even 500 in number, accompany them, at least for the first three or four miles. A judge has been sent on in advance, and the competitors seldom return till the next day. The prizes are certainly worth some exertion; and in one case, when the donor was a

man of good substance, they were as follows: the first, and most classical, was a young maiden, generally a Huzarah or Chitrali, both prized for their personal attractions; the second, fifty sheep; the third, a boy; the fourth, a horse; the fifth, a camel; the sixth, a cow; and the seventh, a *water-melon*; the winner of which becomes an object of ridicule and banter for the rest of the meeting.

"Another and more amusing kind of race is the following:—One man places a goat on the horse before him, and sets off at full gallop; fifteen or twenty others immediately start off after him, and whichever of these can seize the goat, and get safe off with it beyond the reach of the rest, retains it for his prize. The rapidity with which the goat sometimes changes masters is very laughable; but the poor animal is occasionally torn to pieces in the scuffle.

"A third game, called Kubach, requires no little dexterity in the use of fire-arms, and, indeed, looking at the wretched matchlocks which they usually carry, I doubt whether success in it can ever be more than a matter of chance. A kuddoo (a small kind of gourd), hollowed out and filled with flour, is erected on the top of a pole two spears high. Those who are to make trial of their skill stand in a row, about four hundred yards distant, and each in succession, putting his horse to full speed, discharges his matchlock at the object whenever he pleases. Most fire when just under it, others on the advance; but the acmé of perfection is to turn round on your horse and strike it after you have passed. The flour flying out at once proclaims success, and the victor at this sport is rewarded with one hundred rupees, and a khillât, or dress of honour. The prize is generally given by the Mir himself, when he happens to be present on those occasions.

"On an attentive examination, I fully satisfied myself that anything like deliberate aim was totally out of the question; even the Uzbeks themselves, when questioned, admitted that it was all by chance."

These interesting details were not, however, the full fruit of Dr. Lord's labours at Koondooz. He accidentally heard from my old friend Atmá Dewán Begee, the minister of the chief of Koondooz, that he had in his possession two silver plates, or, rather, pateræ, which he had procured from the family of the dethroned chiefs of Budukhshán, who claim descent from Alexander. My poor friend soon made these two treasures his own, and was justly proud of possessing them. One of these pateræ represents the triumphal procession of the Grecian Bacchus, and is of exquisite workmanship: the subject of the other is Sapor slaying the Lion. It is in the style of the monuments at Persepolis, and is less chaste than its companion. I have no hesitation in assigning them to the age of Bactria, from their appearance and the site in which they were found.

I received Dr. Lord's permission, very shortly before his death, to present the first of these pateræ, and some valuable coins, to the Museum at the India House, where they now are. The other relic is at present in my own possession. In coins also Lord's fortune was singularly great, as he procured, from the same quarter, one which is as yet quite unique. It is figured on the plate; and with the gay words in which the lamented discoverer described his treasure I will conclude this long chapter:—"Pends-toi, brave Crillon; nous avons combattu, et tu n'étais pas. I have got such an Eucratides! The great king, Eucratides, with a helmeted head on the obverse (God knows, it may be reverse for all I know), and on the other side the same king with a more melancholy expression of countenance,—no doubt of the cause, for this time he is accompanied by his wife,—two busts on one side, inscription of Eucratides, the son of Heliocles and Laodice. There's something for an article in Prinsep for you." And to the Journal of that ever-to-be-lamented individual I must refer for the article which he did send forth regarding this rarest of all Bactrian reliques.

CHAPTER IX.

The Siah-poosh Kaffirs—Character and customs—Mode of life—Language—Inscriptions at Bajour—Idols—Cashgar—Commerce—Climate—Clouds of red dust—The hot sand of Aksoo—Khoten—Kokan—Maimanu—Andkho—Shibbergam—Siripool—Akehu—Huzara country—Population and descent—Customs—Curious tradition.

I will now digress for a while, and revert to the information which I gathered at Cabool relating to some of the countries north of Hindoo Koosh: it is not, however, my intention to carry the reader over any of the ground of which Lieutenant Wood has treated. I shall endeavour to bear in mind the true spirit of general geography, as defined by the illustrious Rennell, and contemplate not only the objects immediately in view, but direct inquiry to all around. To none did I more anxiously turn my attention than to the Siah-poosh Kaffirs, who occupy the mountainous regions of Northern Afghanistan, and whose history and condition have excited so much interest. In Cabool I met several Kaffirs who had been captured at an advanced age, and were still familiar with the language and manners of their countrymen. I also saw people, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, who had visited the habitations of the Kaffirs, and I had thus an opportunity of hearing what these people thought of themselves, and also how they were viewed by foreigners. The account of the Kaffirs given by Mr. Elphinstone renders it unnecessary for me to repeat many of the details which I received, and which corroborated his statements: on these therefore I shall not touch, my object being to improve our present knowledge, and clear up, if possible, some of the obscurity which still exists.

In speaking of their nation the Kaffirs designate themselves, as the Mahomedans do, Kaffirs, with which name they, of course, do not couple any opprobrious meaning, though it implies infidel. They consider themselves descended of one Korushye, and their Mahomedan neighbours either corrupt the word, or assign them a lineage from Koreish, one of the noblest of the tribes of Arabia, to the language of which country they further state that of the Kaffirs to be allied. A Kaffir assured me that his tribe looked upon all men as brothers who wore ringlets and drank wine.* They have no definite idea of the surrounding countries, Bajour and Kooner, to the south, being the limits of their geographical knowledge. They have no books, nor is reading or writing known in the nation, so that they have no written traditions. Their country has many table-lands, some of which extend for fifteen or twenty miles, and on these there are always villages: Wygul and Camdeesh are on one of those plateaux, and eastward of the latter lies the country of the Mahomedans. The winter is severe, but in summer grapes ripen in great abundance.

The words of a young Kaffir, about eighteen years of age, now in Cabool, will afford the best explanation of many of their customs. His name, as a Kaffir, was Deenbur, as a Mahomedan it has been changed to Fureedoon. He fell into the hands of the Mahomedans eighteen months since, by losing his road when passing from his native village of Wygul to Gimeer, to visit a relative. He is a remarkably handsome young man, tall, with regular Grecian features, blue eyes, and fair complexion, and is now a slave of Dost Mahomed Khan. I give an accurate portrait of him, and the costume of his country as he described it. Two other Kaffir boys, eight and nine years old, who came with him, had ruddy complexions, hazel eyes,

* Since the British entered Afghanistan one of the Kaffirs, near Jullalabad, sent a congratulatory message at the arrival of so many Kaffir brethren as ourselves!

and auburn hair. They had high cheek-bones and less regular features, but still they were handsome and extremely intelligent. Their Kaffir names were Teeuzeer and Choudur, and that of their mothers Rajmal and Biaspagly. None of these three Kaffirs, or two others whom I saw, had any resemblance to the Afghans or even Cashmerians. They looked a distinct race, as the most superficial observer must have remarked on seeing them.

Deenbur said that there was no chief of the Kaffirs, but that great men were called Sabuninash. They do not appear to carry on any combined operations against their neighbours, but retaliate upon them when an invasion of their frontier takes place: they are very inveterate against the Mahomedans, and give no quarter to captives. They possess great ability and activity, qualities which their enemies accord to them. Mahomedans seldom venture to enter their country as travellers, but Hindoos go as merchants and beggars (fakeers), and are not ill-used. I met a Mahomedan who had passed into Budukhshan and was not molested. In killing animals for food, the Kaffirs use no ceremonies: they sacrifice cows and goats to Doghan, the Supreme Being, particularly at a great festival which occurs in the beginning of April, and lasts for ten days. They have idols, and know the Hindoo god, Mahdeo, by name; but they all eat beef, and have either lost their Hindoo belief, or never had anything in common with it. They neither burn nor bury their dead, but place the body in a box, arrayed in a fine dress, which consists of goat-skins or Cashgar woollens: they then remove it to the summit of a hill near the village, where it is placed on the ground, but never interred. Kaffir females till the land: in eating, the men sit apart from the women. They have no tables: the dish containing the meal is placed on a tripod, made of iron rods, of which Deenbur and his companions made a model for me with twigs. They assemble round this and eat, sitting on stools or chairs without backs. They are very fond of honey, wine, and vinegar, all of which they have in abundance. They have no domestic fowls; nor is there a horse in their country: wheat and barley are their grains: there is no juwaree. They are very fond of music and dancing; but in dancing, as in eating, the men separate themselves from the women, and the dance of the one sex differs from that of the other. Both were exhibited to me: that of the men consists of three hops on one foot and then a stamp: the women place their hands on their shoulders and leap with both feet, going round in a circle. Their musical instruments are one of two strings, and a kind of drum.

By Deenbur's account, the mode of life among the Kaffirs would appear to be social, since they frequently assemble at each other's houses, or under the trees which embosom them, and have drinking parties. They drink from silver cups—trophies of their spoils in war. The wine, which is both light and dark, will keep for years, and is made by expressing the juice of the grape under the feet into a large earthen jar, which is described to be of delicate workmanship. Old and young of both sexes drink wine, and grape-juice is given to children at the breast. A Kaffir slave-girl, who became a mother shortly after her arrival in Cabool, demanded wine or vinegar on the birth of her child; the latter was given to her: she caused five or six walnuts to be burned and put into it, drank it off, and refused every other luxury.

The costume of the nation is better explained by a sketch than it can be by description. A successful warrior adds to it a waistband, ornamented with a small bell for every Mahomedan he has killed. His daughter has the privilege of wearing certain ornaments entwined in her hair, made of sea-shells or cowries, which no one else can put on without signal punishment. A Hindoo, who was present at a Kaffir marriage, informed me that the bridegroom had his food given to him behind his back, because he had not killed a Mahomedan. Enmities frequently arise among them; but the most deadly feud may be extinguished by one of the parties kissing the nipple of his antagonist's left breast, as being typical of drinking the milk of friendship. The other party then returns the compliment by kissing the suitor on the head, when they become friends till death. The Kaffirs do not

sell their children to Mahomedans, though a man in distress may sometimes dispose of his servant, or steal a neighbour's child and sell it.

I asked my eldest Kaffir informant if he regretted the loss of his country? and he at once replied that *there* Kaffir customs were best, but *here* he preferred those of Mahomed. He had, however, imbibed a taste for Islam; and observed, that here there was religion, and in his country none. He told me a singular fact of a Kaffir relative of his own, named Shubood, who had been captured, and, becoming a Moollah, travelled, under the name of Korosh, into India, returned about three years ago into Kaffiristan, when he made known many things to the Kaffirs which they never before heard. After a short stay he wished to quit the country, but he was not permitted. The names of the places which Deenbur remembered were Wygul, Gimeer, Cheemee, Kaygul, Minchgul, Ameeshdesh Jamuj, Nishaigram Richgul, Deree, Kuttar, Camdesh, Donggul Pendesh, Villegul, and Savendesh. It is, however, believed that all the inhabitants of Dura i Noor, and other defiles of Hindoo Koosh, north of Cabool and Jullálábád, are converted Kaffirs, which their appearance and language seem to bear out.

The language of the Kaffirs is altogether unintelligible to Hindoos, as well as to their Uzbek and Afghan neighbours. Some of its sounds—soft labials—are scarcely to be pronounced by an European. They are set down as spoken by Deenbur. The short sentences which follow the vocabulary bear, however, an evident affinity to the languages of the Hindoo stock. As the Kaffirs have no written characters, I give them in an English dress. When in the Kohistan of Cabool, near Punjsheer, I had an opportunity of meeting some of the people who speak Pushye, which resembles the dialect of the Kaffirs, as may be supposed from their proximity to them; and, as will be seen in the vocabulary, Pushye is spoken in eight villages named as follows: 1. Eshpein; 2. Eshkein; 3. Soudur; 4. Alisye; 5. Ghyn; 6. Doornama; 7. Doora i Pootta; and 8. Mulaikir;—all of which are situated among or near the seven valleys of Nijrow. The Pushyes are considered a kind of Tajiks by the Afghans.

I have stated the account which the Kaffirs give of themselves: I received the following additional particulars from a Mahomedan who had visited four villages, named Kutar, Gimeer, Deeos, and Sao, all of which are beyond the frontier hamlet of Kmanool, which is inhabited by Neemches Mussulmans, and lies north of Jallálábád. He described the Kaffirs as a merry race, without care; and hoped he would not be considered disrespectful when he stated that he had never seen people more resembling Europeans in their intelligence, habits, and appearance, as well as in their gay and familiar tone over their wine. They have all tight clothes, sit on leathern stools, and are exceedingly hospitable. They always give wine to a stranger; and it is often put in pitchers, like water, at public places, which any one may drink. To ensure a supply of it, they have very strict regulations to prevent the grapes being cut before a certain day. My informant considered the country of the Kaffirs quite open to a traveller if he got a Kaffir to be his security. They have no ferocity of disposition, however barbarous some of their customs may appear; and, besides the mode of ensuring forgiveness already described, he stated that, if a Kaffir has killed ten men of the tribe, he can appease the anger of his enemies by throwing down his knife before them, trampling on it, and kneeling.

Besides my Mahomedan informant, I met a Hindoo at Peshawur who had penetrated into that part of the Kaffir country which is about twenty-five miles beyond Chughansuraee, where he resided for eleven days. Some of his observations are curious. He was protected by a Kaffir, and experienced no difficulties; but he would not have been permitted to go among the more distant Kaffirs: had he attempted to do so, he would either have been killed or compelled to marry and live permanently among them. He was not however convinced of the impracticability of the journey, being kindly treated as far as he went, and admitted to their houses. He saw their dancing, and describes them as being a race of exquisite

beauty, with arched eyebrows and fine complexions. These Kaffirs allow a lock of hair to grow on the right side of their head; and the Hindoo declared that they were of his own creed, as they knew Seva. They had bows and arrows for defence: they pulled the string of the bow with their toes, and their arrows had heads like drooping lilies. Their country had many flowers, and much shade: numerous coins are found in it, resembling those to be procured about Bajour, and some of which have Grecian inscriptions. The worthy Hindoo insisted upon its being a fact that the Kaffirs sold their daughters to Mahomedans according to their size, twenty rupees per span being considered a fair valuation! There is certainly no difficulty in procuring Kaffir slaves; and the high prices which are readily given for them may have induced these poor people, who closely adjoin the Mahomedan countries, to enter upon this unnatural traffic.

But by far the most singular of all the visitors to the Kaffir country of whom I have heard was an individual who went into it from Cabool about the year 1829. He arrived from Candahar, and gave himself out to be a Gubr, or fire-worshipper, and an Ibraheemee, or follower of Abraham, from Persia, who had come to examine the Kaffir country, where he expected to find traces of his ancestors. He associated, whilst in Cabool, with the Armenians, and called himself Shuhryar, which is a name current among the Parsees of these days. His host used every argument to dissuade him from going on such a dangerous journey, but in vain; and he proceeded to Jullálábád and Lughman, where he left his property, and entered the Kaffir country as a mendicant, by way of Nujjeel, and was absent for some months. On his return, after quitting Kaffiristan, he was barbarously murdered by the neighbouring Huzárás of the Ali Purust tribe, whose malik, Oosmán, was so incensed at his countrymen's conduct, that he exacted a fine of 2000 rupees as the price of his blood. All these facts were communicated to me by the Armenians in Cabool; but whether poor Shuhryar was a Bombay Parsee or a Persian Gubr I could not discover, though I am disposed to believe him to have been the latter, as he carried along with him a "rukum," or document from the Shah of Persia. The death of this successful sojourner among the Kaffir tribes is a subject of deep regret; but it holds out a hope that some one may follow the adventurous example of the disciple of Zoroaster, and yet visit the Kaffirs in their native glens. I know not what could have given rise to an identification of the Kaffir race with that of ancient Persia, unless it be the mode of disposing of their dead on hills without interment: but there are certainly traditions all over Afghanistan regarding the Gubrs, or fire-worshippers; and one of their principal cities, called Gurdez, in Zoormut, south of Cabool, yet exists, and even in Baber's time was a place of considerable strength.

The country of the Kaffirs and the districts which adjoin it have also been entered and passed through by many wandering jewellers. One of these individuals had visited Cashgar, beyond Deer; and proceeded thence to the town of Shah Kuttore, under Chitral, and on to Budukhshan, habited as a fakeer, or devotee. He always received bread when he asked for it, but could not with safety have made himself known. The account of this man's journey, and of what he saw during it, is curious. Near a "zyarut," or place of pilgrimage, at Bajour, there is an inscription: I take it to be old Sanscrit. About two miles beyond that place is another inscription; and between the village of Deer and Arab Khan, towards Cashgar, there is a third, at a point where the road is cut through the hill for some yards: it commemorates the fame of the engineer. Koteegiram is an ancient place, a day's march from Deer, and two days' journey from Bajour. There is a small idol cut in black stone, and attached to the rock: it is in a sitting posture, about two feet and a half high, and is said to have a helmet on its head, similar to what is seen on the coins from Bajour. It may be a Hindoo figure, for the tribe holds it sacred: but idols are frequently dug up in all parts of this country; and a small one, eight or nine inches high, cut in stone, was brought to me from Swat, which represented a pot-bellied figure, half seated, with crossed arms, and a hand placed on its head.

Such idols are also found at a "tope" in the plain of Peshawur; and whether they represent Bacchus, or some less celebrated hero, antiquarians must determine. But to continue the jeweller's rambles. At Cashgar he purchased rock crystal (beloor) from the shepherds, who, in their simplicity, believe it to be the frozen ice of a hundred years! *In situ* a maund of it costs twenty rupees; and he doubled his outlay on returning by making it into seals and armlets. It is exported to China, as buttons for the caps of the Mandarins. From Cashgar he proceeded onwards to Budukhshan, for lapis-lazuli and rubies: on his route, after leaving Cashgar, he crossed the river that passes Chitral, here called Kooner. In three days he came to a hill called "Koh-i-Noogsan," or the hill of injury, down which he slid upon the frozen snow, on a leathern shirt, and came to a bridge, which however was not on the high road.

I was so much pleased with the account of this new and interesting journey, that I prevailed on the man to make a second, and to attend to such instructions as I should give him regarding copies of the inscriptions. One which he brought from Swat, consists of only one line, and is in Pali. The inscriptions, however, of Kupoordeeguree, north of Peshawur, which he also brought, were by far the most valuable: they consisted of five lines; and I should have given a drawing of them had not Mr. Masson subsequently visited that place, cleared away much that hid the stone, and taken a perfect copy of a very extensive inscription which he will doubtless give to the public.

From these quarters, so full of interest, let me carry the reader beyond the mountains, and record a few particulars which were related to me regarding the more remote countries of Cashgar, &c., subject to the Chinese. The town of Cashgar is held by a detachment of Chinese, but the duties leviable at it are received by the Khan of Kokan, who has his Mahomedan officers stationed there. This arrangement has resulted from the late differences between the states; and it is not unlike the usage of the British in India towards their frontier states. The garrison occupies a separate fort, called by the Mahomedans Gool-Bagh, which I understand is a general name for forts similarly occupied. All traffic is carried on inside the Gool-Bagh, none being allowed outside; and each person on entering receives a small piece of wood, which is tied to his waist, and must be returned on coming out. If it is found in the evening that the number of sticks issued does not tally with those received back, the strictest search is instituted. All the houses have bells at their doors, which are rung by a customer before he can get in. The strength of the garrison is about 3000 Chinese, not Toonganees, as I have elsewhere erroneously called the soldiers, whereas such is only the designation of the people of the country, who are Soonees. They live in great fear of their Mahomedan neighbours, although ambassadors have been sent from and to Bokhara and Pekin. There seems, however, to be more communication between Russia and these countries than is generally imagined. Native Russians and Armenians pass through Cashgar to Tibet, and even lower down; but the Chinese arrest the progress of all eastward of Yarkund. Opium finds its way by this route to the centre of the empire, and the trade in it increases annually. It is sent in sticks, and brought, I imagine, from Turkey, through a line of communication that may be improved upon. While such jealousy of others exists, the greatest encouragement is held out to trade in all its branches; and even if a Mahomedan debtor, fleeing from his creditors, takes refuge with the Chinese, he is at once given up, on application to the authorities. The mode of punishing their own culprits is by placing a wooden collar round the neck of the offender, and labelling upon it his crime, and the period for which he is sentenced to wear it. The Chinese neither speak Persian nor Toorkee, and intercourse is carried on by means of interpreters. All dealings in money are made in yamoos or ingots of silver; but a copper coin is current, with a Chinese stamp on one side and a Mahomedan one on the other. The people of Cashgar itself are composed of Turks and Uzbeks, and visitors also arrive from Tibet and Cashmeer. A Mahomedan acquaintance of mine, who

had visited Cashgar, divided its people into three races. First: those who burn their dead; second, those who bury them; and third, those who put their dead in coffins and send them inland: but I imagine the good traveller's distinctions were somewhat fanciful. The climate is described as very dry: rain seldom falls. A phenomenon regarding the harvest, if correctly reported, is singular. Its productiveness, it is said, depends upon the clouds of red dust which always fall or are blown in this part of Asia. The soil is saline, and is said to be benefited by this admixture of foreign earth. The clouds of dust in Toorkistan are tremendous, but I had not heard of their existing to such an extent as here described, and the statement requires confirmation. Another object of curiosity in these parts is the hot sand, about ten miles from Aksoo, on which food can be cooked. I imagine it is the result of some subterraneous heat, such as at Bakou on the Caspian, and other places.

I could gather few particulars of the country of Khoten, lying to the eastward of Cashgar; but I have little reliance on the reports, lately brought from that quarter, of the existence of a Parsee race, flourishing under all the institutions of Zoroaster. I have already given an instance of the rambling propensities of these people, and their hopes of finding traces of their kinsmen among the Kaffirs; but I fear the Parsee community of India must seek for their progenitors elsewhere than in Khoten.

As I have hitherto spoken but briefly of Kokan, the country lying to the west of Cashgar, I will now mention a few particulars regarding it. The power of its chief or khan, Mohamed Ali, is on the ascendant, as he has established his influence over Tashkend, the town of Toorkistan, and all the cultivated country north of Kokan, and over many of the Kuzzak tribes between him and Russia. To the south, the small district of Durwaz is disputed by the Khan and the Mir of Koondooz. There is not much intercourse with Bokhara, but the communication between Kokan and Constantinople is more regular than that of the other states of Toorkistan. The political connection with China leads to an interchange of presents: the Chinese have hitherto sent more valuable gifts than they have received, and all the articles are given in sets of nine, a favourite number among this people. The government is well spoken of, though the Khan, like his brother of Bokhara, is dissipated. A colony of Jews has lately settled in the country, at the towns of Namghan and Marghilan: they pay a poll-tax as Hindoos, and are chiefly engaged in dyeing. Kokan itself, though not nearly so populous as Bokhara, is said to occupy as much ground, its gardens being extensive. Several new bazars and mosques have of late been built, and the town itself lies on both sides of the river Sir, which is fordable above Namghan. There is a very ancient city to the north of it, two days' journey distant, called Choost, which enjoys a fine climate, and from which many antiquities are brought. Kokan is celebrated in Central Asia for three things—a kind of ruby, which was discovered some sixteen or seventeen years ago, but is inferior to that of Budukhshan—the "sung-i-shuftaloo," or plum-stone, so called from resembling that fruit in shape, though its colour is white—and a kind of verdigris: coal also exists in its eastern districts. The country between Kokan and Cashgar is very elevated, and has pine-trees. The road leads by the Osh-i-Sooleeman or Solomon's throne, and the journey is one of twelve days.

Changing the scene of my inquiries, I shall now describe those small states north of Hindoo Koosh, and beyond Balkh, on which our information is defective. These are Maimanu, Andkho, Shibbergam, Siripool, and Akhchu, which are all noted for little but internal quarrels, and being active agents in the slave-trade. They are situated in a plain country, well watered by rills or canals, and having abundance of forage. Near the towns are many gardens: the houses are all of the bee-hive shape. Maimanu is the most important of the whole: the chief is Mizrab Khan, an Uzbek of the tribe of Wun, and his country extends from Maimanu to the Moorghab, and adjoins that of Shere Mahomed Khan Huzara. Maimanu

itself is an open town, or rather village, of about 1500 houses; but the strength of the chief consists of his "ils," or moving population, who frequent Umar, Tankira, Sorbagh, Kaffir Khijrabad, Kusur, Chuchakkoo, Tukht-i-Khatoon, and other sites which can scarcaly be called villages. He also numbers Arabs among his subjects, many of that tribe having been long settled there. With his whole adherents drawn out he could muster about 6000 horse and three small guns, but he could never quit his territories with half the number, as he is on bad terms with the chief of Siripool, who is much feared, though less powerful. Mizrab Khan is about forty years of age: he succeeded his brother six years ago, whom he poisoned —a common mode of disposing of people in these countries, and a fate which his own father also met.

Andkho, or Andkhoee, is ruled by Shah Wulee Khan, an Ufshur Toork, who settled here with others of his tribe in the time of Nadir: they were then Shiahs, but are now Soonees. The "ils" of the chief, besides his own race, are Arabs, and he can furnish 500 horse, and is on good terms with Maimanu. Andkho has a larger fixed population than Maimanu, being on one of the high roads to Bokhara, but there is a scarcity of water in this district. It is here that the wheat is a triennial plant. Andkho is the place were poor Moorcroft perished. Shibbergam belongs to an Uzbek chief named Roostum, who has a character for moderation: he can muster 500 or 600 horse, and is on good terms with both Maimanu and Koondooz. Shibbergam is considered to be a very ancient place, being supposed to date from the days of the Kaffirs (Greeks), and is still the strongest fort in these parts. The ark or citadel is built of brick and mortar, and surrounded by other walls of mud. Killich Ali Beg, the late chief of Balkh, besieged it for seven years without success; but it must be understood that it is only strong against Uzbeks, who are badly supplied with artillery. Water is conducted to it from the rivulet of Siripool.

Troolfkar Shere, an Uzbek of the tribe of Achumûillee, governs Siripool, and is known as a brave and determined man. He is on bad terms both with Koondooz and Maimanu; and though he has only 1000 horse, he resists the attacks of both those chiefs, and plunders in all directions. His feud with Maimanu arose on account of his daughter, a wife of the former chief, being seized by Mizrab Khan. His "ils" are in Sungcharuk, Paogeen, Goordewan, and Dughdral; and if he can enlarge their number, which is not improbable, his power will become formidable. Siripool itself is as large as Maimanu.

Akhchu is a dependency of Balkh, and held by a son of Eshan Khoja, the governor of that once vast city: it is consequently tributary to Bokhara. The governor of Balkh, through fear, lately permitted Moorad Beg of Koondooz to establish himself on one of the canals of Balkh; but the king of Bokhara sent a force of 8000 men and dislodged him. Half of this body was raised in Balkh, and the rest from Bokhara. The Koondooz chief offered no resistance to the king.

South of these districts, and between Cabool and Herat, lies the hilly country of the Huzaras, or, as it is called, the Huzarajat. An obscurity* hangs over the settlement of this race among the Afghans; and, without hoping to clear it up, I will place before the reader my notes regarding them.

The Huzaras are distributed as in the following pages, giving the population in round numbers:—

	No. of Families.	
Dehzungee.		
Buchu Ghoolam	3000	
Yanghoor	4000	
Tukuna	1500	
	——	8,500

* After all, as the Huzaras are of the Mongolian race, and adjoin the Uzbeks, their location in their present site is not very extraordinary: their language, which is Persian, is a more remarkable feature in their history.

		No. of Families.
Brought forward		8,500
Sepa		4,000
Dih Koondee.		
Doulut Beg	5000	
Roushun Beg	2500	
Hyder Beg	1500	
Chaoosh	1000	
Burat	500	
	——	10,500
Dih Choupan, or Zurdaloo, near Kara Bagh.		
Bobuk	1000	
Bihbood	1000	
Aldye	500	
Chardustu	1000	
	——	3,500
Tatar and Hubush		1,500
Fouladee, Do.		1,000
Kaloo		750
Toorkmun and Parsa, behind the Pughman Range		750
Shaikh Ali of Ghorbund, half Soonees, half Shiahs		5,000
Bulktiaree, near Ghuzni.		
Allahodeen	750	
Islam	500	
Eeshukee	500	
Kimloot	500	
Shukhu	250	
	——	2,500
Jaghoree.		
Boobuk	5000	
Culendur	4000	
	——	9,000
Malistan	2500	
Hoojuristan	2500	
Zoulee	1000	
	——	6,000
Chukmuk of Gizon, near Candahar		1,200
Paruka		1,200
Beshood south of Bameean.		
Kulsitan	2000	
Sugpa and Doulutpa	1000	
Durweish Ali	2000	
Junglye	2000	
Bool Hussum	1500	
Boorjugye	1000	
Dihkan	1000	
Dih Murdagan	1000	
	——	11,500
Grand Total		66,900

The Huzaras of Dihzungee are nearly independent: those of Dih-Koondee altogether so. At Kara Bagh they come down upon the plains beyond Ghuzni, and are subject to Cabool, as are those of Jaghooree, Beshood, and Fouladee. The Tatar and Hubush Huzaras lie between Bameean and Koondoos. All these are Shiahs, excepting the Huzaras under Herat, and half of those who live in Ghorbund.

The Huzaras state themselves to be descended from two brothers, Sadik Kumr

and Sadik Soika, Sadik being a title among them. They are particularly mentioned in the annals of Jingis Khan's wars; and 3000 families are said to have been left by this conqueror, and 1000 by Timourlane. The Huzaras themselves claim descent from the Toghianee Toorks: some, however, of those who live at Dih-Koondee deduce their lineage from a Koresh Arab; others from the Kibtee, a race coeval with the Jews. The Fouladee Huzaras of Hoojuristan are said to be so called from a daughter of Afsariab. The Shekh Ali Huzaras, according to their own account, have been located there from the time of Burbur the Infidel.

The Huzaras are a race of good disposition; but are oppressed by all the neighbouring nations, whom they serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Many of them are sold into slavery; and there is little doubt that they barter their children for cloth and necessaries to the Uzbeks. All the drudgery and work in Cabool is done by Huzaras, some of whom are slaves and some free: in winter there are not less than ten thousand who reside in the city, and gain a livelihood by clearing the roofs of snow and acting as porters. They make good servants; but in their native hills their simplicity is great. A Syud, who had been much among them, tells me that, if he bared his head, they did the same. They are fond of music. Their chiefs are called Mirs, and, towards Toorkistan, sometimes Begs: the women of rank are addressed Agha: they go unveiled, and wear two or three loongees on the head, like a tiara. The report which has been spread of their giving their wives to their guests is not true of the race generally: but inquiries have established that it is the practice of some of the Jaghoorees, who are in consequence fast losing their Tartar features. Throughout this tribe a stranger may marry for a night or a week, and either leave his wife or take her along with him; but this is only according to Shiah usages. The property of the Huzaras consists of sheep; and they manufacture from their wool good carpets, and also the fabric called "burruk." Except in the warmer parts of their country, they have few gardens. They are without a chief: had this not been the case they might have become a powerful race, but of this there is now little probability, though they would, if under discipline, make brave and good soldiers.

Note.—The following tradition, for which I am indebted to Mr. Leech, is current in Afghanistan regarding the Huzaras:—

"In the time when Balkh, as well as the country now called Hazarajat, was under a Hindoo king called Burbur, (the remains of his imperial city of the same name are still to be seen near Bameean,) he bought a thousand Huzara (slaves), to throw a dam across the river which passed his city of Burbur, which is said to have been fed by 72 streams; but all his dams were carried away. Aly, the son of Aboo Taleeb, called by the Mahomedans Sha i Mardan (the king of men), was one Friday returning from prayers with his cousin Mahomed, the Arabian Prophet, when he was accosted by a beggar, asking for alms in the name of God; Aly answered he had no money, but requested the beggar to sell him. From this proposal the beggar recoiled with religious horror; but, on Aly insisting, he consented. Aly requested him to place his foot on his, and shut his eyes; in a moment the beggar was transported by the Imam to the city and kingdom of Burbur. The beggar took him before the king for sale, who consented to buy him for his weight in gold provided he would perform three acts: 1. Build a dam over the river; 2. Kill a dragon that infested the country; 3. Bring Aly, the cousin of the Prophet, bound before him. This being agreed to, the beggar bore away the enormous price of his benefactor. Hazrat Aly first applied himself to the building of the dam. Taking with him the thousand slaves of the king, he examined the spot: the mountain through which the river flowed projected over the river; with one stroke of his sword he made a huge cleft, and with his foot precipitated the mass into the stream so dexterously that every drop of the river was stopped from flowing. The slaves fled in terror to the king, and told him of the miracle that had been wrought. The inhabitants, seeing that Aly had done more than they requested, as he had not only saved the city from floods, but had cut off the irrigation of their lands, entreated him to plan a remedy: this he soon effected by a stroke of his hand, the five fingers making five sluice-gates. He afterwards killed the dragon, by jumping on his stomach; and brought a strip of the back for Burbur, as a trophy. The king asked him then to perform the third agreement: Aly requested the attendants to

bind him, and discovered himself to Burbur, who was extremely delighted, of course, as he had for some time been plotting a campaign against the same Aly in his own country. As he was about to order him to be conveyed to prison, Aly burst his chains, and, drawing his sword, called upon them to become converts to the true faith. His sword being, like the shield of Achilles, of immortal workmanship, it soon effected the conversion of Burbur and his people. Taking the beggar with him, he returned to Medina, and arrived there three hours after his departure from that city."

CHAPTER X.

Our occupations at Cabool—Visit to "a Country-Gentleman"—His estate—Our party—A Moollah—His ingenuity—Visit to the Mirza—Peculiar science—Summary marriage—Riches a proof of ability—Ladies of Cabool—Employments—Ameer's sisters—A murder and punishment—Courageous female—The winter season—Lohanee merchants—Cruelty of the King of Bokhara—Horrid dungeons—Acquaintance of Mr. Elphinstone—The Ramazan—Opinions on death—Belief in dreams—Traditions—A Persian envoy—His adventures—Rejoicings—a Bokhara merchant's tea-party.

I TURN from distant countries to relate our own occupations at Cabool. During our leisure hours, and when freed from the discussions on politics, which day by day became more energetic and more lengthened, in consequence of the Persians having invested Herat, we made many new acquaintances, and visited our old ones. Among the latter was my Peshawur friend, Naib Mahomed Shureef, who, although a Kuzzilbash, appeared regardless of the dangers which threatened all his tribe from the vicinity of the Persians; and not only regularly visited us at our quarters, but invited us to his country-seat at Kurgha, eight miles from Cabool. On the 6th of November, Lieutenant Leech and I, gladly escaping from the bustle of the capital, accepted his invitation, and the Nuwab Jubar Khan, an Afghan Moollah, and two or three other persons from neighbouring forts, joined the party. Our host was in high spirits and excessively amusing. He assured us that in winter his estate was the warmest situation in the country, and in summer the coolest; that the view which it commanded of Chardih and Dih Muzung, and the valley lying between it and Cabool, was unrivalled; and if we objected to visit him in spring, when the trees were in blossom, he would tempt us out by saying that in summer the white leaves of the poplar rustling looked like buds; and that in winter the snow, as it fell in flakes on the trees, was not to be surpassed in beauty even by the peach-blossoms of Istalif. The house, indeed, was very agreeably situated, and commanded a charming prospect, being the reverse of the one which is seen from the Tomb of Baber, as that celebrated spot terminates the valley. The broad acres of the proprietor, which he told us had cost him upwards of a lac of rupees, were spread out before us; whilst, equidistant from us and Cabool, lay, in our rear, the fine valley of Pughman. Our host placed before us an abundant breakfast of kabobs, nicely served up, to which we did the amplest justice, and whiled away the rest of the morning in listening to his discussions on a vast variety of subjects, for he was a professed talker. He gave us a detail of his numerous ailments, and his unsuccessful search after a cure for them, until he found it in wine, which he pronounced to be a specific for all earthly maladies. The Moollah, in some long

Arabic sentences, protested strenuously against the use of such unholy medicine; upon which Shureef quietly asked if he expected him to refrain from a remedy when he had one in his power, and such a remedy too!—and then launched out in praise of a particular vintage which he and his brother had gathered in some years before. He then, with many a sigh, related how he had broken all the bottles of this matchless wine, for grief on account of that brother's death; and how well it was remembered by every man who had partaken of it, "Since two glasses of it set one asleep!" As the Naib appealed to me for my opinion on the subject, I told him that "Our notions of good wine consisted in being able to drink much without experiencing any bad effects." "A bad plan," said he; "for a man then must drink till he is as large as a butt: no, no, ours is the best test." The curiosity of the Moollah being aroused by this discussion, he begged I would prescribe for him something to improve his digestion, which all the party forthwith construed into a wish for wine, and great was the mirth which this gave rise to. The Moollah, being put upon his mettle, now turned his batteries of religion upon us, and poured out quotation upon quotation in praise of temperance and water-drinking, until he fairly beat us out of the field. Dinner, or rather lunch, was spread before us at about three o'clock, and we returned to Cabool much pleased with our party. Naib Shureef I may fairly designate as an Afghan country-gentleman. He goes to his villa in spring and summer, feeds his own sheep, cattle, and poultry; has a small village on his estate peopled by Huzaras, who assist him in his agricultural pursuits; burns lime on his own ground to repair his house; and has enclosed a large tract of ground, and planted it with fruit-trees which now produce abundantly. In this garden is the largest willow-tree known in the country, called, *par excellence*, "Mujnoon bed," beneath which he often seats his friends.

At Kurgha I observed the sheep turned in upon the young wheat-fields, and allowed to crop them. The water is first let in upon the land to freeze, and the flocks then browse upon the leaves, without injuring the plants, which indeed are said to grow up stronger in spring in consequence of the process. The orchards also were receiving their last irrigation, or, as it is called, "yuhkcheeab,"—ice-watering,—for by the first of November all the pools are frozen over.

On my return I had a visit from an acquaintance, Moollah Khodadad, who had been absent from the city for a short time settling the harvest revenue. He amused me by recounting the mode he had adopted to escape from being the political representative of Dost Mahomed Khan, an honour for which he had been singled out in consequence of his great abilities. It seems that, after the last battle with the Sikhs, Kooshal Sing, one of their officers, addressed the Ameer, suggesting the propriety of his sending a man of rank and knowledge to Peshawur to adjust their differences; and Khodadad was the fortunate wight selected, he not being in Dost Mahomed's service, nor knowing anything about it. A whisper reached him, he repaired to the Bala Hissar, and the friend who sat next him told him, in Afghanee, "that they had prepared a pannier (kujawa) for him," meaning that he was to be sent on a journey. Dost Mahomed conversed at large on what ought to be done; and, at length, looking to the Moollah, but without making any allusion to his having been fixed upon as his representative, said that some *proper* person should be sent. "You look towards me," said the wary Moollah; "shall I say what I think?" "Certainly." "Well, then," said Khodadad, "you have received a letter, and for it you propose to send an Elchee,—a reply to a letter should be a letter: besides, if any one is sent to Peshawur, the people will look upon it as springing from fear." Some of the courtiers loudly reprobated these arguments, declaring that they were founded in ignorance. "How many jars of water are in the fountain before you?" asked Khodadad. The courtiers all declared they did not know. "But I do," said the Moollah. The Ameer desired him to state how many there were. "That, my lord," he replied, "entirely depends on the size of the jar employed to measure it." This indirect allusion to the want of comprehension in his associates amused the Ameer and nettled them. The discussion

was broken off, and the deputation to the Sikh camp postponed *sine die*. It was only a few months after he had got out of this dilemma that the Moollah was actually nominated as Elchee to proceed to the court of Moorad Beg of Koondooz. "Look at my fortune," said he, with facetious gravity as he told me the story: "first they were going to send me to a Hindoo, and then to a robber; to make up for it, however, they styled me, in my credentials, 'of high rank, great fame, place, wealth,' and heaven knows what. Well, I thought I could make something of all this, so I went once more to the Bala Hissar, to converse with the Ameer. I observed to him that, if such titles and rank and glory were assigned to me, I had better be provided with equipages, attendants, and rich clothing, suitable for so great a man: for, as to myself, I had none of them; and that, if I went without them, the wise men of Koondooz would soon find out the contradictions between what I was and what I was said to be. I should be deemed an impostor, and his Highness's business would fare but badly." Dost Mahomed, it appears, had no reply to make to the erudite Khodadad; and therefore sent a certain Kumber Ali Khan in his stead, who, being a Kuzzilbash Shiah, was but scurvily treated at the Koondooz court. I warned my friend the Moollah not to be too confident: he had twice escaped, but the third appointment might be fatal; and I predicted that, in spite of all his ingenuity, he would yet find himself his country's representative abroad. It will be seen from this long story that the honour of being an ambassador, so much sought after in Europe, has not the same attraction in Asia. If, as it has been said, envoys are but clever men sent abroad to lie for their country, we might be disposed to applaud the Moollah's modesty and unconquerable love of truth; but the fact is, that there is here little reward attached to the rank, and still less honour. An ambassador is, however, almost always certain of good treatment; and there is a proverb among the Afghans which enjoins it.

The Mirza of Dost Mahomed Khan, hearing that we had so greatly enjoyed our visit to Kurgha, invited us to pass the day at his fort, which was called Nanuchee, and was situated about three miles from Cabool to the northwest, and on the verge of the "chumun" or meadow of Wuzeerabad. The scene differed in all its features from the one which we had beheld at our good friend Shureef's villa. Above the fort are the remains of a garden laid out by the Begum or queen of Juhangeer, which commands a glorious view of the lake and the surrounding country, and is, perhaps, the most picturesque in the vicinity. From a hillock which is still higher than this garden, the eye commands at once the plains of Chardih and Wuzeerabad, which the Afghans call Goolistan and Bostan. A nobler and more enchanting position for a residence can scarcely be imagined. Its selection does honour to the Begum, whose name, however, is lost in history. From the tomb of Baber to this garden is a favourite ride with the *beau monde* of the capital, who are wont first to visit the one and then the other, drink wine at both, and return to Cabool by the "chumun." Our day with the Mirza sped merrily. We had Hafizjee, the son of Meer Thaeez, Imam Terdi, a clever man, and several other Afghans; and there was much general conversation in a quiet way. As we sat at the windows and looked out upon the extended prospect, the sun every now and then was hid by clouds; and as their shadows moved across the distant hills, our friends repeatedly exclaimed, "What 'Sultanut!' what majesty in nature!" with an enthusiasm which would have done honour to European tourists. I must not forget to mention that on this occasion I was asked as to my knowledge and belief in a science, which is called "Kiafa" by the Afghans, and which seems to be something between phrenology and physiognomy: not only the eyebrows, nose, and features generally, but even the beard, form the discriminating marks, instead of the bumps of the skull, as with our sapient professors, and the result of experience is recorded in sundry pithy axioms, such as the following:—A tall man with a long beard is a fool. A man with a beard issuing from his throat is a simpleton. An open forehead bespeaks wealth and plenty. The science is further developed in various couplets, some of the most curious of which may thus be rendered:—

He that has red eyes is ever ready to fight: And who has thick lips is a warrior.
Hope for liberality from him whose arms are long: And fear not the courage of one with a thick waist.
Men of small stature are often deceitful: And so are those with deep-seated eyes and thin noses.
Those who have soft hair are of good disposition: But those whose locks are hard are otherwise.
Open nostrils are proofs of a tyrant: And large teeth of little wisdom.
Large ears give hopes of long life: and spare ankles of activity in the race.
The man who has the arch of the foot large cannot walk far: But the flattened sole tires not.

Having thus treated not only of the features of the face, but of nearly all the limbs of the body, I must lay aside the science of "Kiafa," trusting that no one of my readers will find any of the unfavourable symptoms applicable to himself.*

Not far from our residence in the Bala Hissar lived Syud Mohsun, a man of some influence among the Huzaras, who used frequently to visit us, and tell us strange stories of that simple people. The unexpected honour of marrying a Princess, and becoming brother-in-law of the Ameer of Cabool, had fallen upon him. Dost Mahomed, after he had allied himself to the family of Shah Zada Ablas, was afraid lest his wife's sister should marry any of his nobles, and determined that the lady should be united to a holy man: he accordingly sent for the Syud to his haram, whither he had already summoned the Cazee, and without previously informing either party, forthwith proceeded to join them in holy wedlock. The Syud at first refused, and declared that the honour was too great. This objection the Ameer removed by assuring him "That his fortune had predominated!" "But," insisted the involuntary bridegroom, "I am a poor man, and cannot afford to clothe a Princess!" "Never mind, never mind!" replied Dost Mahomed, "I will do that for you;" and married they accordingly were. And now the Syud sorrowfully declares that he is not master of his own house. Two slave girls from the Huzara country attend this fair scion of royalty; and the poor man declares that he himself is but an upper servant. Such marriages are common in these countries, since Syuds and other ministers of religion, when allied to females of royal blood, can do less political harm than other persons. At all events there was not much regal dignity in some of the occupations of Syud Mohsun and his illustrious wife, seeing that they prepared the best jelly which I tasted in Cabool, made from the sour cherry, or gean.

Talking one day with Jubar Khan, the name of Hufa Begum, the celebrated queen of Shah Shoojah, who had just died, was mentioned, and a remark was made that she was a very clever woman, and had left a good deal of money behind her. "That," said the Nuwab, with grave emphasis, "is the clearest possible proof of her ability." I fear this is a standard by which the ladies of the western world have no wish to be tried. Both the Nuwab and his brother the ruler have, however, credit for managing their ladies economically. The Nuwab, generous to a fault to Christian, Jew, or Mahomedan, is blamed for denying to his wives liberal pin-money, or, as it is amusingly called in this country, "Soorkhee-sufeedee," rouge and white paint allowance, with both which cosmetics the ladies here adorn themselves.

But I must not thus lightly pass over so important a part of the population of Cabool as the ladies. Their ghost-like figures when they walk abroad make one melancholy; but if all be true of them that is reported, they make ample amends when within doors for all such sombre exhibitions in public. There, during the long winters, they gather round the "Sundlee," a kind of low square table, covered with cloth, and heated from below by charcoal, and tell stories and make merry.

* A brief tract on this science seemed to me deserving of translation; and I have accordingly given it in illustration of the modes of thinking on this subject among the Afghans.—Vide Appendix.

They have a saying that the indoor joys of Cabool in winter, make every one regardless of the enemy without. Among the Afghans, women exercise considerable influence at least: Dost Mahomed Khan, at a time when he was very anxious as to the conduct of his brothers at Candahar, addressed a letter to his sister, who was there also, and urged her to keep them in a proper course; thus proving that even in important matters of state their judgment and discretion are resorted to. A circumstance, however, occurred while we were at Cabool, which proved that one at least of Dost Mahomed's sisters was not a paragon of virtue. Sudoo Khan Barukzye, to whom she was married, was shot through the body on returning home at night. The assassin was secured; and, horrible to relate, confessed that the Chief's sister had bribed him to commit the deed. The princess fled to the house of a relation, and unblushingly justified her conduct, on the ground that she had been long barbarously used by her husband. The truth of this was not doubted, for he was well known to be a most depraved wretch: still nothing could justify so inhuman a retribution. The wounded man lingered for a day, and his murderer passed into eternity a few hours after him, having been cut in two pieces, one of which was gibbeted at the gate of the Bala Hissar, the other in the great Bazar. A butcher was the executioner. The lady, whose guilt was at least equal, escaped without punishment; for the Mahomedan can only shed the blood of him by whom man's blood has been shed. There are, however, women in these countries who have pre-eminently distinguished themselves by their conjugal devotion; and I should do wrong were I to pass over in silence Aga, the lady of Yezdan Bukhsh, a Huzara chief, whom Dost Mahomed Khan detained at Cabool as a hostage for her lord. The separation was painful to both; but particularly to the husband, who was accustomed, in all his difficulties, to be guided by the counsel of his wife; and he secretly sent messengers to her, urging her to make her escape. This she effected by changing her attire to that of a man, and dropping from the window of her prison. She then mounted a horse and fled to the Besoot country, between Cabool and Bameean, pursued by two of the Ameer's officers, accompanied by some of her husband's enemies. She was overtaken; her companion was killed, but she herself escaped, and reached the first fort in her own country, from the walls of which she defied her pursuers, proudly exclaiming, "This is the land of Yezdan Bukhsh!" This noble woman's husband was afterwards, as Mr. Masson has related, barbarously strangled by Hajee Khan Kakur. The simplicity of his disposition ruined him, as it has done many of his countrymen; and, after having conducted the Afghans through a dangerous campaign, his life was basely taken.

I have already stated that the water froze so early as the beginning of November, and that snow fell on the hills; but on the 11th of December, after it had gradually stolen upon us, inch by inch, it at length fairly covered the ground in the city, and dusky gray clouds hid the sun. The cold became severe, and the whole of the population appeared clad in sheep-skins. It was a serious affair to our Hindoostanee attendants, and two of them fell victims to the folly of persevering in their Indian habits, and cooking their food outside the house in defiance of the rigours of the climate. They died of pneumonia, a disease which is very prevalent in Cabool, and from which, without very active treatment, few recover.

With the snow came the last caravan of merchants from Bokhara, principally composed of Lohanees. A party of these men paid me a visit, and after telling me all the news of that quarter, implored me to use my influence in their behalf, as they had most inconsiderately involved themselves in a serious difficulty. It appeared that after passing Bameean they had struck off from the legitimate route, if I may so term it, and made at once for Ghuzni, which lay on the direct road to their homes. But a poor government cannot afford to lose its taxes; and they were arrested at that town by the Ameer's son, who seized all their property, amounting to 6000 ducats and 4000 tillas of Bokhara. On this the government had a claim of one per cent., but the whole was confiscated; and Dost Mahomed quoted, in his defence for so doing, the usage of the British and Russians, who

seize upon all smuggled goods. This argument by no means satisfied the poor merchants; and although I exerted all my personal influence in their behalf, it was only after long and vexatious delay that they obtained restitution of a quarter of their money, and orders on the custom-houses, payable in the ensuing year, for a further portion, which latter, I fear, they never received. The cash which the ruler had thus possessed himself of again changed masters in a few days, being stolen by his treasurer, whose line of argument, in defence of his conduct, was that his pay was in arrear. Dost Mahomed, however, did not relish this imitative spirit; and the treasurer was apprehended and about to be put to death, when the Nuwab, ever active on the side of mercy, said he ought to be pardoned; that so bad a man as he was ought never to have been trusted, and that great part of the blame rested upon those who had employed him. This reasoning had its effect, and he was dismissed with a sound drubbing.

The Lohanees described the king of Bokhara as having become tyrannous and headstrong: he had degraded his minister, the Koosh Begee, and had refused the Hindoos leave to burn their dead, because, on being asked their creed, they had said they were "Ibrahamees," or followers of Abraham. He had also, without any show of reason, caused all Mahomedans trading with Hindoo partners to be doubly taxed. Having discovered an intrigue between a baker's daughter and a Hindoo, he ordered both parties to be baked in the oven, although in his own person he held out the worst possible example to his subjects. It is, however, to be doubted if he is altogether in his senses. His acts of tyranny are so audacious and so numerous, that I have never ceased to congratulate myself at having passed so successfully through his kingdom. In espionage he appears even to surpass the Chinese. From these men I received an account of the horrid dungeons in Bokhara, known by the title of "Kuna-Khanu," Kuna being the name of the creatures which attach themselves to dogs and sheep (Anglicè ticks), and which here thrive on the unhappy human beings who are cast in among them. The dungeons abound also in scorpions, fleas, and all kinds of vermin; and if human subjects happen to be deficient, goats or the entrails of animals are thrown in to feed them; so that the smell alone is in the highest degree noxious. One day suffices to kill any criminal who is cast into those horrid dens, and a confinement of a few hours leaves marks which are never effaced in after life. The situation of the dungeons is below the ark or citadel in which the king resides.

One of the traders to Bokhara was the Moollah Nujeeb, an old friend of Mr. Elphinstone's, and to whom, through the influence of that gentleman, a pension has been granted by our government. I had many conversations with Nujeeb, who was never weary of enlarging on the talents and virtues of his patron, or in expressing his admiration of what he denominated "the greatness of the English nation." It appears that when his pension was first conferred upon him he wrote to Mr. Elphinstone, to know "what kind of political information was expected from him in return." Mr. Elphinstone told him in reply, that "he wished occasionally to hear from him as to the state of his eyes, and that he hoped the spectacles he had given him enabled him to see better."

This indifference to passing events, and still more, this renunciation of what throughout all Asia is considered as the grand and legitimate mode of obtaining political information, had sunk deep into Nujeeb's mind, and again and again did he advert to this *surprising* proof of "the greatness of the English nation." There is certainly a striking difference between the avowed system of morals of the Afghans and the Europeans. The former seem to consider anything that is done amiss in secret as nothing; and it is only when discovery follows crime that they regret its commission. Their standard of morality would appear to consist, not in avoiding error, but in avoiding its discovery; and it is a common expression with them, that "Such a one was my friend: he did not take the screen from my misconduct." It was not wonderful, therefore, that the Moollah should consider it the acmé of morality in his patron not to ask him to offend even secretly against the state under which he was living.

The Ramazan, which had commenced with December, was rigidly kept. A gun was fired long before dawn, to rouse the faithful from their slumbers, that they might eat before the crier announced the hour of prayer. This fasting had blanched the cheeks of many of my visitors; and observing this, I asked one of them, a Moollah, "If it was not a severe penance?" he replied, "No: I am a mere worm, addicted to food; and hence the change which you remark in my countenance." Having upon this incidentally observed, that "All of us would shortly become food for worms," the holy man expressed his unbounded admiration of this trite truth. I, in my turn, was pleased with an expression which he used when I asked him if he had any children. "Two," was his reply; "the rest have gone before me." There was a tranquil sorrow and a simplicity in his manner of saying these few words which struck me greatly.

Death and futurity form a frequent subject of conversation among the Afghans, as indeed they do with all nations. On one occasion I was much interested by the discourse of an old merchant, who visited me shortly after he had lost his daughter. In the failure of all medical treatment, he had, a few days before her dissolution, removed her from her husband's house to his own, in the hope that the air and the climate in which she had been born and reared might restore sinking nature. It was the will of God that it should be otherwise, and the spirit of his child fled whilst she was repeating some lines from "Musnumee," a philosophical poem, which he had taught her in early youth. The last lines she uttered related to eternity. The parent assured me that many circumstances which had occurred subsequently to her death had afforded him consolation and reconciled him to his loss. One of his neighbours had dreamed that this beloved daughter was remarried, and in great prosperity. He himself had dreamt that his forefathers had sent for his daughter, and were overjoyed at receiving her. Other circumstances had occurred of a soothing nature: the shroud in Mahomedan countries is tied at the head, and when the body is deposited in the earth it is opened, that the relatives may take the last look and turn the head towards Mecca. In the case of this young woman, it was found that the face was already turned in the right direction. The priest who had been reading the Koran over the grave had fallen asleep, and dreamed that the deceased had declared herself overjoyed at the happy change. I found that the narrative of all these circumstances received the most serious attention, and thus dreams and omens working on the father's mind had yielded him consolation; and why should we deny peace of mind to an afflicted parent by seeking to destroy their effect?

The Afghans place implicit reliance on dreams. A Moollah of Cabool once told me that "dreams are the soul in flight without the body; and," added he, "physicians may say, if it please them, that they arise from digestive derangement, but no such paradise could spring from causes so material. It is in dreams that we find the clearest proof of an Omnipotent Providence."

There are many other superstitions among these people, and almost every hill in the country has its legend attached to it. A village near Cabool bears the name of "Chihil-Dookhteran," or the Forty Daughters; and tradition runs that, on one occasion, when the Kaffirs from the mountains made an inroad on the plain, forty virgins were preserved from violence by being transformed into stones; and that the identical forty stones are visible to this day. Eastward of this same village lies the "Koh-i-Krook," or hunting preserve of the kings of Cabool: a miraculous tale is connected with this ground. The story goes, that in days of yore a certain king pressed a herd of deer in this very preserve so closely that they rushed straight to his seraglio, where his lovely queens and ladies were adorning themselves in fine apparel, and putting rings into their ears and noses, and set them all running wild over the country. The Afghans, it will be perceived, are not deficient in the imaginative faculties, and they may be quoted as a proof that invention precedes judgment.

But to return to the things of the earth and its inhabitants as we now find them.

On the 14th of December I received a visit from my quondam fellow-traveller, Mahomed Hoosan, who had since been the Elchee from the chief of Cabool to the king of Persia; from which country he had returned, bringing with him a Persian ambassador, whom he had left at Candahar, whilst he himself came on to Cabool to report progress. The Elchee had gone to Persia to sue for an alliance, but he had experienced nothing but disappointmant and neglect. I laughed heartily at the man's adventures, which, although they had been very far from agreeable, he detailed with infinite gaiety and humour. He narrowly escaped death at Soonee Bokhara, merely because he had sought to bring about an alliance with Shiah Persia: at the court of Shah the ministers had tried to poison him for telling the plain truth, that an army and guns would be useless in opposing the roving Toorkumuns, against whom his majesty had proceeded; and at the capitol the royal favour was altogether denied him because he had gone to the English ambassador's quarters, instead of those tardily assigned to him by an unfriendly minister. In Persia difficulties had beset him at every step. Once before he had been obliged to leave the country, and now, after a nine years' absence, his enemies again rose up against him, but here his ambassadorship saved him. In his journey back to Afghanistan he had been exposed to many perils, whilst pursuing the unfrequented route through Bum-Nurmansheer and Seistan to the river Helmund, down which he was carried three fursukhs by a flood, and was left for two days without food. Near Herat he was threatened by Kamran, as well as by robbers; at Candahar the Sirdars slighted him; and, the unkindest cut of all, Dost Mahomed would send no one to conduct the ambassador whom my unfortunate friend had brought with so much trouble and difficulty from the "centre of the universe." Such was the tissue of complaints which he poured forth, calling the chief of Cabool a knave, his courtiers no men, and the whole nation a mass of Afghan stupidity. He said that at the Persian court Mirza Aghassee was supreme, owing to his having made some lucky guesses, during the youth of the present Shah, regarding his accession to the throne.

The worst of all poor Mahomed Hoosan's misfortunes was, that, having once been an Elchee, he did not deem himself at liberty to walk as a common man in the bazaar; and thus his dignity had destroyed his comfort. I told him that he had nothing else for it but to follow the European model, and write his travels; or, in Indian phrase, "Take walk and write book." He took my advice, and some time afterwards presented me with a small volume full to overflowing of unique adventures. He had ample leisure for his literary labours, as he was all but confined to his house by the Ameer; and although he declared positively that he would perform no further service, nor have anything more to do with embassies, he still lived in perpetual terror of being called upon to *accept office*, and punished, he knew not to what extent, if he refused to do so. He told me a story of a man whose misfortunes, he said, resembled his own. A certain king quarrelled with his vizier, and ordered him to be kept in confinement; to cheer his solitude, however, he sent him a companion. The vizier began to read the Koran aloud, with great gravity and emphasis, and his visitor began to cry. "What may be the particular passage," asked the minister, "that excites you so much, my good friend?" The simple-hearted man replied, "Oh, my Lord, when I look at you reading, and see your beard moving, I think of a favourite goat I have got at home; and then I remember that I am obliged to attend on your highness, and am shut out from all my domestic comforts." "Thus," said the Elchee, "it is with me and the Afghans. I am amongst them against my will; and it would be less irksome to me to pound the nine mountains in a mortar, or circumambulate the globe a dozen times, than to continue here."

On the 29th of December the "eed" terminated at midnight. A man ran in from the Kohistan, and swore, before the Cazee, that he had seen the moon, twenty-nine days ago, whereas this was but the twenty-eighth day of its age. Not a moment was lost in proclaiming the joyful news and the end of the fast;

salutes were fired at the dead of night, the people yelled and shouted, and I started out of bed, believing, at the very least, that the city was sacked.

During the festivities that followed, Budro Deen, the great Bokhara merchant, invited us to dinner, and entertained us with singers, and with the "suntoor," a triangular musical instrument with innumerable wires, an importation from Cashmere which I had not before seen. The Nuwab Jubar Khan was present, as well as several other persons. The dinner was well arranged and excellent, and we had songs in many languages. The Pooshtoo is softer when sung than when spoken; but Hindoostanee is the favourite language with the Afghans, having, to use their own phrase, "more salt in it." After dinner the hospitable Bokhara merchant dilated on the good qualities of his tea, and insisted on giving it to us in the real orthodox style. He accordingly commenced operations, stirred the fire almost out, and placed the kettle upon it, but for a long time he could not manage to make it boil. At last, when he had succeeded, he put the tea into the pot, covered the lid with a cloth, and, not satisfied with this, planted the teapot itself in the fire, as he had done the kettle, and finally produced a beverage which certainly was of a superior quality, and which we all drank of, and praised to his heart's content. The Nuwab drank away at a great rate, and declared that he had never before taken so much. The man of tea, however, urged us on to farther indulgence, telling us that at Bokhara, which is the fountain of tea, the repast always concluded with "tulkh chah," or tea without sugar. The good Nuwab declared "He would not drink tea without sugar; that it was impossible for him to drink any more with it, and doubly impossible for him to drink any more without it." We all laughed loud and long at this sally, and returned to our homes at a brisk trot, through the quiet city, under a clear sky and frosty night, much pleased with our party and with our host.

CHAPTER XI.

Russian agent, Lieutenant Vilkievitch—Distribution of our party—Vicinity of Cabool—Pillars of Chukrcea—Mr. Masson's researches—Ancient history of Cabool—Idols and Hindoo remains—Gurdez—Geographical memoirs—Dialects—Herat—Major Pottinger—Delay in Indian courts—Kuzzilbash secretaries—A Moollah's tenets—Mode of lighting houses—Mild Winter—Early Spring—Idle habits—The Ameer's position—Change of policy—My departure from Cabool—Arrival at Jelálábád—River of Cabool—Our rafts—The Shutee Gurdun—Peshawur—Arrival at Lahore—Runjeet Sing—Join the Governor-General at Simla.

In the midst of these amusements the arrival of a Russian officer produced a considerable sensation at Cabool: almost immediately on his entering the city "le Lieutenant Vilkievitch Polonois" paid me a visit, and on the day after his arrival, which happened to be Christmas-day, I invited him to dinner. He was a gentlemanly and agreeable man, of about thirty years of age, and spoke French, Turkish, and Persian fluently, and wore the uniform of an officer of Cossacks, which was a novelty in Cabool. He had been three times at Bokhara, and we had therefore a common subject to converse upon, without touching on politics. I found him intelligent and well informed on the subject of Northern Asia. He very frankly said that it was not the custom of Russia to publish to the world the result of its researches in foreign countries, as was the case with France and

England. I never again met Mr. Vilkievitch (or, as I see it written, Vicovich), although we exchanged sundry messages of "high consideration;" for I regret to say that I found it to be impossible to follow the dictates of my personal feeling of friendship towards him, as the public service required the strictest watch, lest the relative positions of our nations should be misunderstood in this part of Asia.

The state of affairs at Candahar rendered it advisable for me to depute Lieutenant Leech to proceed to that city; and he accordingly set out on the 28th of December, taking the route of the far-famed Ghuzni, and was one of the first who beheld the tomb of the Sultan Mahmood, and the two lofty minarets of that fallen city. He performed the journey to Candahar without difficulty in about fourteen days. I now found myself alone in Cabool, all my companions being scattered in different directions, and all favourably situated for increasing our knowledge of the country, and furthering the objects of the mission. I felt that I had cause to rejoice at the good fortune which had placed it in our power to accomplish so much. In addition to our own labours, I had, with a view to increase our antiquarian stores, despatched a messenger, a Syud, into Toorkistan, with directions to proceed by Balkh and Shibargam to Bokhara, thence to Samarcand, Kohan, and Cashgar, and to return, if possible, by Pameer and Koondooz. The first portion of this journey he performed with success; and transmitted to me some valuable coins of Bactria, which now, under Professor Wilson's guardianship, occupy a place in the Museum at the India House, and I yet hope to receive the result of the Syud's further labours.

But the vicinity of Cabool itself, now that we could ramble about it with safety, afforded many objects of interest. On the further side of the Logur river, and about seven miles S. E. of Cabool, are the topes which Dr. Honigberger opened in 1834. These I visited, and saw the two pillars, or, as they are called, minarets, of Chukreea, which I believe have not hitherto been described. One of these is built on a spur of rock, in a ravine immediately over a "tope," the position of which it may be supposed to have marked. Another stands on the crest of the mountain, about two miles distant, and is an object so conspicuous, that it may be seen with the naked eye from the city of Cabool. The lower one is about forty feet high, and built of solid stone, without any access to the interior. These buildings are evidently not minarets, but more probably of a monumental nature. The whole ravine in which the lower one is situated is marked with the ruins of Kaffir forts, and three hundred yards higher up than the pillar is an unopened "tope." Mr. Masson has done so much for this branch of discovery, and has exhumed so many gold boxes, cylinders, and coins, that I will not trouble my readers with any crude speculations of my own on a subject which is now undergoing so strict a scrutiny in Europe. Beyond the greater pillar is an old town called Aeenuck, of which tradition has many tales.

The ancient history of Cabool itself is unsatisfactory. The people themselves refer you to Noah's two sons, Cakool and Habool, as the founders of their race, who, they say, quarrelled about the name of the place, and at length agreed to form it by taking a syllable from each name,—hence Ca-bool. The Hindoos assert that the ruler who was overthrown by the Mahomedans, and known by the name of "Urj," was fourth in descent from Vikramjeet, but no history brings Vikram so near our time as this. Urj is said by some to have been a Gubr, or fire-worshipper, and to have had two brothers, Silur and Toor: he is also sometimes named Cabool Shah. At Cabool I met with the following passage in a work* which treats of its conquest by the Mahomedans, who state it to have been under their rule for 1240 years:—

The army marched and encamped before Cabool. Cabool Shah, also well known by the name of Urj, came out to meet the Mahomedan force, commanded by Abdool Rahman, and, having fought a very severe battle, returned to the city

* Rid wu ruwafiz.

and never again left it. Abdool Ruhman fought with the besieged for a whole year, and encountered great hardships in taking the citadel (hissar), but at last took it by the sword, slaying many soldiers and capturing their wives and children. Cabool Shah, the king, was brought a prisoner before the general; who ordered him to be put to death on the spot; but he read the Mahomedan Creed (Kuluma), and became a Moslem, when Abdool Ruhman honoured him highly. Abdool Ruhman then ordered all the beauty of Cabool and Sejistan to be brought forth: one-fifth of this plunder he sent home by his servant Ameer, with a letter announcing his victory." Oriental historians further describe Cabool as one of seven cities built by Hushung, son of Syamuk, son of Kyamoors; the other six being Tabristan, Isfahan, Old Merve, Babool, Candahar, and Mudayar. The extract I have given goes to prove the Hissar, or Bala Hissar, of Cabool, to be a far more ancient edifice than the time of the Chaghties or their Mahomedan predecessors. Modern Cabool is given to the days of Sultan Mahmood, but the ancient city is said to have stood on the same hills as those on which the present one is built, only to the south of the citadel, and where the Armenian and other burying-grounds now are. In a country where earthquakes are so frequent we need not be surprised at finding no remains of ancient architecture: there are not four substantial houses in the present town, and, if any accident happened to it, few traces would remain to later ages. In the locality pointed out as that of the ancient city, many colossal idols are dug up: they are of mud with a coating of red paint, and fall to pieces on the touch; bits of them were frequently brought to me. These relics carry us back, without doubt, to the Hindoo age. The coins found in and about Cabool have Hindoo devices on them, yet, in the face of this evidence, many of the modern inhabitants of that caste will tell you that their emigration from India took place at no very remote date. Whilst we were in Cabool an earthen vessel filled with silver coins, all of one type, was disinterred at Shukurduru, in Koh-damun. Mr. Prinsep calls these coins Indo-Sussanian, and he deciphered the Pehlevi Sanscrit legends upon them.* But throughout all this country there are Hindoo remains. At Ali Musjid, in Khyber, when they were erecting a new fort, they dug up a small tablet of red stone three inches square, on which was sculptured a group of four persons and two deer, surrounding a seated figure: the style of its execution was good. I imagine that the principal personage represented is Boodh, a scarf being thrown over the left shoulder, as in the figures at Bamian: the ears were pendent and the tiara large. Gurdez is always referred to as a place of antiquity in Cabool, and is still of some importance, the fortification being built of huge stones, with a deep ditch. Between it and Ghuzni there are the ruins of a large town, called Khurwar, which seems to have stood on an extensive plain, like Begram, and from this place also many coins were procured.

I was not fortunate enough to find any written records regarding Cabool, nor does it appear that any such exist. In my search, however, I obtained some curious works on the geography of this and the neighbouring countries. One of these, styled "Moosalik ure Moomalish," had twenty-one manuscript maps in it, accompanied by chapters containing detailed descriptions. Another called the "Juma ool insab," and which was brought from Balkh, gave a minute and curious account of that ancient city. A third, the "Ujuib ool tubukat," was compiled from eight other works, chiefly relating to subjects of geography. All these I forwarded to the Geographical Society of Bombay, an institution which from its position is peculiarly calculated to follow out such inquiries; but, indeed, it is impossible that any oriental society, whatever its specified objects may be, should be indifferent to the literature of men "whose emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bokhara to Fez and Cordova."

In the absence of historical truth we sought, with redoubled interest, to obtain

* Vide Mr. Prinsep's Journal for May, 1838.

a knowledge of the language and dialects of this country. To these a very valuable and detailed memorandum sent by General Court, and, I believe, received from the lamented M. Jacqueb, at Paris, directed our attention, and assisted us greatly. Of the specimens of the Kaffir and Pushye dialects I have already spoken. Lieutenant Leech undertook the preparation of vocabularies and grammars of most of the languages to the west of the Indus, the Brahooee, Beloochee, Punjaubee, and Pooshtoo, together with the Burukee, Lughmanee, Cashgaree, &c. The language of the Brahooees was found to differ essentially from that of the Beloochees. The Burukee or Kanigramee, spoken by the people of Logur, has an affinity to Persian, although those using it claim a descent from Arabia, and assert that they entered the country with Sultan Mahmood. The dialects of Lughman, Cashgar, and Deer, as well as the Pushye, are found to be cognate with languages of Sanscrit origin and Hindoo stock. The Arabs of Cabool have altogether lost their native language: this is also the case with the Calmucks introduced from Northern Asia, although the kings of Cabool at one time gave great encouragement to that race, and were accustomed to make them a present of a sum of money on the birth of each child.

But to proceed to other matters. The gallant struggle made for the independence of Herat by the Afghans, guided by our able and courageous countryman, Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, now a Major and Companion of the Bath, produced good effects for a time at Cabool, but these unhappily were not lasting. If I had become a convert to the Afghan belief in dreams, I should have had, during every week of my residence, proofs of our ultimate success and supremacy in the country; and it will not, perhaps, be now read without interest, that, on the 17th of January, 1838, the "Moojawar," or guardian of the tomb of the Emperor Baber, waited upon me, and stated, with much solemnity, that "he had, on the preceding night, seen in a dream the Firingees seated on Baber's grave, receiving the salutations of the Afghans." The ulterior results of our dominion he, however, could not precisely tell, as he was unfortunately awakened by the call of the crier to morning prayers. Another Afghan from Candahar, who called upon me one day, said, "You stand aloof from us, but you will be unable to continue this course: our country is good, but it is without a head; and, like a beautiful widow, it voluntarily avows her attachment to you, and you cannot refuse to accept her as a wife." All my visitors, however, were not so complimentary. An Afghan who had seen India was speaking of our administration of justice; and I endeavoured to gather from him what he considered to be the defects of our Indian rule, as far as they affected his own class, which was that of a merchant. He answered me, according to the Asiatic fashion, by a proverb: "Give us a new life, and the patience of Job, and then all will be well." This satire on the tardiness of our courts of justice, coming as it does from *far* Cabool, may, perhaps, not be entirely without its effect.

If, however, an Afghan complains of endurance being necessary to those who are so unfortunate as to be *embayed* in legal proceedings, what would an Englishman think of the trials of patience which the Kuzzilbashes of Cabool have voluntarily imposed upon themselves, and of which I had excellent opportunities of judging at this crisis? Nearly all the secretaries of the country are of this persuasion, so that the whole of the correspondence is in their hands. In all their written accounts the defence of Herat, although the siege was conducted by the King of Persia himself, was described as the resistance of men true to God against wretches. The Persians were styled infidels and heretics, and the slaughter of a few of them recited as a triumph, while prayers were offered up for their destruction, and joyful expectations expressed that they would be annihilated. The letters containing these opinions are not only read in Cabool by Persian secretaries, but are answered by them in the same style, although it is perfectly known that they are of the very class on whose devoted heads so much obloquy is poured by the Soonee Afghans. The situation of the Kuzzilbashes of Cabool seems a

good deal to resemble that of the Copts in Egypt: they lead much the same sort of life, and hold a similar station in society. Power and influence console both races for the hard words and rough usage of their employers.

An Afghan Moollah asked me if we had any distinction of Soonees and Shiahs in our creed? I told him that we had various sects, and explained the difference of opinion between Roman Catholics and Protestants. He at once observed that "It was not a stock or a stone that was an idol: it was what man worshipped, be it money or be it flesh." I had not expected such sentiments from a Mahomedan. I must also mention an observation of the same man as to the professors of Christianity. He said, "We were called 'Nussaree,' or 'Nazarenes,' because we had given *assistance* ('nusrut') to Christ." I ventured to tell him that our Saviour dwelt at Nazareth; and that a much simpler explanation of the term could therefore be given: but it is not an easy matter to convince a Mahomedan doctor of an error in his opinions, founded as they are on the prejudices of education.

I was agreeably surprised by the mildness of the winter at Cabool, after all that I had been told of its severity; but it appears that this year the weather had been unusually temperate. The people have no knowledge of lighting their apartments, except by means of oil-paper or cloth; and it was not without great surprise that they saw me cause the quicksilver to be rubbed off mirrors which we purchased in their bazar, and the glass fitted into window-frames. Although this glass had been brought all the way from Moscow, it cost little more than half a rupee for a large-sized pane. The comfort which I thus so cheaply obtained led some of the Khans to imitate my plan for keeping out the cold. By the 26th of February, the willow, or "bedee mishk," had blossomed; on the 11th of March, the first flower of spring, or the "sosun," a kind of small sweet-smelling iris, made its appearance; and on the 1st of April the apricots showed their blossom. Nevertheless, it snowed on the 27th of March; and tradition states that Ghuzni was destroyed by snow, nine days and a half after the vernal equinox. The cold was not so intense, even in the depth of winter, as to prevent me from riding out, my horse being ice-shod; but experience has since proved to me that the severity of the winter in Cabool differs very greatly in different years.

During winter the bazars are well filled; but in the country the people literally do nothing. They sit outside their forts wrapped up in sheepskins, and basking in the sun, which is always warm and agreeable. If there were any manufactures in the country, the people might employ themselves well and usefully during the cold season; but at present their days are unprofitably passed in relating stories and adventures. From so much idleness, one is disposed to infer favourably of the natural resources of the country, and of the mildness of its government. I remember to have met with the remark in a late number of the 'Westminster Review,' "that a despotic nation can only be great during a career of victory:" but, however true this may be as an abstract principle, in Afghanistan at least we see that a cessation from conquest has not been followed by ruin; and that, if greatness has left this people, they still retain a large share of comfort and enjoyment, although the splendour of their monarchy be no more.

The Afghan invasions of India were not made by open warfare: they were as the prowling of wild beasts after their prey; and, like them, the invaders were contented secretly, and by surprise, to obtain their spoil and drag it back into their dens. Happily, neither the Afghan, nor his neighbour the Tartar, any longer dares to ravage the land. British supremacy now hems them within their own limits; and the vast power which we have established brings these nations as suitors for our alliance, instead of invaders of our territory. It will compel a restless people, and in a degree it has already done so, to fall back upon their own resources, and must in time lead to the development of many elements of power and happiness which have long lain neglected in their fine country. The impatience of an Afghan is proverbial. He has a homely expression, "Not to use the wager of the knife" (shurt i karud), that is, to seek to cut his melon before he

buys it; but his conduct is at variance with his proverb: greater reforms have, however, been made in society than that of weaning an Afghan from his evil habits; time and circumstances have rendered them familiar to him, and time and circumstances may also efface them.

The ruler of Cabool, Dost Mahomed Khan, partook at this time of the impatience common to his nation; and, some may perhaps say, not without sufficient cause. Herat was closely besieged by Persia. Should it fall, the danger to Candahar and Cabool was apparent: should it be successful, and repulse Persia, that danger still existed to Cabool. The British government, confident in the success of its measures in Persia, placed no value on an Afghan alliance. Fear, therefore, overtook Dost Mahomed, and it was seconded by appeals to his interest; and thus two of the most powerful motives which influence the human mind inclined the chief to look for support to the west instead of the east. Having clearly ascertained that such were his views, there was no room for doubt as to the line of conduct which it was expedient for me to adopt; and I accordingly intimated to him my intention of returning to India. He expressed great regret at my decision; and when, on the 26th of April, I finally quitted Cabool, he was profuse in his professions of personal friendship and regard. Mr. Masson accompanied me, as he conceived that his position in Cabool would not be safe after my departure, and under the circumstances which led to it. We reached Julálábad on the 30th of April, and were hospitably received by the Ameer's son, Akbar Khan, and by whom, as I have before mentioned, I had been received with great pomp and splendour on entering Cabool, on the 20th of September.

I was anxious to examine the river of Cabool, and resolved, therefore, to descend it upon rafts: two days were spent in their preparation. More pains were bestowed to effect this than I had anticipated. About eighty skins were used for each raft; but only a fourth part of these were inflated; the rest were stuffed with straw, spars were placed across, and the whole bound together by a floating frame-work. When the paddles are used, the motion of the raft is circular, the great object being to keep it in the force of the stream.

On the 3d of May we set sail, and reached Lalpoor, which is half-way to Peshawur, in seven hours: here we halted for the night, and were hospitably entertained by the Momund chief. Next day we prosecuted our voyage, and in eight hours reached Muttee, in the plain of Peshawur, where there were elephants, palanquins, and horses, waiting to convey us to the hospitable mansion of General Avitabile.

The excitement in descending the river Cabool is greater than the danger; nevertheless, considerable care and dexterity are required to avoid the projecting rocks, and the whirlpools which they form. We were caught in one of them, called Fuzl: one raft revolved in it for two hours; and it was only extricated by the united exertions of the crews of the other rafts. The Camel's Neck, or the far-famed "Shoothur Gurdun," presented an appearance, as we approached it, so grand and impressive, that it will never be effaced from my memory. We had dropped down the river for half an hour, under heavy clouds; precipitous rocks rose some thousand feet high on either side; and the stream was deep and glassy. At length we saw, at the termination of a long vista which lay before us, the water boiling, or rather heaving itself up. Before we reached this point the rain fell in torrents, the lightning flashed, and tremendous claps of thunder reverberated from cliff to cliff. In the midst of this storm we passed down the rapids, the water dashing wildly upon us, and the wind roaring and hissing through the chasm. The scene altogether was sublime, almost terrific. On the banks of the river the villagers were washing the sand for gold in the usual manner, the operation being carried on in wooden trays. I heard from them that in the Oxus and its tributaries it is usual to spread out and fix bushy sheep-skins in the bed of the river; and the water, as it passed over them, leaves the pure particles of gold, free

from extraneous substances; the skins are then dried in the sun, and the precious metal collected from them. If I remember rightly, a similar plan was adopted by some of the nations of antiquity.

The reception given me at Peshawur by my old friends, Generals Allard, Avitabile, and Court, was kind in the extreme, and their agreeable society made up in some degree for the absence of my fellow-travellers, Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood. Both those gentlemen, however, joined me on the 16th of May, having reached Cabool four days after I had left it; and having, like myself, descended the river. Our meeting was one of unmixed satisfaction. Prior to my departure from Cabool I transmitted instructions to Lieutenant Leech to leave Candahar and proceed by Kelat-i-Nusseer, and one of the great passes through the hills, to Shikarpoor. He performed the journey in safety, and I joined him at that place in the October following.

Towards the end of May an express arrived from government, directing me to repair with all convenient speed to the court of Lahore, to consult with Mr. (now Sir William) Macnaghten, who was then on a mission there, on the critical state of our affairs westward of the Indus. We lost no time in obeying the summons; reached Attock by water on the same day that we left Peshawur (the 31st), and joined the party at Lahore on the 17th of June, having performed the journey chiefly during the nights. I hastened to pay my respects to the Maharaja; and found him changed in all things but his kindness. Runjeet Sing was now tottering on the brink of the grave. It is unnecessary for me to give any details of the mission then at his court, as the Honourable Captain Osborne has already laid an able account of it before the public.

A short month's stay at Lahore served to accomplish the ends which government had then in view. The ulterior measures could only be matured at Simla, whither I proceeded by invitation, to wait on Lord Auckland, to whom I paid my respects on the 20th of July, accompanied only by Dr. Lord, Lieutenant Wood having again returned to the Indus. And thus terminated my mission to Cabool.

THE END.

THE

MILITARY OPERATIONS AT CABUL,

WHICH ENDED IN THE

RETREAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY,

JANUARY 1842.

WITH A JOURNAL OF

IMPRISONMENT IN AFFGHANISTAN.

BY

LIEUT. VINCENT EYRE,

BENGAL ARTILLERY, LATE DEPUTY COMMISSARY OF ORDNANCE AT CABUL.

PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY AND HART.

1843.

C. SHERMAN, PRINTER.

NOTES

OF

MILITARY OPERATIONS AT CABUL,

ETC.

NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

The original manuscript of this Journal was sent by Lieutenant Eyre in parts, as it was finished, and as opportunity offered, to a military friend in India. Even when the last part reached his hands, the eventual liberation of the Cabul prisoners was a matter of painful uncertainty; and his judgment prompted him to transmit it entire, and without comment, to the Author's immediate relations in this country. There is a point connected with its publication *now*, which must not be thought to have been disregarded from any anxiety that this account should be the first:—it is, the question whether it should have been withheld until the result of the inquiry now pending in India should be known. It is considered that sufficient delay has been already incurred to insure this end, and that all such investigations will have been closed before a copy of this book can find its way to India. The Journal is therefore at once printed as it came, in concurrence with the writer's own idea that it cannot fail to interest the British public. E. Eyre.

Athenæum Club, Dec. 29, 1842.

Note by the Editor.—I have received information from very high authority, which makes it incumbent on me, in candour, to append this note to a second edition; and I am sorry it was not in time to appear also in the first. I flatter myself that the general tone of this work will prove sufficiently that any supposed misstatement therein will have been made most unintentionally, and on authority which must have appeared to the Author very sufficient. In his absence I cannot do less than append the following observations, which are furnished me to qualify the passages of the text alluded to:

P. 5. With reference to the alleged neglect to send a force against the Nijrow chiefs, I am assured that *the Envoy pressed this measure upon the General, but he refused the troops.*

P. 8. I am assured that Lord Auckland never knew, until after the insurrection, that the pay of the Giljyes had been stopped, and that the measure originated with the Envoy.

P. 10. Lastly, I am authorized to say that it is not correctly stated that Lord Auckland did not receive General Elphinstone's resignation as soon as the General wished: that the General joined the force in April; and in September, Lord Auckland received his medical certificate, and wrote to him by the first mail to beg of him to give up the command to the next in order, until a successor could be found.

While readily giving insertion to any counter-statements so conveyed to me as to guarantee their accuracy, I must be allowed, on my brother's part, to express an *opinion* that, being on terms of intimate friendship with General Elphinstone, he must have had no less authority than the General's information for making at least that statement last referred to: but I am sure he would regret to be the means of propagating any thing not strictly true, from whatever source derived. E. Eyre.

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

The following notes were penned to relieve the monotony of an Affghan prison, while yet the events which they record continued fresh in my memory. I now give them publicity in the belief that the information which they contain on the dreadful scenes lately enacted in Affghanistan, though clothed in a homely garb, will scarcely fail to be acceptable to many of my countrymen, both in India and England, who may be ignorant of the chief particulars. The time, from the 2d November, 1841, on which day the sudden popular outbreak at Cabul took place, to the 13th January, 1842, which witnessed the annihilation of the last small remnant of our unhappy force at Gundamuk, was one continued tragedy. The massacre of Sir

Alexander Burnes and his associates,—the loss of our commissariat fort,—the defeat of our troops under Brigadier Shelton at Beymaroo,—the treacherous assassination of Sir William Macnaghten, our envoy and minister,—and lastly, the disastrous retreat and utter destruction* of a force consisting of 5000 fighting men and upwards of 12,000 camp-followers,—are events which will assuredly rouse the British Lion from his repose, and excite an indignant spirit of inquiry in every breast. Men will not be satisfied, in this case, with a bare statement of the facts, but they will doubtless require to be made acquainted with the causes which brought about such awful effects. We have lost six entire regiments of infantry, three companies of sappers, a troop of European horse artillery, half the mountain-train battery, nearly a whole regiment of regular cavalry, and four squadrons of irregular horse, besides a well-stocked magazine, which *alone*, taking into consideration the cost of transport up to Cabul, may be estimated at nearly a million sterling. From first to last, more than 100 British officers have fallen: their names will be found in the Appendix. I glance but slightly at the *political* events of this period, not having been one of the initiated; and I do not pretend to enter into *minute* particulars with regard to even our *military* transactions, more especially those not immediately connected with the sad catastrophe which it has been my ill-fortune to witness, and whereof I now endeavour to pourtray the leading features. In these notes I have been careful to state only what I know to be undeniable facts. I have set down nothing on mere hearsay evidence, nor any thing which cannot be attested by living witnesses, or by existing documentary evidence. In treating of matters which occurred under my personal observation, it has been difficult to avoid *altogether* the occasional expression of my own individual opinion: but I hope it will be found that I have made no observations bearing hard on men or measures, that are either uncalled for, or will not stand the test of future investigation. To Major Pottinger, C. B., the well-known hero of Herat, whose subsequent acts have amply sustained the fame which he there acquired, I am much indebted for a great deal of interesting matter relative to the events at Charekar. To Captain Colin Mackenzie of the Madras army, political assistant at Peshawur, my obligations are greater than I can express, for his most valuable aid in the preparation of these notes, as well as for his excellent account of the attack on Brigadier Anquetil's fort, and the sad detail of the Envoy's cruel murder, and the circumstances therewith connected. To Captain Lawrence, late military Secretary to the Envoy, and to Captain Troup, late Brigade-Major to the Shah's force, I am likewise bound to offer my best acknowledgments for much important information.

The following LIST OF WORDS used in this volume, with their meanings, may be useful to the English reader.*

* In the late accounts from Gen. Pollock's army at Cabul, it is stated that the number of *skeletons* found on the line of march was *very small* compared with the thousands which had been reported and believed to have perished. But too few have as yet *made their appearance* to require that the above statement should be qualified. The reader who continues to the end will have little hope that it can *ever* prove *very* incorrect.—EDITOR.

* GLOSSARY.

Akukzye, or *Atchakzye*, the name of one of the great Affghan tribes.
Ameer, commander or chief; title assumed by Dost Mahomed Khan.
Atta, ground wheat.
Ayah, a nurse.
Bala Hissar, royal citadel, upper citadel.
Barukzye, name of one of the five great Dúráni or Dooranee tribes.
Bourge, tower.
Buniah, a trader, generally in grain.
Cafila, a convoy.
Char Chouk, public bazar. *Chahâa*, or *char*, means house, the bazar being introduced at right angles in the centre.
Chouk, bazar.
Chuprassie, a servant bearing a badge or brass plate.
Chuppao, a night surprise, or plundering attack.
Cossid, a messenger.
Debashee. Query whether this is an Indian or Kâbul term. Bashé means principal, as Káfila Bashé, the principal of the convoy, &c.
Dewan Daneh, hall of audience.
Doohlie, palanquin for carrying sick.
Dooranee, name of five great tribes, the Popul-zai, Barak-zai, Núr-zai, Bármi-zai, and Abkhu-zai.
Ensofzyes, an Affghan tribe holding the territory north of Peshâwúr.
Feringhee, European.
Ghazee, champion of religion.
Giljye, name of a great Affghan tribe.
Godown, storehouse.
Goorkha, a native of Népâl.
Havildar, a sergeant.
Hazirbash means "Be present."
Hurwah (uncertain).
Janbaz, Affghan horse.
Jeergha, council.
Jemandar, a native officer.
Juzail, long rifle.
Juzailchee, rifleman.
Kafir, infidel.
Khan, nobleman: the title in Kâbul is assumed by every one, even the lowest.
Kirkhee, a wicket, window.
Kujawur, a pannier carried on camels.
Kuzzilbash, descendant of the Persians, wearing a red cap.
Lascar, Indian term, an attendant on guns, magazines, &c.
Maund (of grain), 80lb. weight.
Meerza, an appellation generally given to Mahomedan writers.
Meer Wyze (*The*) means a teacher; generally conferred on some one eminent for sanctity.
Mehmandar, a man of all work; one who has charge of receiving guests, visiters, &c.
Moollah, priest.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Internal state of Affghanistan in 1841. Disaffection—especially in Kohistan, and military operations there. March of General Sale for Jellalabad, who has to fight his way. Earlier premonitory symptoms of disturbance.

When Major-Gen. Elphinstone assumed the command of the troops in Affghanistan in April, 1841, the country enjoyed a state of apparent tranquillity to which it had for many years been a stranger. This remark applies more particularly to those provinces which lie northeast of Ghuznee, comprehending Cabul proper, Kohistan, Jellalabad, and the neighbouring districts. The Giljye tribes, occupying a large portion of the country between Ghuznee and Candahar, had never been properly subdued, and the permanent occupation of Khelat-i-Giljye by our troops had so alarmed their jealous love of independence, as to cause, during the months of July and August, a partial rising of the tribes, which, however, the valour of our Hindoostanee troops, under Colonel Wymer, at Huft-aseer, and of the 5th Bengal Cavalry under Col. Chambers at Mookoor, speedily suppressed. Some of the principal chiefs delivered themselves up as hostages, and quiet was restored. To the west of Candahar, a notorious freebooter, named Akter Khan, having collected about 7000 followers, horse and foot, was signally defeated near Girhisk, on the banks of the Heermund, in the month of July, by a detachment of the Shah's regular troops under Capt. Woodburn, consisting of only one infantry regiment, two H. A. guns, under Lieut. Cooper, besides two regiments of *Janbaz*, or Affghan horse: the latter, however, behaved ill, and can hardly be said to have shared in the glory of the unequal conflict. Capt. Griffin, with the Bengal 2d Native Infantry, was, a few days after, equally successful in an attack on the enemy in the same quarter. Akter Khan fled to the hills with a few followers, and the land again enjoyed repose. Kohistan, whose wild and turbulent chiefs had sturdily maintained their independence against the late ruler, Dost Mahommed Khan, seemed at last to have settled down into a state of quiet, though unwilling, subjection to Shah Shoojah. The Nijrow chiefs formed an almost solitary exception to this show of outward submission; and Sir William Macnaghten had strongly urged upon Lord Auckland, at an early period of the year, the expediency of sending a force into that country as soon as practicable. Since our first occupation of Cabul, Nijrow had become a resort for all such restless and discontented characters as had rendered themselves obnoxious to the existing government. The fact of our having permitted them so long to brave us with impunity, had doubtless been regarded by the secret enemies of the new rule as a mark of conscious weakness, and may have encouraged them, in no slight degree, to hatch those treasonable designs against the state which were so suddenly developed in November, 1841, and which were for the time, unhappily, but too successful.*

Major Pottinger, having been appointed political agent in Kohistan, arrived from Calcutta in May, 1841, and was one of the first to prognosticate the coming storm. He lost no time in representing to the Envoy the insufficiency of our military force in Kohistan, consisting at that time of merely two six-pounder guns, and the Kohistanee regiment raised by Lieut. Maule of the Bengal Artillery; which excellent young officer was, on the first outbreak of the rebellion, cruelly butchered by his own men, or, which is the same thing, with their consent. This regiment was stationed at Charekar, a post of no strength, and ill adapted for making a protracted defence, as was afterwards proved. The Major was, however, considered in the light of an alarmist, and he only succeeded in procuring a few Hazirbash horsemen and a seventeen-pounder gun, with a small detachment of the Shah's artillery, and a very scanty supply of ammunition.

About the end of September, Major Pottinger came to Cabul for the purpose of impressing on the Envoy that, unless strong measures of prevention were speedily adopted, he considered a rise in Kohistan as in the highest degree probable. His apprehensions were considered by the Envoy as not altogether unfounded, and he was empowered to retain as hostages the sons of the leading chiefs, whose fidelity he suspected. The first interruption to the state of outward tranquillity, which I have described above, occurred early in September. Capt. Hay, in command of some Hazirbashes, and Lieut. Maule, with his Kohistanee regiment, (which had been relieved at Charekar by the Goorkah, or 4th regiment, the Shah's subsidized force officered from the line, under Capt. Codrington,) and two six-pounder guns, had been sent into the Zoormut valley to collect the annual revenue, with orders likewise to make an attempt to seize certain noted

Moonshee, interpreter or secretary.
Musjeed, a temple, place of worship.
Naib, deputy.
Nalkee, a sort of palanquin.
Nazir, steward.
Neenchu, coat.
Nuwab, prince.
Pilao, a dish of fowl with rice, &c.
Postheen, a sheepskin cloak.
Rajah, prince, an Indian term.
Ressala, a troop.
Sepoy, soldier, an Indian term; always *native* soldier.
Shah bagh, king's garden.
Shroff, a native banker.
Sirdar, a chief.
Subschoon, or *Shub-khoon* (the proper term), night surprise.
Sunga, stone breastwork.
Surwon, a man who takes care of camels.
Syud, a priest.
Wuzeer, vizier.
Yaboo, Affghan pony.
Zuna, dwelling; (*Kuneh*) private dwelling.

* The reader is particularly referred to a Note by the Editor, on our first page.

plunderers, among whom were some of the murderers of Col. Herring, who had long infested the road between Ghuznee and Cabul. The revenue was in the course of being quietly paid, when Capt. Hay was mischievously informed by Moollah Momin, collector of revenue in Zoormut (who shortly after distinguished himself as one of our bitterest foes), that the men whom he wished to seize, were harboured in a certain neighbouring fort of no strength whatever, and that the inhabitants would doubtless give them up rather than risk a rupture with the government. Capt. Hay immediately proceeded thither, but found the place much stronger than he had been led to expect, and the people obstinately prepared to resist his demands. On approaching the fort, he was fired upon; and finding the six-pounder shot, of which he gave a few rounds in return, made no impression on the mud walls, he had no alternative but to retreat.

The Envoy, on receiving Capt. Hay's report, immediately despatched a sufficient force to punish the rebels. It consisted of 200 of H. M. 44th Inf., 5th N. I., 6th regt. S. S. F., 4 guns of Abbot's battery, 2 iron nine-pounders mountain train, 2 comp. Shah's Sappers, and 2 squadrons of Anderson's horse. These were under the command of Lieut.-Col. Oliver, and were accompanied by Capt. G. H. Macgregor, the political agent at Gundamuck, who happened to be then at Cabul on business. The force commenced its march on the 27th September, and reached the Zoormut valley without the slightest interruption. On the approach of our troops the rebels had fled to the hills in the greatest consternation, leaving their forts at our mercy. The principal strongholds were destroyed with powder, and the force prepared to return to Cabul.

Meanwhile the hydra of rebellion had reared its head in another far more formidable quarter. Early in October three Giljye chiefs of note suddenly quitted Cabul, after plundering a rich Cafila at Tezeen, and took up a strong position in the difficult defile of Khoord-Cabul, about ten miles from the capital, thus blocking up the pass, and cutting off our communication with Hindostan. Intelligence had not very long previously been received that Mahomed Akber Khan, second son of the ex-ruler Dost Mahomed Khan, had arrived at Bameean from Khooloom for the supposed purpose of carrying on intrigues against the government. It is remarkable that he is nearly connected by marriage with Mahomed Shah Khan and Dost Mahomed Khan,* also Giljyes, who almost immediately joined the above-mentioned chiefs. Mahomed Akber had, since the deposition of his father, never ceased to foster feelings of intense hatred towards the English nation; and, though often urged by the fallen ruler to deliver himself up, had resolutely preferred the life of a houseless exile to one of mean dependence on the bounty of his enemies. It seems therefore in the highest degree probable that this hostile movement on the part of the Eastern Giljyes was the result of his influence over them, combined with other causes which will be hereafter mentioned. The march of Gen. Sale's brigade to their winter quarters at Jellalabad, and ultimately to India, had only been deferred until the return of the force from Zoormut, but was now hastened in consequence of this unwelcome news. On the 9th October the 35th regt. N. I. under Col. Monteath, C. B., 100 of the Shah's Sappers under Capt. G. Broadfoot, a squadron of the 5th cavalry under Capt. Oldfield, and two guns of Capt. Abbot's battery under Lieut. Dawes, were sent on in advance to the entrance of the pass at Bootkhak, where, on the following night, it was attacked by a large number of rebels, who taking advantage of the high ground and deep ravines in the neighbourhood of the camp, maintained a sharp fire upon it for several hours, by which 35 Sepoys were killed and wounded.

On the morning of the 11th, Gen. Sale marched from Cabul with H. M. 13th Lt. Inf. to join the camp at Bootkhak, and on the following morning the whole proceeded to force the pass. Intelligence had been received that the enemy, besides occupying the heights of this truly formidable defile, which in many places approach to within fifty yards of each other, rising up almost perpendicularly to an elevation of 500 or 600 feet, had erected a *sunga*, or stone breastwork, in the narrowest part of the gorge, flanked by a strong tower. The advance guard, consisting of the Shah's Sappers, a company of H. M. 13th foot, another of the 35th N. I., and 2 guns under Lieut. Dawes, was met about midway through the pass, which is nearly five miles long, by a sharp and continued discharge of juzails from the strong posts of the enemy. This was returned by our men with precision and effect, notwithstanding the disadvantages of their situation; flanking parties gallantly struggled up the height to dislodge the enemy from thence, while the Sappers rushed on to destroy the above-mentioned breastwork: through this, however, the stream which flows down the middle of the defile had already forced a passage; and, as the enemy abandoned it, as well as the flanking tower, on the approach of our troops, Lieut. Dawes passed his guns through the interval at full speed, getting them under the shelter of a rock beyond the sustained and murderous fire of the enemy's juzailchees, it being impossible to elevate the guns sufficiently to bear upon them. The flankers did their duty nobly, and the fight had lasted for about half an hour, during which the conduct of the Shah's Sappers under Capt. Broadfoot was creditable in the highest degree, when the approach of the main column under Gen. Sale, who had been already shot through the leg, enabled Capt. Seaton of the 35th regiment, who commanded the advance guard, to push on. This he did, running the gauntlet to the end of the pass, by which

* This chief must not be confounded with the ex-ruler of the same name.

time the enemy, fearful of being taken in rear, abandoned their position, and retired towards Kubbur-i-Jubbar, on the road to Tezeen. The 35th regiment, Shah's Sappers, Lieut. Dawes's guns, and a party of Hazirbash under Capt. Trevor, encamped at Khoord-Cabul, H. M.'s 13th Lt. Inf. returning to Bootkhak. During their return, parties who still lurked among the rocks fired upon the column, thereby doing some mischief.

In these positions the divided force remained encamped for several days, awaiting the return to Cabul of the troops from Zoormut. During this time several *shub-khoons*, or night attacks, were made on the two camps, that on the 35th regiment at Khoord-Cabul being peculiarly disastrous from the treachery of the Affghan horse, who admitted the enemy within their lines, by which our troops were exposed to a fire from the least suspected quarter: many of our gallant Sepoys and Lieut. Jenkins thus met their death.

On the 20th October, Gen. Sale moved with his force to Khoord-Cabul, having been previously joined by the 37th regiment under Major Griffiths, Capt. Abbot's guns, the mountain train under Capt. Backhouse, 100 of Anderson's irregular horse under Lieut. Mayne, and the remainder of the Shah's sappers and miners. About the 22d the whole force there assembled, with Capt. Macgregor, political agent, marched to Tezeen, encountering much determined opposition on the road.

By this time it was too evident that the whole of the Eastern Giljyes had risen in one common league against us. Their governor, or viceroy, Humza Khan, had in the interval gone forth under pretence of bringing back the chiefs to their allegiance; on his return, however, which took place nearly at the time at which Gen. Sale marched from Khoord-Cabul, the treacherous nature of his proceedings had been discovered, and he was placed by the Shah in confinement: he was suspected, indeed, before. Gen. Sale remained at Tezeen until the 26th October.

It must be remarked that, for some time previous to these overt acts of rebellion, the always strong and ill-repressed personal dislike of the Affghans towards Europeans had been manifested in a more than usually open manner in and about Cabul. Officers had been insulted and attempts made to assassinate them. Two Europeans had been murdered, as also several camp followers; but these and other signs of the approaching storm had unfortunately been passed over as mere ebullitions of private angry feeling. This incredulity and apathy is the more to be lamented, as it was pretty well known that on the occasion of the *shub-khoon*, or first night attack on the 35th N. I. at Bootkhak, a large portion of our assailants consisted of the armed retainers of the different men of consequence in Cabul itself, large parties of whom had been seen proceeding from the city to the scene of action on the evening of the attack, and afterwards returning. Although these men had to pass either through the heart or round the skirts of our camp at Seeah Sung, it was not deemed expedient even to question them, far less to detain them.

On the 26th October, Gen. Sale started in the direction of Gundamuck, Capt. Macgregor, political agent, having, during the halt at Tezeen, half frightened half cajoled the refractory Giljye chiefs into what the sequel proved to have been a most hollow truce; for the term *treaty* can scarcely be applied to any agreement made with men so proverbially treacherous, as the whole race of Affghans have proved themselves to be, from our first knowledge of their existence up to the present moment. Of the difficulties experienced by Gen. Sale during his march to Gundamuck, and of the necessity which induced him subsequently to push on to Jellalabad, the public are aware. On the day of his departure from Tezeen the 37th N. I., 3 companies of the Shah's sappers, under Capt. Walsh, and 3 guns of the mountain train, under Lieut. Green, retraced their steps towards Cabul, and encamped at Kubbur-i-Jubbar, to wait as an escort to the sick and convalescent. The sappers continued their march back to Cabul unopposed; the rest remained here unmolested until the 1st November, when they broke ground for Khoord-Cabul. Here, in the afternoon of the 2d, Major Griffiths, who commanded the detachment, received a peremptory order from General Elphinstone to force his way without loss of time to Cabul, where the insurrection had already broken out in all its violence. While striking his camp he was attacked by the mountaineers, who now began to assemble on the neighbouring heights in great numbers; and his march through the pass from Bootkhak to Cabul was one continued conflict, nothing saving him from heavy loss but the steadiness and gallantry of his troops, and the excellence of his own dispositions. He arrived in cantonments before daybreak on the morning of the 3d November.

The two great leaders of the rebellion were Ameenoollah Khan, the chief of Logue, and Abdoollah Khan, Achukzye, a chief of great influence, and possessing a large portion of the Pisheen valley.

Ameenoollah Khan had hitherto been considered one of the staunchest friends of the existing government; and such was the confidence placed in him by the wuzeer, that he had selected him to take charge of Humza Khan, the lately superseded governor of the Giljyes, as a prisoner to Ghuznee. This man now distinguished himself as one of our most inveterate enemies. To illustrate the character of his coadjutor, Abdoollah Khan it will be sufficient to relate the following anecdote. In order to get rid of his elder brother, who stood between him and the inheritance, he caused him to be seized and buried up to the chin in the earth. A rope was then fastened round his neck, and to the end of it was haltered a wild horse: the animal was then driven round in a circle, until the unhappy victim's head was twisted from his

shoulders. This same man is also mentioned in terms of just abhorrence by Capt. A. Conolly in his Travels.

But though the two above-named chiefs took a leading part in the rebellion, there can be little doubt that it had its origin in the deep offence given to the Giljyes by the ill-advised reduction of their annual stipends—a measure which had been forced upon Sir William Macnaghten by Lord Auckland.* This they considered, and with some show of justice, as a breach of faith on the part of our government: at all events, that was surely mistaken economy which raised into hostility men, whose determined spirit under a sense of wrong the following anecdote may illustrate. When oppressed by Nadir Shah, the Giljye tribes, rather than succumb to the tyrant's will, took refuge in the mountains amidst the snow, where with their families they fed for months on roots alone: of these they sent a handful to Nadir, with the message, that, so long as such roots could be procured, they would continue to resist his tyranny. Such were many of the men now leagued together by one common feeling of hatred against us.

A passage occurring in the posthumous memorandum by the Envoy, now in Lady Macnaghten's possession, requires insertion here:—

"The immediate cause of the outbreak in the capital was a seditious letter addressed by Abdoollah Khan to several chiefs of influence at Cabul, stating that it was the design of the Envoy to seize and send them all to London! The principal rebels met on the previous night, and, relying on the inflammable feelings of the people of Cabul, they pretended that the king had issued an order to put all infidels to death; having previously forged an order from him for our destruction, by the common process of washing out the contents of a genuine paper, with the exception of the seal, and substituting their own wicked inventions."

Such at least is the generally received version of the story, though persons are not wanting who would rashly pronounce the king guilty of the design imputed to him.

But, however that may be, it is certain that the events, which I have already narrated, ought to have been enough to arouse the authorities from their blind security. It ought, however, to be stated that, alarmed by certain symptoms of disaffection in different parts of the country, and conscious of the inadequacy of the means he then possessed to quell any determined and general insurrection, Sir William had, a few months previously, required the presence of several more regiments: he was however induced to cancel this wise precautionary measure. But, even had this additional force arrived, it is next to certain that the loss of British honour, subsequently sustained, could only have been deferred for a period. A fearfully severe lesson was necessary to remove the veil from the eyes of those, who, drawing their conclusions from their wishes, *would* consider Affghanistan as a settled country. It is but justice to Sir William Macnaghten to say that such recommendations from him as were incompatible with the retrenching system were not received at headquarters in a way encouraging to him as a public officer.

* The editor invites particular attention to the note on this subject on our first page.

CHAPTER I.

Outbreak of the Rebellion. Murder of Sir Alexander Burnes. Want of energy. Attacks on Capt. Lawrence and Lieut. Sturt. Character of Gen. Elphinstone. Unmilitary position and construction of the cantonment at Cabul.

November 2d, 1841.—At an early hour this morning, the startling intelligence was brought from the city, that a popular outbreak had taken place; that the shops were all closed; and that a general attack had been made on the houses of all British officers residing in Cabul. About 8 A. M. a hurried note was received by the Envoy in cantonments from Sir Alexander Burnes,* stating that the minds of the people had been strongly excited by some mischievous reports, but expressing a hope that he should succeed in quelling the commotion. About 9 A. M. however, a rumour was circulated, which afterwards proved but too well founded, that Sir Alexander had been murdered, and Capt. Johnson's treasury plundered. Flames were now seen to issue from that part of the city where they dwelt, and it was too apparent that the endeavour to appease the people by quiet means had failed, and that it would be necessary to have recourse to stronger measures. The report of fire-arms was incessant, and seemed to extend through the town from end to end.

Sir William Macnaghten now called upon Gen. Elphinstone to act. An order was accordingly sent to Brigadier Shelton, then encamped at Seeah Sung, about a mile and a half distant from cantonments, to march forthwith to the *Bala Hissar* or *royal citadel*, where his Majesty Shah Shooja resided, commanding a large portion of the city, with the following troops; viz. one company of H. M. 44th foot; a wing of the 54th regiment N. I., under Major Ewart; the 6th regiment Shah's infantry, under Capt. Hopkins; and 4 horse artillery guns, under Capt. Nicholl; and on arrival there to act according to his own judgment, after consulting with the King.

The remainder of the troops encamped at Seeah Sung were at the same time ordered into cantonments; H. M. 44th foot under Lieut-Col. Mackerell; 2 horse artillery guns under Lieut. Waller; and Anderson's irregular horse. A messenger was likewise despatched to recall the 37th N. I. from Khoord-Cabul without delay.

* The Envoy lived in the cantonment, and Sir A. Burnes in the City.

The troops at this time in cantonments were as follows: viz. 5th regiment N. I., under Lieut.-Col. Oliver; a wing of 54th N. I.; 5 six-pounder field guns, with a detachment of the Shah's artillery, under Lieut. Warburton; the Envoy's body-guard; a troop of Skinner's horse, and another of local horse, under Lieut. Walker; three companies of the Shah's sappers, under Capt. Walsh; and about 20 men of the Company's sappers, attached to Capt. Paton, Assist.-Qr.-Mast.-Gen.

Widely spread and formidable as this insurrection proved to be afterwards, it was at first a mere insignificant ebullition of discontent on the part of a few desperate and restless men, which military energy and promptitude ought to have crushed in the bud. Its commencement was an attack by certainly not 300 men on the dwellings of Sir Alexander Burnes and Capt. Johnson, paymaster to the Shah's force; and so little did Sir Alexander himself apprehend serious consequences, that he not only refused, on its first breaking out, to comply with the earnest entreaties of the wuzeer to accompany him to the Bala Hissar, but actually forbade his guard to fire on the assailants, attempting to check what he supposed to be a mere riot, by haranguing the attacking party from the gallery of his house. The result was fatal to himself; for, in spite of the devoted gallantry of the Sepoys, who composed his guard, and that of the paymaster's office and treasury on the opposite side of the street, who yielded their trust only with their latest breath, the latter were plundered, and his two companions, Lieut. William Broadfoot of the Bengal European regiment, and his brother Lieut. Burnes of the Bombay army, were massacred, in common with every man, woman, and child found on the premises, by these bloodthirsty miscreants. Lieut. Broadfoot killed five or six men with his own hand, before he was shot down.

No man, surely, in a highly responsible public situation—especially in such a one as that held by the late Sir Alexander Burnes—ought ever to indulge in a state of blind security, or to neglect salutary warnings, however small. It is indisputable that such warnings had been given to him; especially by a respectable Affghan named Taj-Mahomed, on the very previous night, who went in person to Sir A. Burnes to put him on his guard, but retired disgusted by the incredulity with which his assertions were received. It is not for me to comment on *his* public character. It is the property of the civilized portion of the world; but it is due to another, little known beyond the immediate sphere in which he moved, to say that, had this outbreak been productive of no effects beyond the death of *Lieut. William Broadfoot*, it could not be sufficiently deplored: in him was lost to the state not only one of its bravest and most intelligent officers, but a man who for honesty of purpose and soundness of judgment, I may boldly aver, could not be surpassed.

The King, who was in the Bala Hissar, being somewhat startled by the increasing number of the rioters, although not at the time aware, so far as we can judge, of the assassination of Sir A. Burnes, despatched one of his sons with a number of his immediate Affghan retainers, and that corps of Hindoostanees commonly called Campbell's regiment, with two guns, to restore order: no support, however, was rendered to these by our troops, whose leaders appeared so thunderstruck by the intelligence of the outbreak, as to be incapable of adopting more than the most puerile defensive measures. Even Sir William Macnaghten seemed, from a note received at this time from him by Captain Trevor, to apprehend little danger, as he therein expressed his perfect confidence as to the speedy and complete success of Campbell's Hindoostanees in putting an end to the disturbance. Such, however, was not the case; for the enemy, encouraged by our inaction, increased rapidly in spirit and numbers, and drove back the King's guard with great slaughter, the guns being with difficulty saved.

It must be understood that Captain Trevor lived at this time with his family in a strong *bourge*, or tower, situated by the river side, near the Kuzzilbash quarter, which, on the west, is wholly distinct from the remainder of the city. Within musket shot, on the opposite side of the river, in the direction of the strong and populous village of Deh Affghan, is a fort of some size, then used as a godown, or storehouse, by the Shah's commissariat, part of it being occupied by Brigadier Anquetil, commanding the Shah's force. Close to this fort, divided by a narrow water-course, was the house of Capt. Troup, Brigade Major of the Shah's force, perfectly defensible against musketry. Both Brigadier Anquetil and Captain Troup had gone out on horseback early in the morning towards cantonments, and were unable to return; but the above fort and house contained the usual guard of Sepoys; and in a garden close at hand called the *Yaboo-Khaneh*, or lines of the baggage-cattle, was a small detachment of the Shah's sappers and miners, and a party of Captain Ferris's juzailchees. Capt. Trevor's tower was capable of being made good against a much stronger force than the rebels at this present time could have collected, had it been properly garrisoned.

As it was, the Hazirbash, or King's life-guards, were, under Capt. Trevor, congregated round their leader, to protect him and his family; which duty, it will be seen, they well performed under very trying circumstances. For what took place in this quarter I beg to refer to a communication made to me at my request by Captain Colin Mackenzie, Assistant Political Agent at Peshawur, who then occupied the godown portion of the fort above mentioned, which will be found hereafter.*

* I am sorry to say that this document has not reached me with the rest of the manuscript. I have not struck out the reference, because there is

I have already stated that Brigadier Shelton was early in the day directed to proceed with part of the Seeah Sung force to occupy the Bala Hissar, and, if requisite, to lead his troops against the insurgents. Capt. Lawrence, military secretary to the Envoy, was at the same time sent forward to prepare the King for that officer's reception. Taking with him four troopers of the body-guard, he was galloping along the main road, when, shortly after crossing the river, he was suddenly attacked by an Affghan, who, rushing from behind a wall, made a desperate cut at him with a large two-handed knife. He dexterously avoided the blow by spurring his horse on one side; but, passing onwards, he was fired upon by about fifty men, who, having seen his approach, ran out from the Lahore gate of the city to intercept him. He reached the Bala Hissar safe, where he found the King apparently in a state of great agitation, he having witnessed the assault from the window of his palace. His Majesty expressed an eager desire to conform to the Envoy's wishes in all respects in this emergency.

Capt. Lawrence was still conferring with the King, when Lieut. Sturt, our executive engineer, rushed into the palace, stabbed in three places about the face and neck. He had been sent by Brigadier Shelton to make arrangements for the accommodation of the troops, and had reached the gate of the *Dewan Khaneh*, or hall of audience, when the attempt at his life was made by some one who had concealed himself there for that purpose, and who immediately effected his escape. The wounds were fortunately not dangerous, and Lieut. Sturt was conveyed back to cantonments in the King's own palanquin, under a strong escort. Soon after this, Brig. Shelton's force arrived; but the day was suffered to pass without any thing being done demonstrative of British energy and power. The murder of our countrymen, and the spoliation of public and private property, were perpetrated with impunity within a mile of our cantonment, and under the very walls of the Bala Hissar.

Such an exhibition on our part taught the enemy their strength—confirmed against us those who, however disposed to join in the rebellion, had hitherto kept aloof from prudential motives, and ultimately encouraged the nation to unite as one man for our destruction.

It was, in fact, the crisis of all others calculated to test the qualities of a military commander. Whilst, however, it is impossible for an unprejudiced person to approve the military dispositions of this eventful period, it is equally our duty to discriminate. The most *responsible* party is not always the most culpable. It would be the height of injustice to a most amiable and gallant officer not to notice the long course of painful and wearing illness, which had materially affected the nerves, and probably even the intellect, of Gen. Elphinstone; cruelly incapacitating him, so far as he was personally concerned, from acting in this sudden emergency with the promptitude and vigour necessary for our preservation. Major-Gen. Elphinstone had some time before represented to Lord Auckland the shattered state of his health, stating plainly and honestly that it had unfitted him to continue in command, and requesting permission to resign. Lord Auckland at first pressed him to remain, but ultimately acceded to his wishes; and the General was on the point of returning to India, thence to embark for England, when the rebellion unhappily broke out.* No one, who knew Gen. Elphinstone, could fail to esteem his many excellent qualities both in public and private life. To all under his command, not excepting the youngest subaltern, he was ever accessible, and in the highest degree courteous and considerate: nor did he ever exhibit, either in word or practice, the slightest partiality for officers of his own service over those of the Company. His professional knowledge was extensive; and, before disease had too much impaired his frame for active exertion, he had zealously applied himself to improve and stimulate every branch of the service. He had, indeed, but one unhappy fault as a general—the result, probably, of age and infirmity—and this was a want of confidence in his own judgment, leading him to prefer every body's opinion to his own, until, amidst the conflicting views of a multitude of counsellors, he was at a loss which course to take. Hence much of that indecision, procrastination, and want of method, which paralyzed all our efforts, gradually demoralized the troops, and ultimately, not being redeemed by the qualities of his second in command, proved the ruin of us all. I might add that, during the siege, no one exposed his person more fearlessly or frequently to the enemy's fire than Gen. Elphinstone: but his gallantry was never doubted. Unhappily, Sir William Macnaghten at first made light of the insurrection, and, by his representations as to the general feeling of the people towards us, not only deluded himself, but misled the General in council. The unwelcome truth was soon forced upon us, that in the whole Affghan nation we could not reckon on a single friend.

But though no active measures of aggression were taken, all necessary preparations were made to secure the cantonment against attack. It fell to my own lot to place every available gun in position round the works. Besides the guns already mentioned, we had in the magazine 6 nine-pounder iron guns, 3 twenty-four pounder howitzers, 1 twelve-pounder ditto, and 3 5½inch mortars; but the detail of artillerymen fell very short of what was required to man all these efficiently, consisting of only 80

hope that it still exists, and may be yet appended to this narrative. The loss of any thing else from Capt. Mackenzie's pen will be regretted by all who read his other communication, the account of the Envoy's murder.—EDITOR.

* See a note by the Editor on our first page.

Punjabees belonging to the Shah, under Lieut. Warburton, very insufficiently instructed, and of doubtful fidelity.

To render our position intelligible, it is necessary to describe the cantonment, or fortified lines so called. It is uncertain whether, for the faults which I am about to describe, any blame justly attaches to Lieut. Sturt, the engineer, a talented and sensible officer, but who was often obliged to yield his better judgment to the spirit of false economy which characterized our Affghan policy. The credit, however, of having selected a site for the cantonments, or controlled the execution of its works, is not a distinction now likely to be *claimed* exclusively by *any one*. But it must always remain a wonder that any Government, or any officer or set of officers, who had either science or experience in the field, should, in a *half*-conquered country, fix their forces (already inadequate to the services to which they might be called) in so extraordinary and injudicious a military position. Every engineer officer who had been consulted, since the first occupation of Cabul by our troops, had pointed to the Bala Hissar as the only suitable place for a garrison which was to keep in subjection the city and the surrounding country; but, above all, it was surely the only proper site for the *magazine*, on which the army's efficiency depended. In defiance, however, of rule and precedent, the position eventually fixed upon for our magazine and cantonment was a piece of low swampy ground, commanded on all sides by hills or forts. It consisted of a low rampart and a narrow ditch in the form of a parellelogram, thrown up along the line of the Kohistan road, 1000 yards long 600 broad, with round flanking bastions at each corner, every one of which was commanded by some fort or hill. To one end of this work was attached a space nearly half as large again, and surrounded by a simple wall. This was called the "Mission Compound:" half of it was appropriated for the residence of the Envoy, the other half being crowded with buildings, erected without any attempt at regularity, for the accommodation of the officers and assistants of the mission, and the Envoy's body-guard. This large space required in time of siege to be defended, and thus materially weakened the garrison; while its very existence rendered the whole face of the cantonment, to which it was annexed, nugatory for purposes of defence. Besides these disadvantages, the lines were a great deal too extended, so that the ramparts could not be properly manned without harassing the garrison. On the eastern side, about a quarter of a mile off, flowed the Cabul river in a direction parallel with the Kohistan road. Between the river and cantonments, about 150 yards from the latter, was a wide canal. Gen. Elphinstone, on his arrival in April, 1841, perceived at a glance the utter unfitness of the cantonment for purposes of protracted defence, and when a new fort was about to be built for the magazine on the south side, he liberally offered to purchase for the government, out of his own funds, a large portion of the land in the vicinity, with the view of removing some very objectionable inclosures and gardens, which offered shelter to our enemy within two hundred yards of our ramparts; but neither was his offer accepted, nor were his representations on the subject attended with any good result. He lost no time, however, in throwing a bridge over the river, in a direct line between the cantonments and the Seeah Sung camp, and in rendering the bridge over the canal passable for guns; which judicious measure shortened the distance for artillery and infantry by at least two miles, sparing too the necessity which existed previously of moving to and fro by the main road, which was commanded by three or four forts, as well as from the city walls. Moreover, the Cabul river being liable to sudden rises, and almost always unfordable during the rainy season (March and April), it will easily be understood that the erection of this bridge was a work of much importance. But the most unaccountable oversight of all, and that which may be said to have contributed most largely to our subsequent disasters, was that of having *the commissariat stores detached from cantonments*, in an old fort, which in an outbreak, would be almost indefensible. Capt. Skinner, the chief commissariat officer, at the time when this arrangement was made, earnestly solicited from the authorities a place *within* the cantonment for his stores, but received for answer that "no such place could be given him, as they were far too busy in erecting barracks for the men to think of commissariat stores." The Envoy himself pressed this point very urgently, but without avail. At the southwest angle of cantonments was the bazar village, surrounded by a low wall, and so crowded with mud huts as to form a perfect maze. Nearly opposite, with only the high road between, was the small fort of Mahomed Shereef, which perfectly commanded our southwest bastion. Attached to this fort was the Shah Bagh, or King's garden, surrounded by a high wall, and comprising a space of about half a square mile. About two hundred yards higher up the road towards the city, was the commissariat fort, the gate of which stood very nearly opposite the entrance of the Shah Bagh. There were various other forts at different points of our works, which will be mentioned in the course of events. On the east, at the distance of about a mile, was a range of low hills dividing us from the Seeah Sung camp; and on the west, about the same distance off, was another somewhat higher range, at the northeast flank of which, by the road-side, was the village of *Beymaroo*, commanding a great part of the Mission Compound. In fact we were so hemmed in on all sides, that when the rebellion became general, the troops could not move out a dozen paces from either gate, without being exposed to the fire of some neighbouring hostile fort, garrisoned too by marksmen who seldom missed

their aim. The country around us was likewise full of impediments to the movements of artillery and cavalry, being in many places flooded, and every where closely intersected by deep water-cuts.

I cannot help adding, in conclusion, that almost all the calamities that befel our ill-starred force may be traced more or less to the defects of our position; and that our cantonment at Cabul, whether we look to its situation or its construction, must ever be spoken of as a disgrace to our military skill and judgment.

CHAPTER II.

The 37th Regiment attacked on its return from Khoord-Cabul. Murder of Lieuts. Maule and Wheeler. Loss of the Commissariat Fort. The General's Indecision. Major Thain and Capt. Paton. Successful attack on the Fort of Mahomed Shereef. Engagements with Affghan Horse and Foot. The Enemy's Plan to reduce the British by Starvation. Brigadier Shelton sent for from Bala Hissar.

November 3d.—At 3 A. M. the alarm was sounded at the eastern gate of cantonments, in consequence of a brisk file-firing in the direction of Seeah Sung, which turned out to proceed from the 37th regiment N. I. on its return from Khoord-Cabul, having been closely followed up the whole way by a body of about 3000 Giljyes. The regiment managed, nevertheless, to save all its baggage excepting a few tents, which were left on the ground for want of carriage, and to bring in all the wounded safe.

A more orderly march was never made under such trying circumstances, and it reflects the highest credit on Major Griffiths and all concerned. This regiment was a valuable acquisition to our garrison, being deservedly esteemed one of the best in the service. Three guns of the mountain train under Lieut. Green accompanied them, and were of the greatest use in defending the rear on the line of march. In consequence of their arrival, a reinforcement was sent into the Bala Hissar, consisting of the left wing 54th N. I., with Lieut. Green's guns, 1 iron nine-pounder, 1 twenty-four-pounder howitzer, 2 5½-inch mortars, and a supply of magazine stores. They all reached it in safety, though a few shots were fired at the rear-guard from some orchards near the city. Brigadier Shelton was ordered to maintain a sharp fire upon the city from the howitzers and guns, and to endeavour to fire the houses by means of shells and carcasses from the two mortars; should he also find it practicable to send a force into the city, he was to do so.

Early in the afternoon, a detachment under Major Swayne, consisting of two companies 5th N. I., one of H. M. 44th, and 2 H. A. guns under Lieut. Waller, proceeded out of the western gate towards the city, to effect, if possible, a junction at the Lahore gate with a part of Brigadier Shelton's force from the Bala Hissar. They drove back and defeated a party of the enemy who occupied the road near the Shah Bagh, but had to encounter a sharp fire from the Kohistan gate of the city, and from the walls of various enclosures, behind which a number of marksmen had concealed themselves, as also from the fort of Mahmood Khan commanding the road along which they had to pass. Lieut. Waller and several Sepoys were wounded. Major Swayne, observing the whole line of road towards the Lahore gate strongly occupied by some Affghan horse and juzailchees, and fearing that he would be unable to effect the object in view with so small a force unsupported by cavalry, retired into cantonments. Shortly after this, a large body of the rebels having issued from the fort of Mahmood Khan, 900 yards southeast of cantonments, extended themselves in a line along the bank of the river, displaying a flag; an iron nine-pounder was brought to bear on them from our southeast bastion, and a round or two of shrapnell caused them to seek shelter behind some neighbouring banks, whence, after some desultory firing on both sides, they retired.

Whatever hopes may have been entertained, up to this period, of a speedy termination to the insurrection, they began now to wax fainter every hour, and an order was despatched to the officer commanding at Candahar to lose no time in sending to our assistance the 16th and 43d regiments N. I. (which were under orders for India,) together with a troop of horse artillery, and half a regiment of cavalry; an order was likewise sent off to recall Gen. Sale with his brigade from Gundamuck. Capt. John Conolly, political assistant to the Envoy, went into the Bala Hissar early this morning, to remain with the King, and to render every assistance in his power to Brigadier Shelton.

On this day Lieut. Richard Maule, commanding the Kohistanee regiment, which on its return from Zoormut had been stationed at Kahdarra in Kohistan, about twenty miles northwest of Cabul, with the object of keeping down disaffection in that quarter, being deserted by his men, was, together with local Lieut. Wheeler, his adjutant, barbarously murdered by a band of rebels. They defended themselves resolutely for several minutes; but at length fell under the fire of some juzails. Lieut. Maule had been previously informed of his danger by a friendly native, but chose rather to run the risk of being sacrificed than desert the post assigned him. Thus fell a noble-hearted soldier and a devout Christian.

November 4th.—The enemy having taken strong possession of the *Shah Bagh*, or King's Garden, and thrown a garrison into the fort of Mahomed Shereef, nearly opposite the bazar, effectually prevented any communication between the cantonment and commissariat fort, the gate of which latter was commanded by the gate of the Shah Bagh on the other side of the road.

Ensign Warren of the 5th N. I. at this time occupied the commissariat fort with 100 men, and having reported that he was very hard

pressed by the enemy, and in danger of being completely cut off, the General, either forgetful or unaware at the moment of the important fact that upon the possession of this fort we were entirely dependent for provisions, and anxious only to save the lives of men whom he believed to be in imminent peril, hastily gave directions that a party under the command of Capt. Swayne of H. M.'s 44th Regt. should proceed immediately to bring off Ensign Warren and his garrison to cantonments, abandoning the fort to the enemy. A few minutes previously an attempt to relieve him had been made by Ensign Gordon, with a company of the 37th N. I. and eleven camels laden with ammunition; but the party were driven back, and Ensign Gordon killed. Capt. Swayne now accordingly proceeded towards the spot with two companies of H. M.'s 44th; scarcely had they issued from cantonments ere a sharp and destructive fire was poured upon them from Mahomed Shereef's fort, which, as they proceeded, was taken up by the marksmen in the Shah Bagh, under whose deadly aim both officers and men suffered severely; Capts. Swayne and Robinson of the 44th being killed, and Lieuts. Hallahan, Evans, and Fortye wounded, in this disastrous business. It now seemed to the officer, on whom the command had devolved, impracticable to bring off Ensign Warren's party, without risking the annihilation of his own, which had already sustained so rapid and severe a loss in officers; he therefore returned forthwith to cantonments. In the course of the evening, another attempt was made by a party of the 5th Lt. Cavalry; but they encountered so severe a fire from the neighbouring enclosures as to oblige them to return without effecting their desired object, with the loss of 8 troopers killed and 14 badly wounded. Capt. Boyd, the Assist.-Com.-Gen., having meanwhile been made acquainted with the General's intention to give up the fort, hastened to lay before him the disastrous consequences that would ensue from so doing. He stated that the place contained, besides large supplies of wheat and atta, all his stores of rum, medicine, clothing, &c., the value of which might be estimated at four lacs of rupees; that to abandon such valuable property would not only expose the force to the immediate want of the necessaries of life, but would infallibly inspire the enemy with tenfold courage. He added that we had not above two days' supply of provisions in cantonments, and that neither himself nor Capt. Johnson of the Shah's commissariat had any prospect of procuring them elsewhere under existing circumstances. In consequence of this strong representation on the part of Capt. Boyd, the General sent immediate orders to Ensign Warren to hold out the fort to the last extremity. (Ensign Warren, it must be remarked, denied having received this note.) Early in the night a letter was received from him to the effect that he believed the enemy were busily engaged in mining one of the towers, and that such was the alarm among the Sepoys that several of them had actually made their escape over the wall to cantonments; that the enemy were making preparations to burn down the gate; and that, considering the temper of his men, he did not expect to be able to hold out many hours longer, unless reinforced without delay. In reply to this he was informed that he would be reinforced by 2 A. M.

At about 9 o'clock P. M. there was an assembly of staff and other officers at the General's house, when the Envoy came in and expressed his serious conviction that, unless Mahomed Shereef's fort were taken that very night, we should lose the commissariat fort, or at all events be unable to bring out of it provisions for the troops. The disaster of the morning rendered the General extremely unwilling to expose his officers and men to any similar peril; but, on the other hand, it was urged that the darkness of the night would nullify the enemy's fire, who would also most likely be taken unawares, as it was not the custom of the Affghans to maintain a very strict watch at night. A man in Capt. Johnson's employ was accordingly sent out to reconnoitre the place; he returned in a few minutes with the intelligence that about twenty men were seated outside the fort near the gate, smoking and talking; and from what he overheard of their conversation, he judged the garrison to be very small, and unable to resist a sudden onset. The debate was now resumed, but another hour passed and the General could not make up his mind. A second spy was despatched, whose report tended to corroborate what the first had said. I was then sent to Lieut. Sturt, the engineer, who was nearly recovered from his wounds, for his opinion. He at first expressed himself in favour of an immediate attack, but, on hearing that some of the enemy were on the watch at the gate, he judged it prudent to defer the assault till an early hour in the morning: this decided the General, though not before several hours had slipped away in fruitless discussion.

Orders were at last given for a detachment to be in readiness at 4 A. M. at the Kohistan gate; and Capt. Bellew, Deputy Assist.-Quar.-Mast.-Gen., volunteered to blow open the gate; another party of H. M.'s 44th were at the same time to issue by a cut in the south face of the rampart, and march simultaneously towards the commissariat fort, to reinforce the garrison. Morning had, however, well dawned ere the men could be got under arms; and they were on the point of marching off, when it was reported that Ensign Warren had just arrived in cantonments with his garrison, having evacuated the fort. It seems that the enemy had actually set fire to the gate; and Ensign Warren, seeing no prospect of a reinforcement, and expecting the enemy every moment to rush in, led out his men by a hole which he had prepared in the wall. Being called upon in a public letter from the Assist.-Adj.-Gen. to state his reasons for abandoning his post, he replied that he was

ready to do so before a court of inquiry, which he requested might be assembled to investigate his conduct; it was not, however, deemed expedient to comply with his request.

It is beyond a doubt that our feeble and ineffectual defence of this fort, and the valuable booty it yielded, was the first *fatal* blow to our supremacy at Cabul, and at once determined those chiefs—and more particularly the Kuzzilbashes—who had hitherto remained neutral, to join in the general combination to drive us from the country.

Capt. Trevor, having held out his house against the rebels until all hope of relief was at an end, was safely escorted into cantonments this morning, with his wife and seven children, by his Hazirbash horsemen, who behaved faithfully, but now out of regard for their families, dispersed to their houses. Capt. Mackenzie likewise, after defending his fort until his ammunition was expended, fought his way into cantonments late last night, having received a slight wound on the road. His men had behaved with the utmost bravery, and made several successful sallies. See his own account.*

November 5th.—It no sooner became generally known that the commissariat fort, upon which we were dependent for supplies, had been abandoned, than one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison; nor can I describe the impatience of the troops, but especially the native portion, to be led out for its recapture—a feeling that was by no means diminished by their seeing the Affghans crossing and re-crossing the road between the commissariat fort and the gate of the *Shah Bagh*, laden with the provisions upon which had depended our ability to make a protracted defence. Observing this disposition among the troops, and feeling the importance of checking the triumph of the enemy in its infancy, I strenuously urged the General to send out a party to capture Mahomed Shereef's fort by blowing open the gate, and volunteered myself to keep the road clear from any sudden advance of cavalry with two H. A. guns, under cover of whose fire the storming party could advance along the road, protected from the fire of the fort by a low wall, which lined the road the whole way. The General agreed; a storming party under Major Swayne, 5th H. I., was ordered; the powder bags were got ready; and at about 12 mid-day we issued from the western gate: the guns led the way, and were brought into action under the partial cover of some trees, within one hundred yards of the fort. For the space of twenty minutes the artillery continued to work the guns under an excessively sharp fire from the walls of the fort; but Major Swayne, instead of rushing forward with his men, as had been agreed, had in the mean time remained stationary under cover of the wall by the road side. The General, who was watching our proceedings from the gateway, observing that the gun ammunition was running short, and that the troops had failed to take advantage of the best opportunity for advancing, recalled us into cantonments: thus the enemy enjoyed their triumph undiminished; and great was the rage of the Sepoys of the 37th N. I., who had evinced the utmost eagerness to be led out, at this disappointment of their hopes. It must be acknowledged that the General was singularly unfortunate in many of the coadjutors about him, who with all the zeal and courage which distinguish British officers, were sadly lacking in that military judgment and quicksightedness which are essential to success in a critical moment. Let me here, however, pay a just tribute to the memory of two of his staff officers, now, alas! no more. Few men have ever combined all the excellent qualities which constitute the good soldier and the good man more remarkably than did *Major Thain* of H. M.'s 21st Fusileers, A. D. C. to Gen. Elphinstone; while of *Capt. Paton*, deputy quarter-master-general, it may be safely affirmed, that in solid practical sense and genuine singleness of heart he was never surpassed. Would that all, to whom the General was in the habit of deferring, had been equally wise to counsel and prompt to execute with the two above-named gallant men!

November 6th.—It was now determined to take the fort of Mahomed Shereef by regular breach and assault. At an early hour, 3 iron nine-pounder guns were brought to bear upon its northeast bastion, and 2 howitzers upon the contiguous curtain. I took charge of the former, and Lieut. Warburton of the latter. In the space of about two hours a practicable breach was effected, during which time a hot fire was poured upon the artillerymen from the enemy's sharp-shooters, stationed in a couple of high towers which completely commanded the battery, whereby, as the embrasures crumbled away from the constant concussion, it became at length a difficult task to work the guns. A storming party, composed of 3 companies, viz. 1 comp. H. M. 44th, under Ensign Raban, 1 comp. 5th N. I. under Lieut. Deas, 1 comp. 37th under Lieut. Steer, the whole commanded by Major Griffiths, speedily carried the place. Poor Raban was shot through the heart, when conspicuously waving a flag on the summit of the breach.

As this fort adjoined the Shah Bagh, it was deemed advisable to dislodge the enemy from the latter, if possible. Learning that there was a large opening in the wall in the north side of the garden, I took a six-pounder gun thither, and fired several rounds of grape and shrapnell upon parties of the enemy assembled within under the trees, which speedily drove them out; and had a detachment of infantry taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to throw themselves into the building at the principal entrance by the road-side, the place might have been easily carried permanently, and immediate repossesion could have been then taken of the commissariat fort opposite, which had not

* I have already stated with regret that this interesting paper is missing.—Editor.

yet been emptied of half its contents. While this was going on, a reconnoitring party under Major Thain, A. D. C., consisting of 1 H. A. gun, 1 troop 5th cavalry, and 2 comps. of infantry, scoured the plain to the west of cantonments; and having driven the enemy from several enclosures, were returning homeward, when large numbers of Affghan horse and foot were observed to proceed from the direction of the city towards the southwest extremity of a hill, which runs in a diagonal direction from northeast to southwest across the plain to the west of cantonments. A resallah of Anderson's horse had been stationed on the summit of this hill all the morning as a picket, whence they had just been recalled, when a large body of the enemy's horse reached the base, and proceeded to crown the summit. Major Thain's party, observing this, came to a halt; and a few minutes afterwards a reinforcement opportunely arrived, consisting of 1 resallah of irregular horse under Capt. Anderson, 1 troop of ditto under Lieut. Walker, and 2 troops 5th cavalry under Capts. Collyer and Bott. I now considered it my duty to join the H. A. gun, which had no officer with it, and I accordingly left the six-pounder gun under the protection of Captain Mackenzie, who, with a few of his juzailchees, had now joined me, having been engaged in skirmishing across the plain towards the west end of the Shah Bagh, where, finding an opening, he had crept in with his men, and cleared that part of the garden, but, not being supported, had been obliged to retire with a loss of 15 killed out of 95.

I now advanced with the H. A. gun, supported by a troop of the 5th cavalry, to the foot of the hill, and opened fire upon the enemy, while the rest of the cavalry, headed by Anderson's horse, rode briskly up the slope to force them off. The officers gallantly headed their men, and encountered about an equal number of the enemy, who advanced to meet them. A hand to hand encounter now took place, which ended in the Affghan horse retreating to the plain, leaving the hill in our possession. In this affair Capt. Anderson personally engaged, and slew the brother-in-law of Abdoollah Khan. Meanwhile the enemy began to muster strong on the plain to the west of the Shah Bagh, whence they appeared to be gradually extending themselves towards the cantonments, as if to intercept our return; it was therefore deemed prudent to recall the calvalry from the height, and show front in the plain, where they could act with more effect. A reinforcement of two companies of infantry and one H. A. gun was sent out, and the whole force was drawn up in order of battle, anticipating an attack, with one gun on either flank. In this position a distant fire was kept up by the enemy's juzailchees, which was answered principally by discharges of shrapnell and round shot from the guns; the heights, too, were again crowned by the Affghan horse, but no disposition was manifested by them to encounter us in open fight, and, as the night gradually closed in, they slowly retired to the city. On this occasion about 100 of the enemy fell on the hill, while the loss on our side was 8 troopers killed, and 14 wounded.

It will be remembered that I left a six-pounder gun at the opening in the wall of the Shah Bagh. After my departure, large numbers of the enemy's infantry had filled the west end of the Shah Bagh, and, stealing up among the trees, and close to the high wall, towards the gun, kept up so hot and precise a fire as to render its removal absolutely necessary. Capt. Mackenzie had been joined by a party of H.M.'s 44th; with whom, and with a few of his own men, he endeavoured to cover the operation, which was extremely difficult, it being necessary to drag the gun by hand over bad ground. Several of the Shah's gunners were killed, and many of the covering party knocked over, the gun being barely saved. I may here add, that from this time forward the juzailchees, under the able direction of Capt. Mackenzie, who volunteered to lead them, were forward to distinguish themselves on all occasions, and continued to the very last a most useful part of our force.

November 8th.—An attempt was made by the enemy to mine one of the towers of the fort we captured on the 6th, which could not have happened had we taken possession of the gate of the Shah Bagh at the same time. Our chief cause of anxiety now was the empty state of our granary. Even with high bribes and liberal payment, the Envoy could only procure a scanty supply, insufficient for daily consumption, from the village of Beymaroo, about half a mile down the Kohistan road, to the north. The object of the enemy undoubtedly was to starve us out; to effect which the chiefs exerted their whole influence to prevent our being supplied from any of the neighbouring forts. Their game was a sure one; and, so long as they held firmly together, it could not fail to be sooner or later successful. During the short interval of quiet, which ensued after our capture of the fort, the rebels managed to rig out a couple of guns which they procured from the workyard of Lieut. Warburton (in charge of the Shah's guns), situated, unfortunately, in the city. These they placed in a position near Mahmood Khan's fort, opposite the southeast bastion of cantonments. All this time a cannonade was daily kept up on the town by Capt. Nicholl of the Horse Artillery in the Bala Hissar; but, though considerable damage was thereby done, and many of the enemy killed, it required a much more powerful battery than he possessed to ruin a place of such extent. On the morning of the 2d, when the rebellion commenced, the two guns, which were sent with Campbell's Hindoostanees into the city, had been left outside the gate of the Bala Hissar in the confusion and hurry of retreat, where they had ever since remained. So jealous a watch was kept over these by the enemy from the houses of the Shah Bazar, that it was found impossible

to get them back into the fort; and it was necessary for our troops to maintain an equally strict watch to prevent their being removed by the enemy, who made several desperate efforts to obtain them. An attempt of this kind took place to-day, when the rebels were driven back into the city with considerable loss.

November 9th.—The General's weak state of health rendering the presence of a coadjutor absolutely necessary, to relieve him from the command of the garrison, Brigadier Shelton, the second in command, was, at the earnest request of the Envoy, summoned in from the Bala Hissar, in the hope that, by heartily co-operating with the Envoy and General, he would strengthen their hands and rouse the sinking confidence of the troops. He entered cantonments this morning, bringing with him 1 H. A. gun, 1 mountain train ditto, 1 company H. M. 44th, the Shah's 6th infantry, and a small supply of atta.

CHAPTER III.

Despondency in Cantonment. Difference of opinion between Brigadier Shelton and Sir William Macnaghten. Annoyance from the fire of the enemy out of several forts. Storming of the Rika-Bashee Fort, under Brigadier Shelton. Perilous situation and bravery of Lieut. Bird. Further engagements with the enemy. Superiority of the Affghans in the use of fire-arms.

November 10th.—Henceforward Brigadier Shelton bore a conspicuous part in the drama upon the issue of which so much depended. He had, however, from the very first, seemed to despair of the force being able to hold out the winter at Cabul, and strenuously advocated an immediate retreat to Jellalabad.

This sort of despondency proved, unhappily, very infectious. It soon spread its baneful influence among the officers, and was by them communicated to the soldiery. The number of *croakers* in garrison became perfectly frightful, lugubrious looks and dismal prophecies being encountered every where. The severe losses sustained by H. M.'s 44th under Capt. Swayne, on the 4th instant, had very much discouraged the men of that regiment; and it is a lamentable fact that some of those European soldiers, who were naturally expected to exhibit to their native brethren in arms an example of endurance and fortitude, were among the first to lose confidence and give vent to feelings of discontent at the duties imposed on them. The evil seed, once sprung up, became more and more difficult to eradicate, showing daily more and more how completely demoralizing to the British soldier is the very idea of a retreat.

Sir William Macnaghten and his suite were altogether opposed to Brigadier Shelton in this matter, it being in his (the Envoy's) estimation a duty we owed the Government to retain our post, at whatsoever risk. This difference of opinion, on a question of such vital importance, was attended with unhappy results, inasmuch as it deprived the General, in his hour of need, of the strength which unanimity imparts, and produced an uncommunicative and disheartening reserve in an emergency which demanded the freest interchange of counsel and ideas.

But I am digressing.—About 9 A. M. on the 10th the enemy crowned the heights to the west in great force, and almost simultaneously a large body of horse and foot, supposed to be Giljyes, who had just arrived, made their appearance on the Seeah Sung hills to the east, and, after firing a feu de joie, set up a loud shout, which was answered in a similar way by those on the opposite side of us. This was supposed to be a preconcerted signal for a joint attack on the cantonments. No movement was however made on the western side to molest us, but on the eastern quarter parties of the enemy, moving down into the plain, took possession of all the forts in that direction. One of these, called the Rika-bashee fort, was situated directly opposite the Mission Compound, at the northeast angle of cantonments, within musket-shot of our works, into which the enemy soon began to pour a very annoying fire; a party of sharp-shooters at the same time, concealing themselves among the ruins of a house immediately opposite the northeast bastion, took deadly aim at the European artillerymen who were working the guns, one poor fellow being shot through the temple in the act of sponging. From 2 howitzers and a 5½-inch mortar, a discharge of shells into the fort was kept up for two hours.

At this time not above two days' supply of provisions remained in garrison, and it was very clear that, unless the enemy were quickly driven out from their new possession, we should soon be completely hemmed in on all sides. At the Envoy's urgent desire, he taking the entire responsibility on himself, the General ordered a force to hold themselves in readiness under Brigadier Shelton to storm the Rika-bashee fort. About 12 A. M. the following troops assembled at the eastern gate:—2 H. A. guns, 1 mountain train gun, Walker's horse, H. M.'s 44th foot under Col. Mackerell, 37th N. I. under Major Griffiths, 6th regiment of Shah's force under Capt. Hopkins. The whole issued from cantonments, a storming party consisting of two companies from each regiment taking the lead, preceded by Capt. Bellew, who hurried forward to blow open the gate. Missing the gate, however, he blew open a wicket of such small dimensions as to render it impossible for more than two or three men to enter abreast, and these in a stooping posture. This, it will be seen, was one cause of discomfiture in the first instance: for the hearts of the men failed them when they saw their foremost comrades struck down, endeavouring to force an entrance under such disadvantageous circumstances, without being able to help them. The signal, however, was given for the storming party, headed by Col. Mackerell. On nearing the wicket, the detachment encountered an exces-

sively sharp fire from the walls, and the small passage, through which they endeavoured to rush in, merely served to expose the bravest to almost certain death from the hot fire of the defenders. Col. Mackerell, however, and Lieut. Bird of Shah's 6th infantry, accompanied by a handful of Europeans and a few Sepoys, forced their way in; Capt. Westmacott of the 37th being shot down outside, and Capt. M'Crae sabred in the entrance. The garrison, supposing that these few gallant men were backed by the whole attacking party, fled in consternation out of the gate, which was on the opposite side of the fort, and which ought to have been the point assailed. Unfortunately, at this instant a number of the Affghan cavalry charged round the corner of the fort next the wicket: the cry of "Cavalry!" was raised, a cry which too often, during our operations, paralyzed the arms of those, whose muskets and bayonets we have been accustomed to consider as more than a match for a desultory charge of irregular horsemen; the Europeans gave way simultaneously with the Sepoys—a bugler of the 6th infantry, through mistake, sounded the retreat—and it became for the time a scene of *sauve qui peut.* In vain did the officers, especially Major Scott of H. M.'s 44th, knowing the fearful predicament of his commanding officer, exhort and beseech their men to charge forward—not a soul would follow them, save a private of the 44th named Steward, who was afterwards promoted for his solitary gallantry. Let me here do Brigadier Shelton justice: his acknowledged courage redeemed the day; for, exposing his own person to a hot fire, he stood firm amidst the crowd of fugitives, and by his exhortations and example at last rallied them; advancing again to the attack, again our men faltered, notwithstanding that the fire of the great guns from the cantonments, and that of Capt. Mackenzie's juzailchees from the N. E. angle of the Mission Compound, together with a demonstration on the part of our cavalry, had greatly abated the ardour of the Affghan horse. A third time did the Brigadier bring on his men to the assault, which now proved successful. We became masters of the fort. But what, in the meantime, had been passing inside the fort, where, it will be remembered, several of our brave brethren had been shut up, as it were, in the lions' den?

On the first retreat of our men, Lieut. Bird, with Col. Mackerell and several Europeans, had hastily shut the gate by which the garrison had for the most part evacuated the place, securing the chain with a bayonet: the repulse outside, however, encouraged the enemy to return in great numbers, and, it being impossible to remain near the gate on account of the hot fire poured in through the crevices, our few heroes speedily had the mortification to see their foes not only re-entering the wicket, but, having drawn the bayonet, rush in with loud shouts through the now re-opened gate. Poor Mackerell, having fallen, was literally hacked to pieces, although still alive at the termination of the contest. Lieut. Bird, with two Sepoys, retreated into a stable, the door of which they closed; all the rest of the men, endeavouring to escape through the wicket, were met and slaughtered. Bird's place of concealment at first, in the confusion, escaped the observation of the temporarily triumphant Affghans; at last it was discovered, and an attack commenced at the door. This being barricaded with logs of wood, and whatever else the tenants of the stable could find, resisted their efforts, while Bird and his now solitary companion, a Sepoy of the 37th N. I. (the other having been struck down,) maintained as hot a fire as they could, each shot taking deadly effect from the proximity of the party engaged. The fall of their companions deterred the mass of the assailants from a simultaneous rush, which must have succeeded; and thus that truly chivalrous, high-minded, and amiable young gentleman, whose subsequent fate must be ranked among the mysterious dispensations of Providence which we cannot for the present fathom, stood at bay with his equally brave comrade for upwards of a quarter of an hour, when, having only five cartridges left, in spite of having rifled the pouch of the dead man, they were rescued as related above. Our troops literally found the pair "grim and lonely there," upwards of thirty of the enemy having fallen by their unassisted prowess.

Our loss on this occasion was not less than 200 killed and wounded. Four neighbouring forts were immediately evacuated by the enemy, and occupied by our troops: they were found to contain about 1400 maunds of grain; in removing which no time was lost, but as it was not found practicable to bring off more than half before night-fall, Capt Boyd, the Assist.-Com.-Gen., requested Brig. Shelton that a guard might be thrown into a small fort, where it must be left for the night; this was, however, refused, and on the following morning, as might have been expected, the grain was all gone: permanent possession was, however, taken of the Rikabashee and Zulfekar forts, the towers of the remainder being blown up on the following day.

Numbers of Giljie horse and foot still maintaining their position on the Seeah Sung heights, Brig. Shelton moved his force towards that quarter. On reaching the base of the hill, fire was opened from the two H. A. guns, which, with the firm front presented by our troops, caused the enemy shortly to retire towards the city, and ere we turned homeward not a man remained in sight.

November 13th. The enemy appeared in great force on the western heights, where, having posted two guns, they fired into cantonments with considerable precision. At the earnest entreaty of the Envoy, it was determined that a party, under Brigadier Shelton, should sally forth to attack them, and, if possible, capture their guns. The force ordered for this service was not ready until 3 P. M. It con-

sisted of the following troops:—2 squadrons 5th Light Cavalry, under Col. Chambers; 1 squadron Shah's 2d Irregular Horse, under Lieut. Le Geyt; 1 troop of Skinner's Horse, under Lieut. Walker; the Body Guard; 6 companies her Majesty's 44th, under Major Scott; 6 companies 37th, under Major Swayne; 4 companies Shah's 6th Infantry, under Capt. Hopkins; and 1 H. A. gun and 1 Mountain Train do. under myself, escorted by a company of 6th Shah's under Capt. Marshall. After quitting cantonments, the troops took the direction of a gorge between the two hills bounding the plain, distant about a mile (the enemy's horse crowning that to the left,) and advanced in separate columns at so brisk a pace, that it seemed a race which should arrive first at the scene of action. The infantry had actually reached the foot of the hill, and were on the point of ascending to the charge, ere the H. A. gun, which had been detained in the rear by sticking fast in a canal, could be got ready for action; nor had more than one round of grape been fired, ere the advance, led on by the gallant Major Thain, had closed upon the foe, who resolutely stood their ground on the summit of the ridge, and unflinchingly received the discharge of our musketry, which, strange to say, even at the short range of ten or twelve yards, did little or no execution! From this cause the enemy, growing bolder every moment, advanced close up to the bayonets of our infantry, upon whom they pressed so perseveringly, as to succeed in driving them backwards to the foot of the hill, wounding Major Thain on the left shoulder, and sabring several of the men. Several rounds of grape and shrapnell were now poured in, and threw them into some confusion, whereupon a timely charge of our cavalry, Anderson's horse taking the lead, drove them again up the hill, when our infantry once more advancing carried the height, the enemy retreating along the ridge, closely followed by our troops, and abandoning their guns to us. The H. A. gun now took up a position in the middle of the gorge, whence it played with effect on a large body of horse assembled on the plain west of the hill, who forthwith retreated to a distance.

Our troops had now got into ground where it was impracticable for Horse-Artillery to follow. I accordingly pushed forward with one artillery-man and a supply of drag-ropes and spikes, to look out for the deserted guns of the enemy; one of these, a 4-pounder, was easily removed along the ridge by a party of the Shah's 8th infantry; but the other a 6-pounder, was awkwardly situated in a ravine half way down the side of the hill, our troops, with the Mountain-Train 3-pounder, being drawn up along the ridge just above it. The evening was now fast closing in, and a large body of Affghan infantry occupied some enclosures on the plain below, whence they kept up so hot a fire upon the gun, as to render its removal by no means an easy task; but the Envoy having sent us a message of entreaty that no exertion might be spared to complete the triumph of the day by bringing off *both* the enemy's guns, Major Scott, of her Majesty's 44th, repeatedly called on his men to descend with him to drag the 6-pounder away; but, strange to say, his frequent appeals to their soldierly feelings were made in vain: with a few gallant exceptions they remained immovable, nor could the Sepoys be induced to lead the way where their European brethren so obstinately hung back. Meanwhile it became nearly dark, and the further detention of the troops being attended with risk, as the enemy, though driven from the hill, still maintained a threatening attitude below, I descended with the Horse-Artillery gunner, and having driven in a spike, returned to assist in making sure of the captured 4-pounder. This, from the steepness of the hill, and the numerous water-cuts which every where intersected the plain, proved a somewhat troublesome business. Lieut. Macartney, however, with a company of the Shah's 6th Infantry, urged on his men with zeal, and we at last had the satisfaction to deposit our prize safe within the cantonment gates. Meanwhile the enemy, favoured by the darkness, pressed hard upon our returning troops, and by dint of incessant firing and shouting rendered their homeward march somewhat disorderly, effecting, however, but little damage.

It was no small disadvantage under which we laboured, that no temporary success of our troops over those of the enemy could be followed up, nor even possession be retained of the ground gained by us at the point of the bayonet, owing to the necessity of withdrawing our men into their quarters at night. On reaching the cantonment, we found the garrison in a state of considerable alarm, and a continual blaze of musketry illuminating the whole line of rampart. This had arisen from a demonstration of attack having been made by the enemy on the southwest bastion, which had been immediately checked by a few rounds of grape from the guns, and by a well-directed fire from the juzailchees under Capt. Mackenzie; but it was long ere quiet could be restored, the men continuing to discharge their pieces at they knew not what.

Our infantry soldiers, both European and Native, might have taken a salutary lesson from the Affghans in the use of their fire-arms; the latter invariably taking steady deliberate aim, and seldom throwing away a single shot; whereas our men seemed to fire entirely at random, without any aim at all: hence the impunity with which the Affghan horsemen braved the discharge of our musketry in this day's action within twelve yards, not one shot, to all appearance, taking effect. In this affair Capt. Paton, Assist.-Quart.-Mast.-Gen., had the misfortune to receive a wound in the left arm, which rendered amputation necessary, and the valuable services of one of our most efficient staff officers were thus lost. This was the last success our arms were destined to experience. Henceforward it becomes my weary task to relate a catalogue of errors, disasters, and difficulties, which, follow-

ing close upon each other, disgusted our officers, disheartened our soldiers, and finally sunk us all into irretrievable ruin, as though Heaven itself, by a combination of evil circumstances for its own inscrutable purposes, had planned our downfall. But here it is fit I should relate the scenes that had all this while been enacting at our solitary outpost in Kohistan.

CHAPTER IV.

Events in Kohistan, as related by Major Pottinger. Treachery of the Nijrow Chiefs. Murder of Lieut. Rattray. Gallantry of Lieut. Haughton. Attack by the enemy on the Charekar cantonment. Major Pottinger wounded. Death of Capt. Codrington. Deplorable scarcity of water. Disappearance of Dr. Grant. Retreat towards Cabul. Perils of Major Pottinger and Lieut. Haughton. They escape to Cantonment.

On the 15th November, Major Pottinger, C. B. and Lieut. Haughton, Adjt. of the Shah's 4th, or Goorkha regiment, came in from Charekar, both severely wounded, the former in the leg, and the latter having had his right hand amputated, besides several cuts in the neck and left arm. Their escape was wonderful.

The following is an outline of what had taken place in Kohistan, from the commencement of the insurrection up to the present date.

It appears, from Major Pottinger's account of the transactions of that period, that it was not without reason he had so urgently applied to Sir William Macnaghten for reinforcements. Towards the end of October, premonitory signs of the coming tempest had become so unequivocally threatening as to confirm Major Pottinger in his worst suspicions, and in his conviction that order could not possibly be restored without a departure on the part of government from the long-suffering system which had been obstinately pursued with respect to Nijrow in particular; but his conviction alone could do little to stem the torrent of coming events.

About this time Meer Musjeedee, a contumacious rebel against the Shah's authority, who had been expelled from Kohistan during General Sale's campaign in that country in 1840, and who had taken refuge in Nijrow after the fashion of many other men of similar stamp, obstinately refusing to make his submission to the Shah even upon the most favourable terms, openly put himself at the head of a powerful and well-organized party, with the avowed intention of expelling the Feringees and overturning the existing government. He was speedily joined by the most influential of the Nijrow chiefs. A few of these made their appearance before Lughmanee, where Major Pottinger resided, and proffered their services towards the maintenance of the public tranquillity. It will be seen that their object was the blackest treachery.

I shall here relate Major Pottinger's story, almost in his own words, as given to me.

In the course of the forenoon of the 3d of November, Major Pottinger had an interview with a number of the more influential chiefs in his house or fort, and, about noon, went into the garden to receive those of inferior rank, accompanied by his visiters: here they were joined by Lieut. Charles Rattray, Major Pottinger's Assistant. In discussing the question of the rewards to which their services might entitle them, the head man declared that, although *they* were willing to agree to Major Pottinger's propositions, they could not answer for their clansmen, and the above-mentioned petty chiefs, who were awaiting the expected conference at some little distance. Mr. Rattray, accordingly, in company with several of the principal, joined the latter, and, shortly after, proceeded with them to an adjoining field, where numbers of their armed retainers were assembled, for the purpose of ascertaining their sentiments on the subject of the conference. While thus engaged, this most promising and brave young officer apparently became aware of intended foul play, and turned to leave the field, when he was immediately shot down. At this time Major Pottinger was still sitting in his garden, in company with several of the above-mentioned chiefs, and had just received intelligence of the purposed treachery from Mahomed Kasim Khan, a debashee of Hazirbash, a small detachment of which composed a part of his escort: he had with difficulty comprehended the man's meaning, which was conveyed by hints, when the sound of firing was heard:—the chiefs that were with him rose and fled, and he escaped into the fort by the postern gate; which having secured, he, from the terre-plein of the rampart, saw poor Mr. Rattray lying badly wounded in the field at the distance of some 300 yards, and the late pretended negotiators making off in all directions with the plunder of the camp of the Hazirbash detachment. Of these plunderers a party passing close to Mr. Rattray, and observing that life was not extinct, one of them put his gun close to his head, and blew his brains out,—several others discharging their pieces into different parts of his body.

Major Pottinger's guard, being by this time on the alert, opened a fire, which speedily cleared the open space; but the enemy, seeking shelter in the numerous watercourses, and under the low walls surrounding the fort, harassed them incessantly until the appearance of Lieut. Haughton, adjutant of the Goorkha regiment, who, advancing from Charekar, where the corps was cantoned, distanta bout three miles, speedily drove the assailants from their cover. Capt. Codrington, who commanded the regiment, chanced to be in Lughmanee at this very time; and, on Mr. Haughton's approach, he led out a sortie and joined him: the skirmish was sharp, and the enemy suffered severely, Capt. Codrington remaining in possession of an adjacent canal, the bank of which was immediately cut, to supply the tank of the fort with water in case of accidents.

The evening had now closed in, and the enemy had retired, taking up a position which

seemed to threaten the Charekar road. Capt. Codrington accordingly left Lughmanee in haste, strengthening Major Pottinger's party to about 100 men, these having to garrison four small forts. He promised, however, to relieve them the next morning, and to send a further supply of ammunition, of which there only remained 1500 rounds. Capt. Codrington reached Charekar unmolested; and the enemy, returning to their former point of attack, carried off their dead with impunity, the garrison being too weak to make a sally. On the morning of the 4th, Capt. Codrington despatched four companies with a six-pounder gun, according to promise. Their march caused numbers of the enemy now assembled on all sides to retreat; but one large body remained in position on the skirts of the mountain range to their right, and threatened their flank. Mr. Haughton, who commanded, detached Ensign Salisbury with a company to disperse them, which, in spite of the disparity of numbers, was effected in good style. Unhappily the Goorkhas, being young soldiers, and flushed with success, pressed forward in pursuit with too much eagerness, regardless of the recalling bugle, when at last Mr. Salisbury with difficulty halted them, and endeavoured to retrace his steps. The enemy, observing the error they had committed in separating themselves too far from their main body, rallied and followed them in their retreat so closely, as to oblige Mr. Salisbury to halt his little band frequently, and face about. Mr. Haughton, consequently, in order to extricate the compromised company, halted his convoy, and despatched the greatest part of his men in the direction of the skirmish. All this encouraged the other parties of the enemy who had retired to return, against whom, in numbers not less than 4000 men, Mr. Haughton maintained his ground until rejoined by his subaltern, when, seeing the hopelessness of making good his way to Lughmanee, he retreated, and regained in safety the fortified barracks at Charekar. Many of the men fell in this expedition, which would have proved infinitely more disastrous, from the number of the enemy's cavalry, who latterly seemed to gain confidence at every stage, but for the extraordinary gallantry and conduct of Mr. Haughton, who with a handful of men and a gun, protected the rear of our over-matched troops. Mr. Salisbury was mortally wounded, and the trail of the gun gave way just as the party reached Charekar.

This disappointment led Major Pottinger to believe that no second attempt would be made to relieve them; and as he had no ammunition beyond the supply in the men's pouches, he determined to retreat on Charekar after dark: the better to hide his intention, he ordered grain to be brought into the fort. Meantime the Charekar cantonment was attacked on all sides, and in the afternoon large bodies of the enemy were detached thence, and joining others from that part of the valley, recommenced their investment of Lughmanee. That part of the Major's garrison which occupied the small fort to the east of the principal one, defended by himself, although their orders were not to vacate their posts until after dark, being panic-stricken, did so at once, gaining the stronger position, but leaving behind several wounded comrades and their havildar, who remained staunch to his duty: these, however, were brought off. Major Pottinger then strengthened the garrison of a cluster of adjacent huts, which, being surrounded by a sort of rude fortification, formed a tolerably good outwork; but the want of European officers to control the men was soon lamentably apparent, and in a short time the Goorkhas, headed by their native officer, abandoned the hamlet, followed as a matter of course by the few Affghan soldiers attached to Capt. Codrington's person, who had remained faithful until then. This last misfortune gave the enemy cover up to the very gate of the stronghold, and before dark they had succeeded in getting possession of a gun-shed built against its outer wall, whence they commenced mining.

As soon as night had fairly closed in, Major Pottinger drew together the Goorkha garrison outside the postern gate, under pretence of making a sortie, and thus separated them from the Affghans and their followers, who remained inside; he then marched for Charekar, the garrison of the remaining fort joining him as he drew on; he passed by the investing posts in perfect silence, taking his route along the skirts of the mountains to avoid the main road, and arrived in safety at Charekar. In Lughmanee he abandoned the hostages whom he had taken from the Kohistan chiefs, two boxes of treasure containing 2000 rupees, about sixty stand of juzails, all his office records, Mr. Rattray's, Dr. Grant's, and his own personal property, and a number of horses belonging to himself and the above-mentioned two officers, and to some horsemen who had not deserted—for the greater part of his mounted escort had fled in the beginning of the affray. The Heratees, and seven or eight Peshawarees, were the only Affghans who adhered to him: the Cabulees, had deserted to a man, immediately on the murder of Mr. Rattray; they had been much disgusted the preceding month, as well as their comrades who proved unfaithful too, by the sudden reduction of a portion of his escort, which naturally led them to apprehend that their livelihood from the British service was of a precarious nature.

On the morning of 5th Nov. large bodies of the enemy closed in round the Charekar barracks, and about 7 o'clock they attacked the outposts with a spirit engendered by the success of the preceding evening. Capt. Codrington requested Major Pottinger to take charge of what artillery he had, and to move a squadron in support of the skirmishers, which he did. The skirmishers were driven in, and, while retreating, Major Pottinger was wounded in the leg by a musket-shot. Encouraged by this, and by the unfinished state of the works round the barracks, in the entrance of which there was

no gate, the enemy advanced with great determination to the attack, and dislodged the Goorkhas from some mud huts outside, which were still occupied by a part of the regiment. In this affair Capt. Codrington, an officer of whose merits it is difficult to speak too highly, fell mortally wounded. The main post was, however, successfully defended, and the enemy driven back with considerable loss; upon which Mr. Haughton (who had now succeeded to the command, the only remaining officer being Mr. Rose, a mere youth,) made a sortie and drove the enemy out of the gardens occupied by them in the morning, maintaining his ground against their most desperate efforts until after dark. Relief was then sent to the garrison (consisting of about 50 men) of Khaja Meer's fort, which it had been found expedient to occupy previously, because it commanded the interior of the barracks on the southern side.

From this time the unfortunate horses and cattle of the garrison were obliged to endure the extremity of thirst, there being *no* water for *them*, and the supply for even the fighting men scanty in the extreme, obtained only from a few pools in the ditch of the rampart, which had been formed by a seasonable fall of rain. During the 6th the enemy renewed their attack in augmented numbers, the whole population of the country apparently swarming to the scene of action. Notwithstanding two successful sorties, all the outposts were driven in by dark, and thenceforth the garrison was confined to the barrack itself.

On the 7th the enemy got possession of Khoja Meer's fort: the regimental moonshee had been gained over, and through him the native officer was induced to surrender. From the towers of that fort, on the 8th, the enemy offered terms, on the condition that all the infidels should embrace Mahomedanism. Major Pottinger replied, that they had come to aid a Mahomedan sovereign in the recovery of his rights; that they consequently were within the pale of Islam, and exempt from coercion on the score of religion. The enemy rejoined, that the King himself had ordered them to attack the Kaffirs, and wished to know if Major Pottinger would yield on receiving an order. He refused to do so, except on the production of a written document. All this time the garrison was sorely galled from the post of vantage in possession of the enemy.

On the 9th, the enemy were enabled by the carelessness of the guard to blow up a part of the south-west tower of the barracks; but, before they could profit by the breach and the panic of the men, Mr. Haughton rallied the fugitives, and, leading them back, secured the top of the parapet wall with a barricade of boards and sandbags.

On the 10th, the officers drew their last pool of water, and served out *half a wineglass* to each fighting man.

On the 11th, all could not share even in that miserable proportion, and their sufferings from thirst were dreadful. During the night a sortie was made, and some of the followers brought in a little water from a distant place, the sight of which only served to aggravate the distress of the majority; still, however, the fortitude of these brave and hardy soldiers remained unshaken, although apathy, the result of intense suffering, especially among the Hindoos, began to benumb their faculties.

On the 12th, after dark, Mr. Haughton ordered out a party to cover the water-carriers in an attempt to obtain a supply; but the overharassed Sepoys, unable to restrain themselves, dashed out of the ranks on approaching the coveted element, instead of standing to their arms to repel the enemy, and, consequently, the expedition failed in its object. Another sortie, consisting of two companies under Ensign Rose, was then ordered out, one of which, having separated from the other, dispersed in search of water; that under Mr. Rose himself fell on a post of the besiegers, every man of which they bayoneted; but, being unaccountably struck with a panic, the men fled back to the barracks, leaving Mr. Rose almost alone, who was then obliged to return, having accomplished his object but partially. These circumstances were communicated by Mr. Haughton to Major Pottinger (whose wound had disabled him from active bodily co-operation in these last events), together with the startling intelligence, that the corps was almost wholly disorganized from the large amount of killed and wounded, the hardships it had undergone, the utter inefficiency of the native officers, who had no sort of control over the soldiers, the exhaustion of the men from constant duty, and the total want of water and provisions.

Relief from Cabul, for which Major Pottinger had written repeatedly, seemed now hopeless, and an attempt at protracted defence of the post appeared likely to ensure the destruction of its brave defenders. Major Pottinger considered that the only remaining chance of saving any portion of the regiment was a retreat to Cabul; and, although that was abundantly perilous, he entertained a hope that a few of the most active men who were not encumbered with wives and children might escape. Then was felt most bitterly, the impolicy of the encouragement which had been held out to all the recruits to bring their families with them, on what, even at the time of their being raised, was looked on by the most able officers as likely to prove a campaign of several years. Mr. Haughton coincided in the Major's views, and it was agreed, to ensure secrecy, that the men should not be informed of their intentions until paraded for the march.

This wretched state of things continued until the afternoon of the 13th, when Mr. Haughton discovered amongst the Punjabee artillery-men two who had deserted a few days previously, and who apparently had returned for the purpose of seducing their comrades. He immediately seized them; but, while he was in the act of their apprehension, the jemadar of the artillery, himself a Punjabee Mussulman, snatched

a sword from a bystander, and cut down that officer, repeating his blows as he lay on the ground. Before the astonished Goorkhas could draw their knives or handle their muskets, this miscreant, followed by all the artillery-men and the greater number of the Mahomedans in the barracks, rushed out of the gate and escaped. The tumult and confusion occasioned by this impressed Major Pottinger with the idea that the enemy had driven the men from the walls; under this impression, he caused himself to be carried to the main gate, but on his arrival he found that Dr. Grant had secured that point, and rallied the men. The native officers immediately gathered round him, with many of the Sepoys, to assert their fidelity; but demoralization had evidently progressed fearfully, as may be judged from the fact that the garrison had plundered the treasure and the quarters of the deceased Capt. Codrington the instant the Major had left them, and that in the face of the enemy's fire they had pulled down the officers' boxes, which had been piled up as traverses to protect the doorway, broken them open, and pillaged them. Dr. Grant then amputated Mr. Haughton's right hand, and hastily dressed the severe wounds which he had received in his left arm and on his neck. In the evening the doctor spiked all the guns with his own hands, and the garrison then left the barracks by the postern gate. The advance was led by Major Pottinger (Mr. Haughton, who accompanied him, being unable to do more than sit passively on his horse,) Dr. Grant brought out the main body, and Ensign Rose, with the Quart.-Mast.-Serjt., commanded the rear.

Notwithstanding the previous sufferings of these unfortunate men, it may be said that here commenced their real disasters. In vain did Major Pottinger attempt to lead his men to seize a building generally occupied by the enemy after nightfall, by the possession of which the exit of the main body from the barracks might be covered. In fact it was with much difficulty that he eventually succeeded in halting them at about half a mile from the barracks until the main body and rear should close up. The men were naturally occupied entirely with their families, and such property as it had been impossible to prevent their bringing away; and discipline, the only source of hope under such circumstances, was at an end.

After the junction of the main body and rear, Dr. Grant suddenly disappeared, and was not afterwards seen.

The regiment then proceeded along the road to Sinjit Durrah, where Major Pottinger knew that water could be procured. On reaching the first stream, the last remnant of control over this disorderly mob was lost; much delay took place, and, in moving on, the advance became suddenly separated from the main body. After an anxious search Major Pottinger effected a rejunction.

At Sinjit Durrah they quitted the road to avoid alarming the villages and any outposts that might be stationed there; and much time was lost in regaining the track from the other side: at Istalif the same manœuvre was practised. Major Pottinger now found very few inclined to push on; exhaustion from the pain of his wound precluded the possibility of his being of any further use as a leader; and he determined to push on with Mr. Haughton towards Cabul, although with faint hope that the strength of either would prove adequate to the exertion. Having no guide, they got into many difficulties; and day was breaking by the time they reached the range of mountains half way between Charekar and Cabul. Men and horses were by this time incapable of further endurance: the latter, it must be remembered, had been ten days without water previously to starting, and five days without food; they were still upwards of twenty miles from any place of safety; their sufferings from their wounds, fatigue, hunger, and thirst, made life a burden, and at this time despair had almost obtained a victory—but God sustained them. By Mr. Haughton's advice they sought shelter in a very deep but dry ravine, close to a small village, hoping that their proximity to danger might prove a source of safety; as it was probable that the inhabitants, who by this time must have been on the alert, would scarcely think of looking for their prey close to their own doors. The companions of Major Pottinger and Mr. Haughton were a sepoy of the regiment, a moonshee, and the regimental *buniah*.

In the forenoon they were alarmed by a firing on the mountains above them; the cause of this, as it appeared afterwards, was that a few of the fugitive Goorkhas had ascended the hills for safety (which, indeed, it was Major Pottinger's wish to do, until he yielded to the arguments of his companion), whither they were pursued and massacred by the country people. The rest of the day passed in tranquillity; and again, under the friendly shroud of darkness, having previously calculated their exact position, did this sorely-bestead little party resume their dangerous route. It was providential that Major Pottinger had, from his habits as a traveller through unknown and difficult regions, accustomed himself to ascertain and remember the bearings of the most conspicuous landmarks of the countries he traversed; it was therefore comparatively easy for him to lead the way over the steep and rugged peaks, by which alone they might hope to find a safe path,—for the main road, and even the more accessible tracks across the tops of the mountains, were closely beset, and watch-fires gleamed in all directions. Indeed Gholam-Moyun-ood-deer, a distinguished partisan in the service of the rebels, had been despatched from Cabul, with a number of his most active followers, purposely to intercept and seize the Major, of whose flight intelligence had been early received, and actually was at that time patrolling those very heights over which the fugitives passed. But the protecting hand of Providence was displayed not only in

leading them unharmed through the midst of their enemies, but in supplying them with mental fortitude and bodily strength. Weak and exhausted, their hardy and usually sure-footed Toorkman horses could scarcely strain up the almost impracticable side of the mountain, or preserve their equilibrium in the sharp sudden descents which they encountered, for path there was none. On one occasion Mr. Haughton. whose desperate wounds I have already described, fell off, and, being unable to rise, declared his determination of awaiting his fate where he lay. The Major refused to desert him, and both slept for about one hour, when, nature being a little restored, they pushed on until they descended into the plain of Alifat, which they crossed, avoiding the fort of that name, and, struggling up the remaining ridge that separated them from the plain of Cabul, they entered it by the southern end of the Cabul lake. Intending now to cross the cultivation, and to reach cantonments by the back of the Shah's garden, Major Pottinger missed his road close to Kila-i-bolund, and found himself within the enemy's sentries; but being unwilling to alarm them by retracing his steps, after discovering his mistake, he led the way towards Deh Affghan. Here they were challenged by various outposts, to whom they answered after the fashion of Affghan horsemen; but they were compelled, in order to avoid suspicion, actually to enter the city of Cabul, their only hope now being in the slumberous security of the inhabitants at that hour (it being now about 3 A. M.), and in the protection of their Affghan dress and equipments. The Goorkha sepoy, who, strange to say, had kept up with them *on foot*, had *his* outward man concealed by a large *postheen*, or sheepskin cloak. They pursued their way through the lanes and bazar of the city, without any interruption, except the occasional gruff challenge of a sleepy watchman, until they gained the skirts of the city. There they were like to have been stopped by a picket which lay between them and the cantonment. The disposition to a relaxation of vigilance as the morning approaches, which marks the Affghan soldier, again befriended them; they had nearly passed the post before they were pursued. Desperation enabled them to urge their wearied horses into a pace which barely gave them the advantage over their enemies, who were on foot; and they escaped with a volley from the now aroused picket. the little Goorkha freshening his way in the most surprising manner, considering his previous journey. A few hundred yards further brought them within the ramparts of our cantonment, where they were received by their brethren in arms as men risen from the dead.

CHAPTER V.

Removal from cantonment to Bala Hissar discussed. The idea abandoned. General Sale's return impracticable. Mahmood Khan's fort—annoyance from it—but left in enemy's possession. Letter from the Envoy to the General. Unprofitable operations at the village of Beymaroo. Arrival of Mahomed Akber Khan at Cabul.

November 16th.—The impression made on the enemy by the action of the 13th was so far salutary, that they did not venture to annoy us again for several days. Advantage was taken of this respite to throw magazine supplies from time to time into the Bala Hissar, a duty which was ably performed by Lieut. Walker, with a resalah of irregular horse under cover of night. But even in this short interval of comparative rest, such was the wretched construction of the cantonment, that the mere ordinary routine of garrison duty, and the necessity of closely manning our long line of rampart both by day and night, was a severe trial to the health and patience of the troops; especially now that the winter began to show symptoms of unusual severity. There seemed, indeed, every probability of an early fall of snow, to which all looked forward with dread, as the harbinger of fresh difficulties and of augmented suffering.

These considerations, and the manifest superiority of the Bala Hissar as a military position, led to the early discussion of the expediency of abandoning the cantonment and consolidating our forces in the above-mentioned stronghold. The Envoy himself was, from the first, greatly in favour of this move, until overruled by the many objections urged against it by the military authorities; to which, as will be seen by a letter from him presently quoted, he learned by degrees to attach some weight himself; but to the very last it was a measure that had many advocates, and I venture to state my own firm belief that, had we at this time moved into the Bala Hissar, Cabul would have been still in our possession. The chief objections urged were, 1st, the difficulty of conveying our sick and wounded; 2dly, the want of firewood; 3dly, the want of forage for the cavalry; 4thly, the triumph that our abandonment of cantonments would afford the enemy; 5thly, the risk of defeat on the way thither. On the other hand it was advanced, 1st, that, though to carry the sick would be *difficult*, it still was not *impossible;* for so short a distance two, or even three, men could be conveyed on each doolie; some might manage to walk, and the rest could be mounted on the yaboos and camels, on top of their loads; 2dly, although wood was scarce in the Bala Hissar, there was enough for purposes of cooking, and for the want of fires the troops would be amply compensated by the comparative ease and comfort they would enjoy in other respects; 3dly, the horses must, in the case of there being no forage, have been shot; but the want of cavalry would have been little felt in such a situation; 4thly, as we should have destroyed all that was valuable before leaving,

the supposed triumph of the enemy would have been very short-lived, and would soon have given way to a feeling of disappointment at the valueless nature of their acquisition, and of dismay at the strength and security of our new position; 5thly, the distance did not exceed two miles, and one half of that distance was protected by the guns of the Bala Hissar.

If we had occupied the Seeah Sung hills with a strong party, placing guns there to sweep the plain on the cantonment side, the enemy could have done little to impede our march, without risking a battle with our whole force in a fair field, to which they were generally averse, but which would, perhaps, have been the *best* mode for *us* of deciding the struggle.

To remove so large a force, clogged with so many thousands of camp followers, without loss of some kind, was, of course, next to impossible; but ought such considerations to have interfered with a step which would have been attended in the long run with such great military and political advantages? Our troops, once collected in the Bala Hissar, could have been spared for offensive operations against the city and the neighbouring forts, by which means plenty of food and forage would in all probability have been readily procured, while the commanding nature of the position would have caused the enemy to despair of driving us out, and a large party would probably have been ere long formed in our favour. Such were the chief arguments employed on either side; but Brigadier Shelton having firmly set his face against the movement from the first moment of its proposition, all serious idea of it was gradually abandoned, though it continued to the very last a subject of common discussion.

November 18th.—Accounts were this day received from Jellalabad, that Gen. Sale, having sallied from the town, had repulsed the enemy with considerable loss. At the beginning of the insurrection, Gen. Sale's brigade was at Gundamuk; and I have already mentioned, that an order recalling it to Cabul was immediately despatched by the Envoy. Gen. Sale, on receipt of it summoned a council of war, by whom it was unanimously agreed to be impracticable to obey the order. The circumstances of his march to Jellalabad are already well known to the public. The hope of his return had tended much to support our spirits; our disappointment was therefore great to learn that all expectation of aid from that quarter was at an end. Our eyes were now turned towards the Candahar force as our last resource, though an advance from that quarter seemed scarcely practicable so late in the year.

Much discussion took place this evening regarding the expediency of taking Mahmood Khan's fort. There were many reasons to urge in favour of making the attempt. It was one of the chief resorts of the rebels during the day, and they had established a battery of two guns under the walls, from which they constantly fired upon our foraging parties, and upon the southeast bastion of cantonments. It was about 900 yards distant from our rampart, which was too far for breaching with the 9-pounders; but a dry canal, which ran towards it in a zigzag direction, afforded facilities for a regular approach within 300 yards, of which advantage might have been taken to enable the artillery to make a breach. Secondly, this fort commanded the road all the way up to the Bala Hissar, and the possession of it would at once have secured to us an easy communication with that place, and with the city. Thirdly, the Envoy declared his opinion that the moral effect derived from its possession would be more likely to create a diversion in our favour than any other blow we could strike, as the Affghans had always attached great importance to its occupation. These considerations had decided the General in favour of making the attempt this very night, by blowing open the gate, and a storming party was actually warned for the duty, when Lieut Sturt, the engineer officer, raising some sudden objection, the plan was given up, and never afterwards resumed by the military. It was, however, the cause of no small astonishment to the officers in the Bala Hissar, who, from their commanding situation, could observe all that took place on both sides, that Mahmood Khan's fort should have been suffered to remain in the hands of the enemy, though at night it was oftened garrisoned by a mere handful of men. This fort, nevertheless gave abundant occupation to the artillery, who, when nothing else was going on, were frequently employed in disturbing the enemy in that quarter with one of the iron 9-pounders, and an occasional shelling from the mortar.

November 19th.—A letter was this day received by the General from the Envoy to the following effect:—"That, all hope of assistance from Jellalabad being over, it behoved us to take our future proceedings into consideration. He himself conceived it our imperative duty to hold on as long as possible in our present position, and he thought we might even struggle through the whole winter by making the Mahomedans and Christians live chiefly upon flesh, supposing our supplies of grain to fail; by which means, as the essentials of wood and water were abundant, he considered our position might be rendered impregnable. A retreat towards Jellalabad would teem not only with disaster, but dishonour, and ought not to be contemplated until the very last extremity. In eight or ten days we should be better able to judge whether such extremity should be resorted to. In that case, we should have to sacrifice not only the valuable property of Government, but his majesty Shah Shoojah, to support whose authority we were employed by Government; and even were we to make good our retreat to Jellalabad, we should have no shelter for our troops, and our camp followers would all be sacrificed. He had frequently thought of negotiating, but there was no party

of sufficient power and influence to protect us. Another alternative would be to throw ourselves into the Bala Hissar; but he feared that would be also a disastrous retreat, to effect which much property must be necessarily sacrificed. Our heavy guns might be turned against us, and food and fuel might be scarce, for a further supply of which we might be dependent on sorties into the city, in which, if beaten, we must of course be ruined. On the whole, he was decidedly of opinion that we should hold out; it was still possible that reinforcements might arrive from Candahar, or something might turn up in our favour; there were hopes, too, that, on the setting in of winter, the enemy would disperse. He had been long disposed to recommend a blow being struck to retrieve our fortunes, such as taking Mahmood Khan's fort; but he had since reason to believe this would not answer. In eight or ten days, he concluded, it would remain for the military authorities to determine whether there was any chance of improving our position, and to decide whether it would be more prudent to attempt a retreat to Jellalabad, or to the Bala Hissar. If provision sufficient for the winter could be procured, on no account would he leave the cantonment."

November 22*d*.—The village of Beymaroo (or "*husbandless*," from a beautiful virgin who was buried there) was situated about half a mile to the north of cantonments, on the Kohistan road, at the northeast extremity of a hill which bounded the plain to the west. As it was built on a slope, and within musket-shot, the upper houses commanded a large portion of the Mission Compound. From this village we for a long time drew supplies, the Envoy largely bribing the proprietor, to which, however, the enemy in some measure put a stop by taking possession of it every day.

This morning, large bodies of Affghan horse and foot, having again issued from the city, proceeded to crown the summit of the abovementioned hill. It was determined, at the recommendation of the Envoy, to send a party of our troops to forestall the enemy in the occupation of the village; and Major Swayne, 5th N. I., was appointed to that duty ,with a detachment composed as follows:—a Wing 5th N. I., 2 Resallas Irregular Horse, 1 Resalla 5th Light Cavalry, and one Mountain-train gun. The party had already reached the village, when it was deemed proper to send after it a Horse Artillery gun, which I was requested by the General to accompany. Major Swayne, however, it would seem by his own account, found the village already occupied by a body of Kohistanees, and the entrance blocked up in such a manner that he considered it out of his power to force a passage. On arriving at the place with the H. A. gun, I found him in an orchard on the roadside, the trees of which partially protected the men from a very sharp fire, poured in amongst them from the houses. There being no shelter for the gun here, nor any mode of employing it to advantage, it was ordered to cross some fields to the right, and take up a position where it could best fire upon the village, and upon the heights above it, which were now crowded with the enemy's infantry. In order to protect the horses, I drew up the gun near the fort of Zoolfa Khan, under the walls of which they had shelter; but for the gun itself no other position could be found than in the open field, where it was exposed to the full fire of the enemy posted in the village and behind the neighbouring walls. The Mountain-train gun was also with me, and both did some execution among the people on the summit of the hill, though to little purpose.

Major Swayne, whose orders were to storm the village, would neither go forward nor retire; but, concealing his men under the cover of some low walls, he all day long maintained an useless fire on the houses of Beymaroo, without the slightest satisfactory result. The cavalry were drawn up in rear of the gun on the open plain, as a conspicuous mark for the Kohistanees, and where, as there was nothing for them to do, they accordingly did nothing. Thus we remained for five or six hours, during which time the artillery stood exposed to the deliberate aim of the numerous marksmen who occupied the village and its immediate vicinity, whose bullets continually sang in our ears, often striking the gun, and grazing the ground on which we stood. Only two gunners, however, out of six were wounded, but the cavalry in our rear had many casualties both among men and horses.

Late in the evening, a party of Affghan horse, moving round from behind Beymaroo, proceeded towards a fort in our rear, whence a cross fire was opened upon us. Brigadier Shelton now joined, bringing with him a reinforcement from the 5th N. I., under Col. Oliver. Major Swayne, with two companies, was then sent to reconnoitre the fort whence the fire proceeded, and the H. A. gun was at the same time moved round, so as to bear upon the Affghan cavalry, who hovered among the trees in the same quarter. While engaged in this operation, I received a bullet through the left hand, which for the present terminated my active services. Shortly after this the troops were recalled into cantonments.

It is worthy of note, that Mahomed Akber Khan, second son of the late Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, arrived in Cabul this night from Bameean. This man was destined to exercise an evil influence over our future fortunes. The crisis of our struggle was already nigh at hand.

CHAPTER VI.

A second expedition to Beymaroo. Increasing numbers and vigilance of the enemy. Our force driven back with severe loss. Observations.

November 23*d*.—This day decided the fate of the Cabul force. At a council held at the General's house on the night of the 22d it was determined, on the special recommendation of

the Envoy, that in consequence of the inconvenience sustained by the enemy so frequently taking possession of Beymaroo, and interrupting our foraging parties, a force, under Brigadier Shelton, should on the following morning take the village by assault, and maintain the hill above it against whatever number of the enemy might appear. Accordingly, at 2 A. M. the under-mentioned troops* moved out of cantonments in perfect silence by the Kohistan gate, and skirting the musjed immediately opposite, which was held by a company of Her Majesty's 44th, took the direction of the gorge at the further extremity of the Beymaroo hill, which they ascended, dragging the gun to the top with great difficulty, from the rugged and steep nature of the side, which labour was greatly facilitated by the exertions of 200 commissariat surwoons, who had volunteered for the occasion. The whole force then moved to the knoll at the N. E. extremity of the hill, which overhung the village of Beymaroo. The gun was placed in position commanding an enclosure in the village, which, from its fires, was judged to be the principal bivouac of the enemy, and a sharp fire of grape commenced, which evidently created great confusion, but it was presently answered by a discharge of juzails; the enemy forsaking the open space, and covering themselves in the houses and towers: to this we replied in the intervals of the cannonade by discharges of musketry. It was suggested by Capt. Bellew and others to Brigadier Shelton to storm the village, while the evident panic of the enemy lasted, under cover of the darkness, there being no moon: to this the Brigadier did not accede.

When the day broke, parties of the enemy were descried hurrying from the village, and taking across the plain towards the distant fort, their fire having previously slackened from the failure of their ammunition. At this time, certainly, not above 40 men remained in the village. A storming party, consisting of 2 companies 37th N. I. and some Europeans, under Majors Swayne and Kershaw, were ordered to carry the village; but Major Swayne, taking a wrong direction, missed the principal entrance, which was open, and arrived at a small *kirkhee*, or wicket, which was barricaded, and which he had no means of forcing, so that he was obliged to cover himself and his men as well as he could from the sure aim of the enemy's marksmen, by whose fire his party suffered considerably, himself being shot through the neck.

After remaining thus for about half an hour, he was recalled by the Brigadier, who observed large bodies of armed men pouring out from the city towards the scene of conflict. Meanwhile Lieut. Walker had been directed to lead his irregular horse down into the plain on the west side of the hill, to cut off such fugitives from the village as he might be able to intercept, and to cover himself from the fire of infantry under the walls of an old fort not far from the base of the hill. Brigadier Shelton, leaving three companies of the 37th N. I. on the knoll above Beymaroo as a reserve, under Major Kershaw, moved back with the troops and guns to the part of the hill which overlooked the gorge.

Shortly after this it was suggested to raise a *sunga*, or stone breastwork, for the protection of the troops wholly exposed to the distant fire of the enemy's juzails; but this proposition was not acted on. Immense numbers of the enemy, issuing from the city, had now crowned the summits of the hill opposite the gorge,—in all, probably 10,000 men. The plain on the west of the two hills was swept by swarms of their cavalry, who evidently designed to cut off the small party of Irregular Horse under Lieut. Walker; while the failure of our attempt to storm the village had rendered it easy for the enemy to throw strong reinforcements into it, and to supply the ammunition of which they had been in great want.

About 7 A. M., the fire from the enemy's hill was so galling, that the few skirmishers sent to the brow of our hill could with difficulty retain their posts. As an instance of the backwardness which now began to develope itself among our men, it must be mentioned, that Lieut.-Col. Oliver endeavored to induce a party of his own regiment to follow him to the brow of the hill, to keep down the sharp fire of a number of the enemy, who had ensconced themselves in a small ravine commanding the foremost square; not a man would follow him,—and it was only after that brave officer had gone forward himself into the thickest of the fire, saying, "Although my men desert me, I myself will do my duty," that about a dozen were shamed into performing theirs. The remainder of the troops (the infantry formed into two squares, and the cavalry being drawn up *en masse* immediately in their rear) suffered severely without being able to retaliate, from the comparatively short range of the musket. Our single gun maintained as hot a fire on the masses of the enemy as possible, doing great execution; but the want of a second gun to take up the fire was sensibly felt, inasmuch as, after a short time, the vent became too hot for the artillerymen to serve. This state of things continued until between 9 and 10 o'clock, when a large party of the enemy's cavalry threatened our right flank, and, to prevent his destruction, Lieut. Walker was recalled. This demonstration, however, was repulsed by a well-directed discharge of shrapnell from the H. A. gun, by one of which a chief of consequence, supposed to be Abdoollah Khan, Achukzye, was mortally wounded.

By the recall of Lieut. Walker the enemy were enabled to surround our position at all

* 1 H. A. gun, under Sergt. Mulhal. 5 Cos. H. M. 44th, under Capt. Leighton. 6 Cos. 5th N. I, under Lieut.-Col. Oliver. 6. Cos. 37th N. I., under Major Kershaw, H. M. 13th. Sappers, 100 men, under Lieut. Laing. 1 Squadron 5th Lt. Cav., under Capt. Bott. 1 Ditto Irregular Horse, under Lieut. Walker. 100 men, Anderson's Horse.

points, except that facing the cantonments; our gun ammunition was almost expended, and the men were faint with fatigue and thirst (no water being procurable,) while the number of killed and wounded was swelled every instant.

About this time (between 10 and 11 A. M.,) large bodies of the enemy's infantry advanced across the plain from the Shah Bagh to the end of the hill, to cut off the supplies of ammunition coming from cantonments, as also the *dhoolies* on which we endeavoured to send off a few of the wounded. These, however, were checked by a party of our troops in the musjed, opposite the Kohistan gate, and by about fifty juzailchees under the temporary command of Capt. Trevor, (Capt. Mackenzie, their leader, having been requested by Brigadier Shelton to act as one of the staff for the day,) who lined some low walls and water courses, as well as by frequent discharges of round shot and shrapnell from the cantonment guns under Lieut. Warburton.

Previously to this, numbers of the most daring Ghazees had descended into the gorge, and, taking advantage of some hillocks on the ascent towards our position, had crept gradually up, maintaining a deadly fire on our skirmishers, who were unfortunately, wholly exposed; they became at length disheartened, and gave way. At this moment the Brigadier offered a reward of 100 rupees to any man who should take a flag of the enemy, which had been planted behind a tumulus about thirty yards in front of the square, and he fruitlessly endeavoured to induce the men to charge bayonets; several of the officers at the same time advanced to the front, and actually pelted the enemy with stones.* All attempts, however, to encourage our men were in vain. The attacking party were now emboldened to make a rush upon our gun; our cavalry were ordered to charge, but again in vain, for the men would not follow their officers.† The panic spread, and our troops gave way, except the second square, which had been formed about 200 yards in the rear, and three companies under Major Kershaw at the other extremity of the hill; behind this second square the officers with great difficulty rallied the fugitives, leaving the gun in the hands of the enemy, who lost no time in walking off with the limber and horses.

By this time the news of Abdoollah Khan's wound had spread among the ranks of the enemy, causing great confusion, which extended to the Ghazees now in possession of the gun. This, and the tolerably firm attitude resumed by our troops, induced them to content themselves with the limber and horses, and retire. Their retreat gave fresh courage to our disheartened soldiers, who again took possession of the gun, and advanced to the brow of the hill, where were found the bodies of Capt. Macintosh and Lieut. Laing, as well as those of the soldiers slain in the onset, including two H. A. men, who, with a devotedness worthy of British soldiers, had perished while vainly endeavouring to defend their charge. Some fresh gun-ammunition having now arrived from cantonments, carried by Lascars, a fire was again opened on the ranks of the enemy; but we were unable to push the advantage gained by the momentary disorder alluded to above, because, in fact, the cavalry would not act. In the observations on this action, made hereafter, there will be found some palliation for the backwardness of the cavalry on this occasion, in spite of the gallant bearing of their leaders; the infantry were too few, and too much worn out and disheartened, to be able to make a forward movement. The consequence was, that not only did the whole force of the enemy come on with renewed vigour and spirits, maintaining at the same time the fatal juzail fire which had already so grievously thinned our ranks, but fresh numbers poured out of the city, and from the surrounding villages, until the hill occupied by them scarcely afforded room for them to stand.

This unequal conflict having lasted until past noon, during which period reinforcements and an additional gun had been in vain solicited from the cantonments, Brigadier Shelton sent Capt. Mackenzie to request Major Kershaw to move up his reserve (which could scarcely so be called, having been the whole day hard pressed by large bodies of the enemy in the village, and by parties occupying ruins and broken ground on the skirts of his position). The Major, fearing that, if he abandoned the knoll on which he had been stationed, our retreat to the cantonments (then becoming more and more imperatively necessary) might be cut off, made answer, that "he begged to suggest, that the Brigadier should fall back upon him." Before this message could be delivered, the front ranks of the advanced square, at the Brigadier's extremity of the hill, had been literally mowed down;—most of the artillerymen, who performed their duty in a manner which is beyond praise, shared the same fate. The manœuvre practised by the Ghazees previously was repeated by still greater numbers. The evident unsteadiness of our troops, and the imminent danger to which the gun was a second time exposed, induced the Brigadier, after repeated suggestions from Serg. Mulhall, who commanded the battery, to order the gun to be limbered up—a second limber having arrived from cantonments—and to retire towards Major Kershaw's position. Scarcely had this movement been commenced, when a rush from the Ghazees completely broke the square;—all order was at an end:—the entreaties and commands of the officers,

* The names of this little band of heroes deserve to be recorded; they were Capt. Mackintosh and Lieut. Laing, who were almost instantly killed, and Capts. Mackenzie, Troup, and Leighton; the latter fell in the retreat of the army from Cabul, the other two happily still survive to fight their country's battles: of such men the Indian army may well be proud.

† Capts. Bott and Collyer, 5th Light Cavalry; Lieut. Walker, Irregular Horse; Russular Ishmael Khan, Jemadar Synd, Mahomed Synd, and Mirza Musseer Bey, of Anderson's Horse.

endeavouring to rally the men, were not even listened to, and an utter rout ensued down the hill in the direction of cantonments, the enemy closely following, whose cavalry, in particular, made a fearful slaughter among the unresisting fugitives. Major Kershaw's party, perceiving this disaster, endeavoured to escape; but strong parties, issuing from the village, cut off their retreat, and thus great numbers of our Sepoys perished: the grenadier company, especially, was all but annihilated. The mingled tide of flight and pursuit seemed, to those who manned the walls of cantonment, to be about to enter the gate together; and, by some fatality, the ammunition of the great guns in battery within the cantonments was almost expended. A heavy fire, however, was opened from the Shah's 5th Infantry in the Mission Compound: a fresh troop of the 5th Cavalry, under Lieut. Hardyman, charged across the plain towards the enemy, joined by Lieut. Walker, who had rallied fifteen or twenty of his own men; during which gallant effort this most promising and brave young officer received a mortal wound. These operations, assisted by a sharp discharge from the juzailchees under Capt. Trevor, contributed to check the pursuit; and it was observed at the time, and afterwards ascertained to be correct, that a chief (Osman Khan) voluntarily halted his followers, who were among the foremost, and led them off; which may be reckoned, indeed, the chief reason why *all* of our people, who on that day went forth to battle, were not destroyed. Our loss *was* tremendous; the principal part of the wounded having been left in the field, including Lieut.-Col. Oliver, where they were miserably cut to pieces. Our gun and second limber, which, while endeavouring to gallop down the hill, had overturned on rough ground, we had the mortification to behold triumphantly carried off by the enemy.

About half an hour previous to the flight of our troops, a note had been written to the Assist.-Adjt.-Gen. by Capt. Troup, earnestly requesting that the Mountain-train gun, which had by that time been repaired, might be sent out with the least possible delay; and the first idea that suggested itself to that officer after our defeat was, that by quickly bringing this gun to bear upon the H. A. gun, then in the hands of the enemy, the latter might still be saved. He therefore galloped with speed to cantonments, where finding the Mountain-train gun just ready to start, he was on the point of leading it out of the gate, when his progress was interrupted by the Assist.-Adjt.-Gen., on the plea that it would now be of no use. This is the more to be lamented, as, from the spot occupied by Capt. Trevor's juzailchees, who, protected by a low wall, still kept up a sharp and effectual fire on the enemy, the range to the side of the hill whence the Affghans were endeavouring to carry off the captured gun, about which they clustered in thousands, was so short, that grape, even from a small calibre, must have prevented the execution of their intentions. Had the company of fresh infantry, which was drawn up outside the gate under command of Lieut. Alexander, moved forward in company with the mountain gun to the support of the above gallant handful of juzailchees, excellent service might have been rendered. But it seemed as if we were under the ban of Heaven.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this miserable and disastrous affair no less than six great errors must present themselves, even to the most unpractised military eye, each of which contributed in no slight degree to the defeat of our troops, opposed as they were by overwhelming numbers.

1st. The first and perhaps most fatal mistake of all was the taking out a *single* gun. The General Order by the Marquess of Hastings, expressly forbidding less than two guns to take the field, under any circumstances or on any pretence whatever, when another is available, must be well known at least to every officer who has served in India. This positive prohibition was the offspring of dearly-bought experience; and the action of Beymaroo affords another convincing example of the risk to which a single gun is exposed, when unsupported by the fire of a second. It was certainly the Brigadier's intention to take the mountain gun also; but this had unfortunately been disabled on the previous day, and it had been twice specially reported, both to the Brigadier and to the General the foregoing night, by Capt. Troup, that it could not be got ready before 12 A. M. on the following day.

2dly. The second error is scarcely less evident than the first.—Had immediate advantage been taken of the panic which our unexpected cannonade created among the possessors of the village,—whose slack fire afforded sufficient evidence of the actual fact that they were not only contemptible in numbers, but short of ammunition,—had, I say, a storming party been led to the attack under cover of the darkness, which would have nullified the advantage they possessed in being under cover, the place must inevitably have fallen into our hands, and thus would the principal object of the sally have been gained, and a good line of retreat secured for our troops in case of necessity.

3dly. The third error was so manifest as to be quite unaccountable. A party of 100 sappers had accompanied the force for the express purpose of raising a *sunga*. The fittest place for such a work would have been half-way along the ridge occupied by us, where our troops would then have been wholly protected from the fire of the juzails from the opposite hill, while the enemy could not have advanced to the attack without exposing themselves to the full effects of our musketry and grape. It would, in fact, have infused into our troops a sense of security from any sudden charge of the enemy's horse, and at the same time have enabled our

own cavalry to issue forth with the assurance of having in their rear a place of defence, on which to fall back, if hard pressed by the enemy. It has been seen that no such defence was raised.

4thly. All have heard of the British SQUARES at *Waterloo*, which defied the repeated desperate onsets of Napoleon's choicest *cavalry*. At *Beymaroo* we formed squares to resist the *distant fire of infantry*, thus presenting a solid mass against the aim of perhaps the best marksmen in the world, the said squares being securely perched on the summit of a steep and narrow ridge, up which no cavalry *could* charge with effect. A Peninsular General would consider this to be a novel fashion; yet Brigadier Shelton had the benefit of Peninsular experience in his younger days, and, it must be owned, was never surpassed in dauntless bravery.

5thly. Our cavalry, instead of being found upon the plain, where they might have been useful in protecting our line of communications with the cantonments, and would have been able to advance readily to any point where their services might have been required, were hemmed in between two infantry squares, and exposed for several hours to a destructive fire from the enemy's juzails, on ground where, even under the most favourable circumstances, they could not have acted with effect. This false and unsatisfactory position of course discouraged the troopers; and, when the infantry finally gave way, the two arms of the service became mixed up in a way that greatly increased the general confusion, and rendered it impossible for the infantry to rally, even had they been so disposed. The truth is, that the cavalry were not allowed fair play, and such a position must have disgusted and dispirited *any* troops.

6thly. Shortly after our regaining possession of the gun, one of the Brigadier's staff, Capt. Mackenzie, feeling convinced that, from the temper of the troops, and from the impossibility of rectifying the false position in which the force was placed, not only was success beyond hope, but that defeat in its most disastrous shape was fast approaching, proposed to the Brigadier to endeavour to effect a retreat, while it was yet in his power to do so with comparative impunity. His reply was, "Oh, no! we will hold the hill some time longer." At that time, even if the slaughter of the soldiery, the loss of officers, the evident panic in our ranks, and the worse than false nature of our position, had not been sufficient to open all eyes as to the impossibility even of partial success, (for the real object of the expedition, viz. the possession of the village of Beymaroo, had been, as it were, abandoned from the very first,) the weakness and exhaustion of both men and horses, who were not only worn out by bodily fatigue, but suffering grievously from extreme thirst and the debility attendant on long fasting, ought to have banished all idea of further delaying a movement, in which alone lay the slightest chance of preserving to their country lives, by the eventual sacrifice of which not even the only solace to the soldier in the hour of misfortune, the consciousness of unimpaired honour, was likely to be gained.

CHAPTER VII.

Our passiveness. Conferences and negotiations with the Insurgent Chiefs. Loss of Mahomed Shereef's Fort. Terms agreed on.

November 24th.—OUR troops had now lost all confidence; and even such of the officers as had hitherto indulged the hope of a favourable turn in our affairs began at last reluctantly to entertain gloomy forebodings as to our future fate. Our force resembled a ship in danger of wrecking among rocks and shoals, for want of an able pilot to guide it safely through them. Even now, at the eleventh hour, had the helm of affairs been grasped by a hand competent to the important task, we might perhaps have steered clear of destruction; but in the absence of any such deliverer, it was too evident that Heaven alone could save us by some unforeseen interposition. The spirit of the men was gone; the influence of the officers over them declined daily; and that boasted discipline, which alone renders a handful of our troops superior to an irregular multitude, began fast to disappear from among us. The enemy, on the other hand, waxed bolder every day and every hour, nor was it long ere we got accustomed to be bearded with impunity from under the very ramparts of our garrison.

I have already mentioned the new bridge thrown over the river by General Elphinstone: this the enemy, advancing up the bed of the river under cover of the bank, to-day began to demolish. I must do Brigadier Shelton the justice to say that he, seeing the vast importance of the bridge in case of a retreat (an alternative of which he never lost sight), had strongly urged the erection of a field-work for its protection; in fact, there was a small unfinished fort near at hand, which one night's work of the sappers would have rendered fit for the purpose, and a small detachment thrown into it would have perfectly commanded the bridge. But madness was equally apparent in all that was done or left undone: even this simple precaution was neglected, and the result will be seen in the sequel.

Capt. Conolly now wrote in from the Bala Hissar, strongly advising an immediate retreat thither, on which movement several of the chief military and all the political officers considered our only hope of holding out through the winter to depend. But the old objections were still urged against the measure by Brigadier Shelton and others; and the General, in a letter this day addressed to the Envoy, expressed his opinion that "the movement, if not altogether impossible, would be attended with great diffi-

culty, encumbered as we should be with numerous sick and wounded. The enemy would doubtless oppose us with their whole force, and the greater part of the troops would be required to cover the operation, thus leaving the cantonments imperfectly defended; that the men were harassed, dispirited, and greatly reduced in numbers; and failure would be attended with certain destruction to the whole force. To remove the ammunition and stores would be the work of several days, during which the enemy would hover round, and offer every obstacle to our operations. Our wounded were increased, whilst our means of conveying them were diminished. Would the Bala Hissar hold the force with all the followers? Water was already said to be selling there at a high price.* We had barely twenty days' supply of provisions in the cantonment; and, even supposing we could find means to carry it with us, there was no prospect of obtaining more in the Bala Hissar. A retreat thence would be worse than from our present position, after having abandoned our cattle; and the sick and wounded must be left behind us." In these opinions Brigadier Shelton entirely concurred. An appalling list of objections, it must be confessed, but insufficient to shake my belief that a removal of the force into the Bala Hissar was not only practicable but necessary for our safety and honour; while the risks attending it, though formidable, were only such as we ought, as soldiers, to have unhesitatingly incurred. Shah Shoojah had morever declared himself impatient to receive us; and, even had the dreaded ruin overwhelmed us in the attempt, would it not have been a more manly and honourable course, than the inglorious treaty we shortly afterwards entered into with a treacherous band of rebels, by which we deserted the sovereign whom it was our duty to protect to the last drop of our blood? Had we boldly sallied forth, preferring death to dishonour, would not the fate of our poor fellows have been an hundred fold happier than that they subsequently experienced in their miserable retreat, inasmuch as they would have died in the consciousness of having bravely done their duty? Never were troops exposed to greater hardships and dangers; yet, sad to say, never did soldiers shed their blood with less beneficial result than during the investment of the British lines at Cabul. While, therefore, justice is done to the memory of the dead, and those, who encountered a thousand perils in the brave and skilful performance of their duty, must be held up to that honour which is their due—while the tear of pity may well be shed at their untimely fate—the blame and discredit also must be *theirs*, who rendered nugatory all the oblations of blood that were offered, all the advantages that were gained, and finally involved a still formidable force in ruin and disgrace. But to return to my narrative.

A letter to the address of the Envoy was this day received from Osman Khan,* Barukzye, a near relative of the new King, and generally supposed to have a favourable bearing towards us, wherein he took credit to himself for having "checked the ardour of his followers in their pursuit of our flying troops on the preceding day, when, by following up their success, the loss of our cantonments and the destruction of our force was inevitable; but that it was not the wish of the chiefs to proceed to such dreadful extremities, their sole desire being that we should quietly evacuate the country, leaving them to govern it according to their own rules, and with a king of their own choosing." On the receipt of this friendly communication, the Envoy requested the General to state his opinion regarding the possibility, in a military point of view, of retaining our position in the cantonments; as, in case of a negative reply, he might be able to enter into negotiations with the existing rulers of the country.

The General replied to the effect that "we had now been in a state of siege for three weeks; our provisions were nearly expended, and our forage entirely consumed, without the prospect of procuring a fresh supply; that our troops were much reduced by casualties, and the large number of sick and wounded increased almost daily; and that, considering the difficulty of defending the extensive and ill-situated cantonment, the near approach of winter, the fact of our communications being cut off, and that we had no prospect of reinforcement, with the whole country in arms against us, he did not think it possible to retain our present position in the country, and therefore thought the Envoy ought to avail himself of the offer to negotiate, which had been made him."

November 27th.—Nothing else of consequence took place until this morning, when two deputies from the assembled chiefs, having made their appearance at the bridge, were ushered into cantonments by Capts. Lawrence and Trevor, the Envoy having agreed to confer with them, on condition that nothing should be proposed which it would be derogatory in him to consider. The interview took place in the officers' guard-room at the eastern gate; the exact particulars did not transpire, but the demands made by the chiefs were such as it was impossible to comply with, and the deputies took leave of the Envoy with the exclamation that "we should meet again in battle!" "We shall at all events meet," replied Sir William, "at the day of judgment." At night the Envoy received a letter from the chiefs, proposing terms of so disgraceful and insulting a nature as seemed at once to preclude all hope of terminating our difficulties by treaty. The tenor of them was as follows: "That we should deliver up Shah Shoojah and his whole family; lay down our arms; and make an unconditional surrender; when they might perhaps be induced to spare

* This report was entirely untrue.

* This chief had sheltered Capt. Drummond in his own house since the first day of the outbreak.

our lives, and allow us to leave the country on condition of our never returning." The Envoy's reply was such as well became the representative of his country's honour. "He was astonished," he said, "at their departing from that good faith for which he had given them credit, by violating the conditions on which he had been led to entertain proposals for a pacific arrangement; that the terms they proposed were too dishonourable to be entertained for a moment; and that, if they persisted in them, he must again appeal to arms, leaving the result to the God of battles."

December 1st.—No active renewal of hostilities took place until to-day, when a desperate effort was made by the enemy to gain possession of the Bala Hissar, which they endeavoured to effect by a night attack, in the first instance, on the *Bourge-i-lakh*, an isolated tower forming an outwork to the fortress, and from its elevated position commanding almost the entire works. This point was, however, strongly reinforced without delay by Major Ewart, commanding the garrison, and notwithstanding the determined spirit exhibited by the enemy, who made repeated charges up the hill, they were repulsed with considerable slaughter.

December 4th.—At an early hour the enemy moved out in force from the city, and, having crowned the Beymaroo hills, posted two guns in the gorge, from which they maintained a tolerably brisk fire for several hours into the cantonments, effecting fortunately but little mischief; in the evening they, as usual, retired to their respective haunts. During the night a rush was suddenly made by a party of Affghans to the gate of Mahomed Shereeff's fort, garrisoned by our troops, which they attempted, in imitation of our own method at the taking of Ghuznee, to blow open with powder bags, but without success.

December 5th.—This day the enemy completed the destruction of our bridge over the river, which they commenced on the 24th ult., no precaution having been taken to prevent the evil. Day after day we quietly looked on without an effort to save it, orders being in vain *solicited* by various officers for preventive measures to be adopted. In consequence of the enemy having commenced mining one of the towers of Mahomed Shereeff's fort, the garrison was reinforced, and Lieut. Sturt succeeded during the night in destroying the mine. This, however, could only be effected at the expense of opening a passage under the walls, which it became necessary to barricade; and although this measure of precaution was efficiently executed, such was the nervous state of the party composing the garrison, that no reliance could be placed on their stability in case of an attack.

December 6th.—The garrison of Mahomed Shereeff's fort was relieved at an early hour by one company of H. M.'s 44th, under Lieut. Grey, and one company 37th N. I. under Lieut. Hawtrey, an amply sufficient force for the defence of the place against any sudden onset; but, unhappily, the fears of the old garrison were communicated to the new, and, owing to the representations of Lieut. Hawtrey, the defences were minutely examined by Lieut. Sturt, the garrison engineer, and by him pronounced to be complete. Scarcely, however, had that officer returned to cantonments, ere information was conveyed to the General that the detachment, having been seized with a panic, had taken flight over the walls, and abandoned the fort to the enemy. It would appear that a small party of juzailchees, having crept up to the undermined tower under cover of the trees in the Shah Bagh, had fired upon the garrison through the barricaded breach which I have above described, unfortunately wounding Lieut. Grey, upon whose departure for medical aid the Europeans, deprived of their officer, lost what little confidence they had before possessed, and, collecting their bedding under the walls, betrayed symptoms of an intention to retreat. The enemy meanwhile, emboldened by the slackened fire of the defenders, approached momentarily nearer to the walls, and, making a sudden rush to the barricade, completed the panic of the garrison, who now made their escape over the walls in the greatest consternation, deaf to the indignant remonstrances of their gallant commander, who in vain entreated them not to disgrace themselves and him by such cowardly proceedings. Even the Sepoys, who at first remained staunch, contaminated by the bad example set them by their European brethren, refused to rally; and Lieut. Hawtrey, finding himself deserted by all, was obliged reluctantly to follow, being the last to leave the fort. It is, however, worthy of mention, that two Sepoys of the 37th N. I. were left dead in the fort, and two others were wounded, while not a man of the 44th was touched, excepting one whose hand suffered from the accidental explosion of a grenade.

The enemy, though at first few in numbers, were not slow to avail themselves of the advantage afforded them by this miserable conduct of our troops, and their banner was soon planted in triumph on the walls, amidst the exulting shouts of hundreds. Much recrimination took place between the Europeans and the Sepoys engaged in this affair, each declaring the other had been the first to run; and a court of inquiry was assembled to investigate the matter, the result of which, though never entirely divulged, was generally supposed to be favourable to the Sepoys, it being a known fact, that the Europeans had brought off nearly all their bedding safe, whilst the Sepoys had left every thing behind. At all events, a circumstance soon occurred, which abundantly testified the impression made on those in command. At this time the bazar village was garrisoned by a party of H. M.'s 44th, who, on observing the flight of the soldiers from Mahomed Shereeff's fort, were actually on the point of abandoning their own post, when they were observed and stopped by some officers, of whom one was Lieut. White, the adjutant of the regiment; but so little de-

pendence could now be placed on their stability, that a guard from the 37th N. I. was stationed at the entrance of the bazar, with strict orders to prevent the exit of any Europeans on duty in the place.

December 7th.—The European garrison was this day withdrawn from the bazar, and a company of the 37th N. I. substituted in their room! This, being the weakest point of our defences, had hitherto been protected entirely by parties of H. M.'s 44th, which post of honour they were now considered unworthy to retain.

I may here be excused for offering a few brief remarks.

In the course of this narrative, I have been compelled by stern truth to note down facts nearly affecting the honour and interest of a British regiment. It may, or rather I fear it must, inevitably happen that my unreserved statements of the Cabul occurrences will prove unacceptable to many, whose private or public feelings are interested in glossing over or suppressing the numerous errors committed and censures deservedly incurred. But my heart tells me that no paltry motives of rivalry or malice influence my pen; rather a sincere and honest desire to benefit the public service, by pointing out the rocks on which our reputation was wrecked, the means by which our honour was sullied and our Indian empire endangered, as a warning to future actors in similar scenes, In a word, I believe that more good is likely to ensue from the publication of the whole unmitigated truth, than from a mere garbled statement of it. A kingdom has been lost—an army slain;—and surely, if I can show that, had we been but true to ourselves, and had vigorous measures been adopted, the result might have been widely different, I shall have written an instructive lesson to rulers and subjects, to generals and armies, and shall not have incurred in vain the disapprobation of the self-interested or the proud. It is notorious that the 44th foot had been for a long time previous to these occurrences in a state of woful deterioration. I firmly believe that in this, and in every other respect, they stood alone as a regiment of that noble army whose glorious deeds in all quarters of the globe have formed, with those of the British navy, the foundation of our pride, and have supplied for ages to come a theme of wonder and admiration. The regiment in question fell a prey to a vital disease, which the Horse Guards alone could have remedied, and which is now beyond the reach of proper investigation. May a redeeming glory and renown rise from its ashes.

The alarming discovery having been made that our supply of provisions had been materially overrated, and that not even a sufficiency for one day remained in store, Capt. Hay was despatched with a convoy of military stores into the Bala Hissar, with orders to bring back the animals laden with grain. He started several hours before daybreak, but on reaching the Seeah Sung hill, a few straggling shots being fired upon his rear, the men riding the laden *yaboos* (Affghan ponies) were panic-stricken, and, hastily casting the loads to the ground, galloped for safety to the front. Much private property was lost at the same time, for, notwithstanding all the opposition that had been made to the proposal of a retreat to the Bala Hissar, the General in some degree deferred to the opinions of those who favoured the movement, by adopting the half measure of sending in magazine supplies from time to time by driblets. This led many to suppose that the whole force would sooner or later retreat thither, and accordily advantage was taken of every opportunity to send in a few private necessaries in advance. On this occasion the attempt failed in the manner I have above related; but Capt. Hay nevertheless accomplished the primary object of his journey, by bringing back as much provisions as could be collected on so short a notice.

December 8th.—The Envoy, having addressed a public letter to the General, requested him to state "whether or not it was his opinion that any further attempt to hold out against the enemy would merely have the effect of sacrificing both His Majesty Shah Shoojah and ourselves; and whether, supposing this to be so, the only alternative left was not to negotiate for our safe retreat out of the country, on the most favourable terms possible?" The General, in reply, stated his conviction that "the present situation of the troops was such, from the want of provisions and the impracticability of procuring more, that no time ought to be lost in entering into negotiations for a safe retreat from the country: That, as regarded the troops at Candahar, and the rumours of their approach to our assistance, he would be sorry, in the absence of all authentic information, to risk the sacrifice of the troops by waiting for their arrival, when we were ignorant even of their having commenced their march, and were reduced to three days' supply of provisions for our Sepoys at half rations, and almost without any forage for our horses and cattle: That our number of sick and wounded in hospital exceeded 600, and our means for their transport were far from adequate, owing to the death by starvation of so many of our camels, from which cause also we should be obliged, at this inclement season, to leave their tents and bedding behind, with such a march before us: That, as regarded the King, he must be excused from entering upon that point of the Envoy's letter, and leave its consideration to his better knowledge and judgment; but he might be allowed to say that it little became him, as commanding the British troops in Affghanistan, to regard the necessity of negotiation in any other light than as concerned *their* honour and welfare, for both of which he should be answerable, by a further stay here, after the sudden and universal rebellion against His Majesty's authority which had taken place throughout his dominions: That the whole of the grain and forage in the vici-

nity was exhausted, and the defence of the extensive and ill-selected cantonment would not admit of distant expeditions, to obtain supplies from the strongly fortified dwellings of an armed and hostile population; our present numbers being insufficient for its defence, and obliging the whole of the troops to be almost constantly under arms. In conclusion, he could only repeat his opinion that the Envoy should lose no time in entering into negotiations." This letter was countersigned by Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil, and Colonel Chambers, who entirely concurred in the opinions it expressed. Meanwhile starvation stared us in the face, and it became necessary to adopt immediate measures for obtaining a further supply of provisions. A consultation was accordingly held with this object at the General's house, and it was determined that an attack should be made on the neighbouring fort of *Khoja Ruwash* at an early hour the following morning.

December 9th.—The morning dawned, but no signs of preparation appeared for the proposed enterprise; no bridge was laid down for the passage of the guns and cavalry; no troops were in readiness to march; and it was plain that either no orders had been given, or no attention had been paid to them. Thus, notwithstanding the importance of its object, the expedition was suffered to die a natural death.

Upon this subject I shall only remark that Brigadier Shelton commanded the garrison, and that with him the necessary arrangements rested.

Intelligence having been this day received of a decisive victory gained over the enemy by Gen. Sale at Jellalabad, the Envoy conceived it might have the effect of modifying the General's opinion, regarding the immediate necessity of negotiating with the rebel chiefs, and addressed him a letter on the subject. The General, however, declared in reply, that, pleasing as the intelligence was, it could not in the slightest degree influence our position, so as to affect the expediency of our treating; in forming which opinion he was much influenced by the joint representations that had been just made to him by Capts. Boyd and Johnson, the respective heads of the Company's and Shah's commissariat, wherein they declared their utter inability to procure grain or forage within three or four miles, and that, although three days' supply of *atta* (ground wheat) might still be procurable from the Bala Hissar, yet every additional day's delay now crippled the cattle more and more, and rendered our position more perilous. Notwithstanding these apparently conclusive arguments, there existed strong grounds for believing that the Bala Hissar, contained a much larger supply of provisions than was generally supposed.

December 10th.—Another convoy of military stores was despatched to the Bala Hissar this morning under command of Lieut. Le Geyt, by whom a further supply of *atta* was brought back in return.

December 11th.—The rebel chiefs having manifested an inclination to treat, the Envoy, accompanied by Capts. Lawrence, Mackenzie, and Trevor, went out to meet them on the plain towards Seah Sung. There were present Mahomed Akber Khan, Osman Khan, Mahomed Khan Naib Ameer (commonly called Naib Ameer), Barukzyes;—Mahomed Shah Khan, Humza Khan, Khooda Bux Khan, Giljyes;—Juayut Oolol Khan, Populzye;—Khan Shereen Khan, Kuzzilbash;—and several others of inferior note, but all heads of tribes. After the exchange of salutations, Sir William addressed the assembled Khans, alluding to past times, during which relations of perfect cordiality and friendship had existed between them and the English. He greatly lamented that feelings of so pleasant and mutually beneficial a nature should have been thus rudely interrupted; but professed himself wholly ignorant of the causes of such interruption. He proceeded to state that sentiments of good-will towards the Affghan nation had principally induced the British government to lend their aid, in restoring to the seat of his ancestors a king, who, notwithstanding his misfortunes, originating in causes to which he would not then allude, had ever reigned in the hearts of the mass of his people; that the restoration of their monarch had apparently given the utmost satisfaction to all classes throughout his dominions. If, however, that satisfaction had passed away, and given place to emotions of a wholly contrary nature (and he supposed that the assembled Sirdars and Khans might be considered the mouth-piece of the people), it no longer became the British Government to persist in a course so displeasing to those chiefly interested in the result. On this account he was willing to enter into negotiations, for the smoothing over of present difficulties, and for the adopting of such measures as were likely to be the most conducive towards the re-establishment of that mutual friendship between the British and Affghan governments, the maintenance of which, he felt assured, must be earnestly desired by both parties. To all these propositions Mahomed Akber Khan and Osman Khan, as the principal personages present, expressed, with the hearty concurrence of the inferior chiefs, their entire assent, adding many expressions of their personal esteem for the Envoy himself, and their gratitude for the way in which the exiled Ameer had been used. The Envoy then requested permission to read to them a paper containing a general sketch of the proposed treaty. This being agreed to, the articles of the treaty were read and discussed. Their general purport was to the effect—That the British should evacuate Affghanistan, including Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Jellalabad, and all the other stations absolutely within the limits of the country so called;—that they should be permitted to return not only unmolested to India, but that supplies of every description should be afforded them in their road thither, certain men of consequence accompany-

ing them as hostages;—that the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, his family, and every Affghan now in exile for political offences, should be allowed to return to their country;—that Shah Shoojah and his family should be allowed the option of remaining at Cabul or proceeding with the British troops to Loodiana, in either case receiving from the government a pension of one lac of rupees per annum;—that means of transport for the conveyance of our baggage, stores, &c., including that required by the royal family, in case of their adopting the latter alternative, should be furnished by the existing Affghan government; that an amnesty should be granted to all those who had made themselves obnoxious on account of their attachment to Shah Shoojah and his allies, the British:—that all prisoners should be released;—that no British force should be ever again sent into Affghanistan, unless called for by the Affghan government, between whom and the British nation perpetual friendship should be established on the sure foundation of mutual good offices.

To all these terms the chiefs cordially agreed, with the exception of Mahomed Akber, who cavilled at several, especially that of the amnesty, but was overruled by his coadjutors. He positively refused to permit the garrison to be supplied with provisions until it had quitted cantonments, which movement he clamorously demanded should take place the following morning. His violence caused some confusion; but the more temperate of his party having interfered, it was finally agreed that our evacuation of the cantonments should take place in three days—that provisions should be supplied—and that to all the above-mentioned articles of this new treaty a formal assent in writing should be sent, with all the usual forms of a restored peace. The chiefs, on returning to the city, took with them Capt. Trevor as a hostage for the sincerity of the Envoy. During the whole of this interview, which took place not far from the bottom of the Seeah Sung hills, great anxiety was felt in the cantonments from the apparent danger to which the Envoy was exposed,—he being accompanied only by a few troopers of the body-guard,—and from the circumstance of large bodies of the enemy's horse and foot being seen to pass towards the scene of conference from the city, their leaders evidently with much difficulty restraining their advance beyond a certain point. Sir William, however, although not unaware of the perfidious nature of those he had to deal with, nor insensible to the risk he ran, (a shot in fact, from the fanatic multitude, having whistled over the heads of the gentlemen in attendance on him, as they advanced towards the rendezvous,) wisely imagined that a display of confidence was the best mode of begetting good faith. It is, however, pretty certain that the tumultuary movements of the Affghan troops, whose presence was in direct violation of the stipulations under which the conference was held, were not without their cause, it having been the earnest desire of Mahomed Akber to seize upon the Envoy's person at that very meeting, from which step he was with difficulty restrained by the other Khans. But no sense of personal danger could have deterred a man of Sir William's truly chivalrous and undaunted character from the performance of any duty, private or public.

Would that he had been more alive to the apprehensions which influenced common men! We might not then have to mourn over the untimely fate of one, whose memory must be ever cherished in the hearts of all who knew and were capable of appreciating him, notwithstanding the disastrous termination of his political career, as that of a good, and, in many essential points, a great man.

CHAPTER VIII.

Preparations for evacuating. More conferences. More delays. More difficulties. Mahomed Akber's plot against the Envoy. His murder.

December 12th.—It is undeniable that Sir William Macnaghten was forced into this treaty with men whose power he despised, and whose treachery was proverbial, against his own judgment, by the pressing representations of our military heads. It is no less true that, whatever may have been his political remissness or want of foresight before the rebellion broke out, he had, throughout the perils that afterwards beset us, displayed a truly British spirit of unflinching fortitude and indefatigable energy, calculated, under more auspicious leaders, to have stimulated the zeal and valour of the troops, and to have cheered them under the trials and hardships they were called on to endure; and I can safely add, without fear of contradiction, that scarcely an enterprise was undertaken throughout the siege, but at the suggestion, and even the entreaties, of the Envoy, he volunteering to take on himself the entire responsibility. Justice demands this tribute to the memory of one, whose acts, as they will assuredly undergo the severe scrutiny of his countrymen, it therefore becomes the duty of every eye-witness, who bears testimony on the subject, not only to shield from misrepresentation, but, where they are deserving of it, to hold up to public admiration. I am led to write this solely by my public knowledge of the man. If I could bring myself, on matters of such vital importance, to follow the dictates of mere private feeling, my bias would be altogether on the side of my late lamented military chief, who honoured me with his friendship, and for whose infirmities every allowance ought, in common justice, to be made.

With a mind and talents of no ordinary stamp, and a hitherto unsullied fame, *he* committed the fatal error of transporting himself suddenly from a state of prolonged luxurious repose, at an advanced age, to undertake the fatigues and cares

inseparable from high military command, in a foreign uncongenial climate; he thus not only ruined his already shattered health, but (which to a soldier was a far worse calamity) grievously damaged that high reputation which his early services had secured for him. His fate ought to serve as a warning to others of his class, who, priding themselves on a *Peninsular* fame of some thirty years' standing, are too apt to forget the inroads that time may have meanwhile made on mind and body; and who would do well to bear in remembrance that, of two of the most iron intellects of their day—one of them was even the greatest general of his age—it was written with too much truth,—

"From *Marlborough's* eyes the tears of dotage flow,
And *Swift* expires a driveller and a show."

The terms of the new treaty were immediately made known to Shah Shoojah, by which that unfortunate monarch found himself once more doomed to an old age of exile and degradation. The first step towards its fulfilment was the withdrawal of our troops from the Bala Hissar, which was to have taken place this very day, but was postponed for a short time longer, to admit of the necessary preparations being made. A deputation of chiefs had an interview in the close of the day, who were the bearers of a most unexpected proposition, to the effect that Shah Shoojah should continue king, on condition of intermarrying his daughters with the leading Affghan chiefs, and abandoning the offensive practice of keeping the chief nobles of his kingdom waiting for hours at his gate, in expectation of audience. The Affghans hate ceremony, which Shah Shoojah carried at all times to an absurd extent; hence much of his unpopularity. This arrangement was not intended to annul those parts of the treaty which related to our immediate evacuation of the country, for the fulfilment of which some married families were demanded as hostages.

December 13th.—Such was the inveterate pride of the King, that he yielded a most reluctant consent to the above-mentioned proposals, notwithstanding that the only alternative was the instant resignation of his kingdom. Little confidence was, however, placed by the Envoy in the sincerity of the chiefs, whose hatred of the Doranee ruler was notorious. As our retreat was now fully decided on, and our well-stocked magazine was shortly to fall a prey to our enemies, the General ordered that some ammunition should be distributed to certain of the camp followers; and commanding officers were directed to indent for new arms and accoutrements, in exchange for such as were old and damaged. The reins of discipline had, however, by this time become so terribly relaxed, and so little attention was paid to superior orders by either officers or men, that many of the officers in command of companies rested content with sending their men to the magazine, to help themselves at will, the stores being unfortunately, in the absence of any finished building for their reception, arranged under the trees of an orchard, in charge of a small guard. The consequence was, as might have been expected, a scene of disgraceful confusion and plunder, which was rendered worse by a rush of camp-followers, who, imagining that a licence had been given for every one to take whatever he pleased, flocked in hundreds to the spot, and terribly increased the tumult; insomuch that the authority of several officers, who, observing what was going on, exerted themselves to restore order, was for several minutes set at open defiance. At last, however, the place was cleared of the intruders, and the greater portion of the stolen articles was recovered the same evening. But this event may be taken as an instance of the unsteadiness of the troops, and of the recklessness that now began to extend itself amongst all ranks of the force.

At 2 P. M. the troops in the Bala Hissar, consisting of the 54th N. I., half of Capt. Nicholl's troop of horse artillery, and a detachment of the mountain train, with 2 howitzers, under Lieut. Green, commenced their evacuation of that fortress. They were also encumbered with an iron nine-pounder gun, and a twenty-four pounder brass howitzer, drawn by bullocks, which it was the General's wish should have been left behind, but his order to that effect had by some accident missed its destination. As the utmost scarcity of provisions prevailed in cantonments, Capt. Kirby, the commissariat officer, had zealously exerted himself to collect a supply of about 1600 maunds of wheat and flour to carry thither. Much delay, however, occurred in packing and loading; and, the best part of the day being nearly spent ere above one third of that quantity was ready, Major Ewart deemed it advisable to move off without further loss of time. He found Mahomed Akber Khan in waiting with a small body of followers outside the gate, for the purpose of escorting him to cantonments; and, as evening drew nigh, a dense crowd of armed Affghans had been observed to collect on the Seeah Sung hill, along the base of which our troops must pass, giving rise to suspicions of some meditated treachery. While the rear-guard, with the Mountain-train gun and a portion of the baggage, was leaving the gate, some of Mahomed Akber's followers, pushing quietly past them, endeavoured to effect an entrance into the fort; but on their being recognised by the king's guard, the gates were immediately shut, and a round or two of grape fired upon the intruders, with so indiscriminate an aim as to endanger the lives of Capt. Conolly and several of the Sepoys, of whom some were severely wounded. It can scarcely be doubted that Mahomed Akber's intention was to have seized the gate with a few of his men, until a rush of the Affghans from the hill should have enabled him to carry the body of the place by storm. The vigilance of the garrison having defeated this plan, the wily chief, imagining that the gates would again be opened

to readmit our troops, informed Major Ewart that, owing to the lateness of the hour and the threatening attitude assumed by the crowd on the hill, it would be necessary to postpone his march until the following morning. In consequence of this sudden ill-timed announcement, Major Ewart applied to the King for the immediate readmission of his troops for shelter during the night; but the monarch, whose suspicions of foul play on the part of Mahomed Akber were now fully awakened, positively refused to accede to the request. The prospect of passing the night in the low marshy ground under the walls, without tents, bedding, firewood, or food, for officers or men, was sufficiently cheerless; while the fear of treachery on the part of Mahomed Akber, and the dangerous vicinity of an armed multitude, whose watch-fires already gleamed on the adjacent hills, tended but little to relieve the discomforts of such a situation. The cold was intensely bitter, and perhaps so miserable a night had never before been spent by Indian troops.

December 14*th*.—At an early hour this morning, Mahomed Akber having declared his readiness to proceed, the troops commenced their march. The advance-guard was suffered to proceed unmolested; but the rear-guard, on reaching the base of the Seeah Sung hill, was fired upon by the enemy, who crowned the ridge; and the iron nine-pounder being for a few moments accidentally separated from the columns in crossing a water-cut, an instantaneous rush was made upon it by a number of Affghans, and a poor sick European artillery-man, who, for want of a more suitable conveyance, had been lashed to the gun, was unmercifully butchered. The approach of the rear-guard, and a round or two of grape from the mountain train howitzer, drove off the assailants; and they were restrained from offering any additional annoyance by the exertions of Mahomed Akber himself, who, galloping in amongst them with a few followers, threatened to cut down any who dared to be guilty of further opposition to the progress of the detachment, which accordingly reached cantonments safe at about 9 A. M.

December 16*th*.—Shah Shoojah having, for reasons best known to himself, withdrawn his consent to the arrangement which was to have continued him in the possession of his rights, the treaty resumed its original form; but the chiefs positively refused to supply provisions or forage, until we should further assure them of our sincerity by giving up every fort in the immediate vicinity of cantonments. Forage had for many days been so scarce, that the horses and cattle were kept alive by paring off the bark of trees, and by eating their own dung over and over again, which was regularly collected and spread before them. The camp-followers were destitute of other food than the flesh of animals, which expired daily from starvation and cold. The daily consumption of atta by the fighting men was about 150 maunds, and not above two days' supply remained in store. By giving up the forts in question, all of which commanded the cantonment, we should place ourselves entirely at the mercy of the enemy, who could at any time render our position untenable. But our leaders now seemed to consider that we had no other chance left than to concede to the demands of the chiefs, however unreasonable; and our troops were accordingly withdrawn from the Rikabashee, Magazine, and Zoolfekar's forts, and from the Musjeed opposite the western gate, all of which were forthwith occupied by the Affghans, who, on their part, sent in Nussuroollah Khan, a brother of Nuwab Zuman Khan, as a hostage, and a supply of about 150 maunds of atta for the troops. They likewise promised us 2000 camels and 400 yaboos for the march to Jellalabad.

December 18*th*.—The delay of the chiefs in furnishing the necessary carriage, and the Shah's dilatoriness in deciding on his future course, compelled us from day to day to postpone our departure. Meanwhile the increasing severity of the winter rendered every hour's procrastination of the utmost consequence; and this morning our situation was rendered more desperate than ever by a heavy fall of snow, which covered the ground to the depth of five inches, and never afterwards disappeared. Thus a new enemy entered on the scene, which we were destined to find even more formidable than an army of rebels.

December 19*th*.—The Envoy wrote an order for the evacuation of Ghuznee, and it was arranged that the 27th N. I., which garrisoned the place, should march through the Zoormut valley, and pursue the route of Dera Ishmael Khan. The 22d was fixed for our departure.

December 20*th*.—The Envoy had an interview with the chiefs, who now demanded that a portion of our guns and ammunition should be immediately given up. They also required Brigadier Shelton as a hostage. It was proposed by Lieut. Sturt to the General to break off the treaty, and march forthwith to Jellalabad, devoting all the means of transport we possessed to the service of the sick, and the conveyance of such public stores as were absolutely necessary. But neither the General nor his immediate advisers could bring them to adopt a course which would have saved the national honour, at the risk of sacrificing our whole force.

It has been truly said that a council of war never fights. A door of hope had until this day, still remained open to us in the approach of Col. Maclaren's force to our assistance from Candahar; we now heard with despair of its retreat from Tazee, in consequence of the snow.

December 21*st*.—The Envoy met Osman Khan and Mahomed Akber Khan on the plain, when four hostages were fixed upon, two of whom (Capts. Conolly and Airey) were at once given over. Brigadier Shelton, having expressed a decided objection to undertake the duty, was not insisted upon. In the evening Capts. Trevor and Drummond were permitted to return to

cantonments, the latter officer having been concealed in the city since the 2d of November.

December 22d.—I was ordered to conduct an officer of Nuwab Zuman Khan over the magazine, that he might make choice of such stores as would be most acceptable to the chiefs. I recommended a large pile of 8-inch shells to his notice, which I knew would be of no use to the chiefs, as the mortars were with Capt. Abbott's battery at Jellalabad. He eagerly seized the bait, and departed in great glee, with his prize laden on some old ammunition-wagons.

The Envoy at the same time sent his carriage as a present to Mahomed Akber Khan. That same night the last-named chief spread the net into which Sir William Macnaghten was, on the following day, so miserably lured to his destruction. Capt. Skinner, at this time living under Mahomed Akber's protection, was made the bearer of proposals to the Envoy, of so advantageous a nature, as to prove, in his forlorn circumstances, irresistibly tempting.

Amenoollah Khan, the most influential of the rebels, was to be seized on the following day, and delivered up to us as a prisoner. Mahomed Khan's fort was to be immediately occupied by one of our regiments, and the Bala Hissar by another. Shah Shoojah was to continue king; Mahomed Akber was to become his wuzeer, and our troops were to remain in their present position until the following spring.—That a scheme like this, bearing impracticability on its very face, should have for a moment deceived a man of Sir William's usual intelligence and penetration, is indeed an extraordinary instance of infatuation, that can only be accounted for on the principle that a drowning man will catch at a straw. Our fortunes were now at their lowest ebb; the chiefs were apparently delaying our departure until the snow should have formed an impassable barrier to the removal of our troops, who, even in the absence of an enemy, would but too probably perish from cold and famine. A treaty formed with men famed for falsehood and treachery, and who had already shown an utter disregard of some of its most important stipulations, could be regarded as little better than so much waste paper; added to which considerations, Sir William felt that his own fame was deeply involved in the issue of that policy,* of which he had from the very first been the prime advocate and upholder, and that with it he must stand or fall. The specious project of Mahomed Akber offered a solution to the difficulties that beset his path, at which he grasped with an eagerness engendered by despair. The strength of the rebels had hitherto lain in their unanimity; the proposed stroke of policy would at once dissolve the confederacy, and open a road by which to retrieve our ruined fortunes. On either hand there was danger; and, miserable as Sir William's life had been for the past six weeks, he was willing to stake his all on the issue of a plan which seemed to offer a faint hope of recovering the ground we had lost.

In a fatal hour he signed his name to a paper consenting to the arrangement.—His doom was sealed.—The whole was a scheme got up by the chiefs, to test his sincerity.

December 23d.—At about noon Sir William Macnaghten, attended by Capts. Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, left the mission-house to attend a conference with Mahomed Akber Khan on the plain towards Seeah Sung. Previously to this he had requested the General that two regiments and two guns might be in readiness for secret service, and that, as the interview would be of a critical nature, the garrison might be kept well on the alert, and the walls strongly manned. In leaving the cantonments, Sir William expressed his disappointment at the paucity of men on the ramparts, and the apparent inertness of the garrison at such a critical moment, saying, "However, it is all of a piece with the military arrangements throughout the siege." On his leaving the gate only sixteen troopers of the body-guard were in attendance, but the remainder shortly afterwards joined, under Lieut. Le Geyt.

Sir William now for the first time explained to the officers who accompanied him the objects of the present conference; and Capt. Lawrence was warned to be in readiness to gallop to the Bala Hissar, to prepare the King for the approach of a regiment.

Apprehensions being expressed of the danger to which the scheme might expose him, in case of treachery on the part of Mahomed Akber, he replied, "Dangerous it is; but if it succeeds, it is worth all risks: the rebels have not fulfilled even one article of the treaty, and I have no confidence in them; and if by it we can only save our honour, all will be well. At any rate, I would rather suffer a hundred deaths, than live the last six weeks over again."

Meanwhile crowds of armed Affghans were observed hovering near the cantonment and about Mahomed Khan's fort, causing misgivings in the minds of all but the Envoy himself, whose confidence remained unshaken. On arriving near the bridge, they were met by Mahomed Akber Khan, Mahomed Shah Khan, Dost Mahomed Khan, Khooda Bux Khan, Azad Khan, and other chiefs, amongst whom was the brother of Amenoollah Khan, whose presence might have been sufficient to convince Sir William that he had been duped.

The usual civilities having passed, the Envoy presented Akber Khan with a valuable Arab horse, which had only that morning been purchased for 3000 rupees. The whole party then sat down near some rising ground, which partially concealed them from cantonments.

Capt. Lawrence having called attention to the number of inferior followers around them, with a view of their being ordered to a distance, Mahomed Akber exclaimed, "No, they are all

* That of invading Affghanistan for the purpose of restoring Shah Shoojah as king.

in the secret;" which words had scarcely been uttered, when Sir William and his three companions found themselves suddenly grasped firmly by the hands from behind, whilst their swords and pistols were rudely snatched away by the chiefs and their followers. The three officers were immediately pulled forcibly along and compelled to mount on horseback, each behind a Giljye chief, escorted by a number of armed retainers, who with difficulty repelled the efforts of a crowd of fanatic Ghazees, who, on seeing the affray, had rushed to the spot, calling aloud for the blood of the hated infidels, aiming at them desperate blows with their long knives and other weapons, and only deterred from firing by the fear of killing a chief. The unfortunate Envoy was last seen struggling violently with Mahomed Akber, "consternation and horror depicted on his countenance."

On their nearing Mahomed Khan's fort, renewed attempts were made to assassinate the three captive officers by the crowd there assembled. Capt. Trevor, who was seated behind Dost Mahomed Khan, unhappily fell to the ground, and was instantly slain. Capts. Lawrence and Mackenzie reached the fort in safety, but the latter was much bruised in various parts of his body, and both were greatly exhausted from the excitement they had undergone.

At the entrance of the fort, a furious cut was aimed at Capt. Mackenzie's head by a ruffian named Moollah Momin, which was warded off by Mahomed Shah Khan, that chief receiving the blow on his own shoulder. Being taken into a small room, they found themselves still in continual jeopardy from repeated assaults of the Ghazees without, who were with the greatest difficulty restrained from shooting them through the window, where the hand of some recent European victim (afterwards ascertained to be that of the Envoy himself) was insultingly held up to their view. Throughout this trying scene they received repeated assurances of protection from the Giljye chiefs; but Amenoollah Khan coming in gave vent to a torrent of angry abuse, and even threatened to blow them from a gun. It is deserving of notice, that, amidst the congratulations which on all sides met the ear of Mahomed Shah Khan on the events of the day, the solitary voice of an aged Moollah was raised in condemnation of the deed, which he solemnly pronounced to be "foul," and calculated to cast a lasting disgrace on the religion of Mahomed. At midnight they were removed to the house of Mahomed Akber Khan. As they passed through the streets of Cabul, notwithstanding the excitement that had prevailed throughout the day, it resembled a city of the dead; nor did they meet a single soul.

By Akber Khan they were received courteously, and were now informed for the first time by Capt. Skinner of the murder of the Envoy and Capt. Trevor. That Sir William Macnaghten met his death at the hands of Mahomed Akber himself there can be no reasonable doubt. That chief had pledged himself to his coadjutors to seize the Envoy that day, and bring him into the city, when the chiefs hoped to have been able to dictate their own terms, retaining him as a hostage for their fulfilment. Finding it impossible, from the strenuous resistance Sir William offered, to carry him off alive, and yet determined not to disappoint the public expectation altogether,—influenced also by his tiger passions, and the remembrance of his father's wrongs,—Mahomed Akber drew a pistol, the Envoy's own gift a few hours before, and shot him through the body, which was immediately hacked to pieces by the ferocious Ghazees, by whom the dismembered trunk was afterwards carried to the city, and publicly exposed in the Char Chouk, or principal mart. The head was taken to the house of Nuwab Zuman Khan, where it was triumphantly exhibited to Capt. Conolly.

Such was the cruel fate of Sir William Macnaghten, the accomplished scholar, the distinguished politician, and the representative of Great Britain at the court of Shah Shooja-Ool-Moolk.

It cannot but be acceptable to my readers, if I here present entire the interesting and important letters of Capts. Mackenzie and Lawrence on this melancholy subject.

Letter addressed by Captain C. Mackenzie to Lieutenant Vincent Eyre.

My dear Eyre,

You ask for a minute account of the circumstances attending the assassination of the late Sir William Macnaghten, and my own detention and imprisonment on that occasion. You may remember that, for many days previous to the fatal 23d December, the poor Envoy had been subjected to more wear and tear, both of body and mind, than it was possible for the most iron frame and the strongest intellect to bear without deeply feeling its effects. He had fulfilled all the preliminary conditions of the treaty which had been proposed between the British and the Affghan insurgents, whereas the Khans had in no one particular adhered to their engagements. Bad faith was evident in all their proceedings, and our condition was a desperate one; more especially as Sir William had ascertained, by bitter experience, that no hope remained in the energies and resources of our military leaders, who had formally protested that they could do nothing more. Beset by this disgraceful imbecility on the one hand, and by systematic treachery on the other, the unfortunate Envoy was driven to his wits' end, and, as will be seen, forgot, in a fatal moment, the wholesome rule which he had theretofore laid down for himself, of refusing to hold communication with individuals of the rebel party, especially with him who was notorious, even amongst his villanous countrymen, for ferocity and treachery, to wit, Mahomed Akber Khan. Late in the evening of the 22d December, Captain James Skinner, who, after having been concealed in Cabul during the greater part of the siege, had latterly been the guest of Mahomed Akber, arrived in cantonments, accompanied by Mahomed Sudeeq Khan, a first cousin of Mahomed Akber, and by Sirwar Khan, the Arhanee merchant, who, in the begin-

ning of the campaign, had furnished the army with camels, and who had been much in the confidence of Sir A. Burnes, being, in fact, one of our staunchest friends. The two latter remained in a different apartment, while Skinner dined with the Envoy. During dinner, Skinner jestingly remarked that he felt as if laden with combustibles, being charged with a message from Mahomed Akber to the Envoy of a most portentous nature.

Even then I remarked that the Envoy's eye glanced eagerly towards Skinner with an expression of hope. In fact, he was like a drowning man catching at straws. Skinner however referred him to his Affghan companions, and after dinner the four retired into a room by themselves. My knowledge of what there took place is gained from poor Skinner's own relation, as given during my subsequent captivity with him in Akber's house. Mahomed Sudeeq disclosed Mahomed Akber's proposition to the Envoy, which was, that the following day Sir William should meet him (Mahomed Akber) and a few of his immediate friends, viz. the chiefs of the Eastern Giljyes, outside the cantonments, when a final agreement should be made, so as to be fully understood by both parties; that Sir William should have a considerable body of troops in readiness, which, on a given signal, were to join with those of Mahomed Akber and the Giljyes, assault and take Mahmood Khan's fort, and secure the person of Ameenoollah. At this stage of the proposition Mahomed Sudeeq signified that, for a certain sum of money, the head of Ameenoollah should be presented to the Envoy; but from this Sir William shrunk with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. Mahomed Sudeeq then went on to say, that, after having subdued the rest of the Khans, the English should be permitted to remain in the country eight months longer, so as to save their *purdah* (veil, or credit), but they were then to evacuate Affghanistan, as if of their own accord; that Shah Shooja was to continue king of the country, and that Mahomed Akber was to be his wuzeer, (vizier.) As a further reward for his (Mahomed Akber's) assistance, the British Government were to pay him 30 lacs of rupees, and 4 lacs of rupees per annum during his life! To this extraordinary and wild proposal, Sir William gave ear with an eagerness which nothing can account for but the supposition, confirmed by many other circumstances, that his strong mind had been harassed, until it had, in some degree, lost its equipoise; and he not only assented fully to these terms, but actually gave a Persian paper to that effect, written in his own hand, declaring as his motives that it was not only an excellent opportunity to carry into effect the real wishes of government, which were to evacuate the country with as much credit to ourselves as possible, but that it would give England time to enter into a treaty with Russia, defining the bounds beyond which neither were to pass in Central Asia. So ended this fatal conference, the nature and result of which, contrary to his usual custom, Sir William communicated to none of those, who, on all former occasions, were fully in his confidence, viz. Trevor, Lawrence, and myself. It seemed as if he feared that we might insist on the impracticability of the plan, which he must have studiously concealed from himself. All the following morning his manner was distracted and hurried in a way that none of us had ever before witnessed. It seems that Mahomed Akber had demanded a favourite Arab horse, belonging to Captain Grant, Assist-Adj-Gen. of force. To avoid the necessity of parting with the animal, Captain Grant had fixed his price at the exorbitant sum of 5000 rupees; unwilling to give so large a price, but determined to gratify the Sirdar, Sir William sent me to Captain Grant to prevail upon him to take a smaller sum, but with orders that if he were peremptory, the 5000 rupees should be given. I obtained the horse for 3000 rupees, and Sir William appeared much pleased with the prospect of gratifying Mahomed Akber by the present.

After breakfast, Trevor, Lawrence, and myself were summoned to attend the Envoy during his conference with Mahomed Akber Khan. I found him alone, when for the first time, he disclosed to me the nature of the transaction he was engaged in. I immediately warned him that it was a plot against him. He replied hastily, "A plot! let me alone for that, trust me for that!" and I consequently offered no further remonstrance. Sir William then arranged with Gen. Elphinstone that the 54th regiment, under Major Ewart, should be held in readiness for immediate service. The Shah's 6th, and two guns, were also warned. It is a curious circumstance, and betrays the unhappy vacillation of poor Elphinstone, that after Sir William had actually quitted the cantonment in full expectation that every thing had been arranged according to his desire, he (the General) addressed a letter to him, which never reached him, remonstrating on the danger of the proposed attack, and strongly objecting to the employment of the two above regiments. About 12 o'clock Sir William, Trevor, Lawrence, and myself set forth on our ill-omened expedition. As we approached the Secah Sung gate, Sir William observed with much vexation that the troops were not in readiness, protesting at the same time, however, that, desperate as the proposed attempt was, it was better that it should be made, and that a thousand deaths were preferable to the life he had lately led.

After passing the gate, he remembered the horse which he had intended as a present for Akber, and sent me back for it. When I rejoined him, I found that the small number of the body guard who had accompanied him had been ordered to halt, and that he, Trevor, and Lawrence, had advanced in the direction of Mahomed Khan's fort, being some 500 or 600 yards from the eastern rampart, and were there awaiting the approach of Mahomed Akber and his party, who now made their appearance. Close by were some hillocks, on the further side of which from the cantonment a carpet was spread where the snow lay least thick, and there the Khans and Sir William sat down to hold their conference. Men talk of presentiment; I suppose it was something of the kind which came over me, for I could scarcely prevail upon myself to quit my horse. I did so, however, and was invited to sit down among the Sirdars. After the usual salutations Mahomed Akber commenced business, by asking the Envoy if he was perfectly ready to carry into effect the proposition of the preceding night? The Envoy replied, "Why not?" My attention was then called off by an old Affghan acquaintance of mine, formerly chief of the Cabul police, by name Gholam Moyun-ood-deen. I rose from my recumbent posture, and stood apart with him conversing.

I afterwards remembered that my friend betrayed much anxiety as to where my pistols were and why I did not carry them on my person. I answered that although I wore my sword for form, it was not necessary at a friendly conference to be armed *cap-à-pee*. His discourse was also full of extravagant compliments, I suppose for the purpose of lulling me to sleep. At length my attention was called off from what he was saying, by observing that a number of men, armed to the teeth, had gradually approached to the scene of conference, and were drawing round in a sort of circle. This Lawrence and myself pointed out to some of the chief men, who affected at first to drive them off with whips; but Mahomed Akber observed that it was of no consequence, as they were in the secret. I again resumed my conversation with Gholam Moyun-ood-deen, when suddenly I heard Mahomed Akber call out, "Begeer! begeer!" (seize! seize!) and turning round, I saw him grasp the Envoy's left hand with an expression in his face of the most diabolical ferocity. I think it was Sultan Jan who laid hold of the Envoy's right hand. They dragged him in a stooping posture down the hillock, the only words I heard poor Sir William utter being, "Az barae Khooda" (for God's sake)! I saw his face, however, and it was full of horror and astonishment. I did not see what became of Trevor, but Lawrence was dragged past me by several Affghans, whom I saw wrest his weapons from him. Up to this moment I was so engrossed in observing what was taking place, that I actually was not aware that my own right arm was mastered, that my urbane friend held a pistol to my temple, and that I was surrounded by a circle of Ghazees with drawn swords and cocked juzails. Resistance was in vain; so, listening to the exhortations of Gholam Moyun-ood-deen, which were enforced by the whistling of divers bullets over my head, I hurried through the snow with him to the place where his horse was standing, being despoiled *en route* of my sabre, and narrowly escaping divers attempts made on my life. As I mounted behind my captor, now my energetic defender, the crowd increased around us, the cries of "Kill the Kafir!" became more vehement, and although we hurried on at a fast canter, it was with the utmost difficulty Gholam Moyun-ood-deen, although assisted by one or two friends or followers, could ward off and avoid the sword-cuts aimed at me, the rascals being afraid to fire lest they should kill my conductor. Indeed he was obliged to wheel his horse round once, and taking off his turban (the last appeal a Mussulman can make), to implore them for God's sake to respect the life of his friend. At last, ascending a slippery bank, the horse fell. My cap had been snatched off, and I now received a heavy blow on the head from a bludgeon, which fortunately did not quite deprive me of my senses. I had sufficient sense left to shoot ahead of the fallen horse, where my protector with another man joined me, and clasping me in their arms, hurried me towards the wall of Mahomed Khan's fort. How I reached the spot where Mahomed Akber was receiving the gratulations of the multitude I know not, but I remember a fanatic rushing on me and twisting his hand in my collar until I became exhausted from suffocation. I must do Mahomed Akber the justice to say, that, finding the Ghazees bent on my slaughter, even after I had reached his stirrup, he drew his sword and laid about him right manfully, for my conductor and Meerza Baoodeen Khan were obliged to press me up against the wall, covering me with their own bodies, and protesting that no blow should reach me but through their persons.

Pride, however, overcame Mahomed Akber's sense of courtesy, when he thought I was safe, for he then turned round to me, and repeatedly said in a tone of triumphant derision, "Shuma moolk-i-ma me geered!" (*You'll* seize my country, will you!) he then rode off, and I was hurried towards the gate of the fort. Here new dangers awaited me; for Moollah Momin, fresh from the slaughter of poor Trevor, who was killed riding close behind me, —Sultan Jan having the credit of having given him the first sabre cut,—stood here with his followers, whom he exhorted to slay me, setting them the example by cutting fiercely at me himself. Fortunately a gun stood between us, but still he would have effected his purpose, had not Mahomed Shah Khan at that instant, with some followers, come to my assistance. These drew their swords in my defence, the chief himself throwing his arm around my neck, and receiving on his shoulder a cut aimed by Moollah Momin at my head. During the bustle I pushed forward into the fort, and was immediately taken to a sort of dungeon, where I found Lawrence safe, but somewhat exhausted by his hideous ride and the violence he had sustained, although unwounded. Here the Giljye chiefs, Mahomed Shah Khan, and his brother Dost Mahomed Khan, presently joined us, and endeavoured to cheer up our flagging spirits, assuring us that the Envoy and Trevor were not dead, but on the contrary quite well. They stayed with us during the afternoon, their presence being absolutely necessary for our protection. Many attempts were made by the fanatics to force the door to accomplish our destruction. Others spit at us and abused us through a small window, through which one fellow levelled a blunderbuss at us, which was struck up by our keepers and himself thrust back. At last Ameenoollah made his appearance, and threatened us with instant death. Some of his people most officiously advanced to make good his word, until pushed back by the Giljye chiefs, who remonstrated with this iniquitous old monster, their master, whom they persuaded to relieve us from his hateful presence. During the afternoon, a human hand was held up in mockery to us at the window. We said that it had belonged to an European, but were not aware at the time that it was actually the hand of the poor Envoy. Of all the Mahomedans assembled in the room discussing the events of the day, one only, an old Moolah, openly and fearlessly condemned the acts of his brethren, declaring that the treachery was abominable, and a disgrace to Islam. At night they brought us food, and gave us each a postheen to sleep on. At midnight we were awakened to go to the house of Mahomed Akber in the city. Mahomed Shah Khan then, with the meanness common to all Affghans of rank, robbed Lawrence of his watch, while his brother did me a similar favour. I had been plundered of my rings and every thing else previously, by the understrappers.

Reaching Mahomed Akber's abode, we were shown into the room where he lay in bed. He received us with great outward show of courtesy, assuring us of the welfare of the Envoy and Trevor, but there was a constraint in his manner for which I could not account. We were shortly taken to

another apartment, where we found Skinner, who had returned, being on parole, early in the morning. Doubt and gloom marked our meeting, and the latter was fearfully deepened by the intelligence which we now received from our fellow-captive of the base murder of Sir William and Trevor. He informed us that the head of the former had been carried about the city in triumph. We of course spent a miserable night. The next day we were taken under a strong guard to the house of Zeman Khan, where a council of the Khans was being held. Here we found Captains Conolly and Airey, who had some days previously been sent to the hurwah's house as hostages for the performance of certain parts of the treaty which was to have been entered into. A violent discussion took place, in which Mahomed Akber bore the most prominent part. We were vehemently accused of treachery, and every thing that was bad, and told that the whole of the transactions of the night previous had been a trick of Mahomed Akber, and Ameenoollah, to ascertain the Envoy's sincerity. They declared that they would now grant us no terms, save on the surrender of the whole of the married families as hostages, all the guns, ammunition, and treasure. At this time Conolly told me that on the preceding day the Envoy's head had been paraded about in the court-yard; that his and Trevor's bodies had been hung up in the public bazar, or *chouk;* and that it was with the greatest difficulty that the old hurwah, Zuman Khan, had saved him and Airey from being murdered by a body of fanatics, who had attempted to rush into the room where they were. Also that previous to the arrival of Lawrence, Skinner, and myself, Mahomed Akber had been relating the events of the preceding day to the *Jeerga* or council, and that he had unguardedly avowed having, while endeavouring to force the Envoy either to mount on horseback or to move more quickly, *struck* him, and that, seeing Conolly's eyes fastened upon him with an expression of intense indignation, he had altered the phrase and said, "I mean I *pushed* him."

After an immense deal of gabble, a proposal for a renewal of the treaty, not, however, demanding all the guns, was determined to be sent to the cantonments, and Skinner, Lawrence, and myself were marched back to Akber's house, enduring *en route* all manner of threats and insults. Here we were closely confined in an inner apartment, which was indeed necessary for our safety. That evening we received a visit from Mahomed Akber, Sultan Jan, and several other Affghans. Mahomed Akber exhibited his double-barrelled pistols to us, which he had worn the previous day, requesting us to put their locks to rights, something being amiss. *Two of the barrels had been recently discharged*, which he endeavoured in a most confused way to account for by saying, that he had been charged by a havildar of the escort, and had fired both barrels at him. Now all the escort had run away without even attempting to charge, the only man who advanced to the rescue having been a Hindoo Jemadar of Chuprassies, who was instantly cut to pieces by the assembled Ghazees. This defence he made without any accusation on our part, betraying the anxiety of a liar to be believed. On the 26th, Capt. Lawrence was taken to the house of Ameenoollah, whence he did not return to us. Captain Skinner and myself remained in Akber's house until the 30th. During this time we were civilly treated, and conversed with numbers of Affghan gentlemen who came to visit us. Some of them asserted that the Envoy had been murdered by the unruly soldiery. Others could not deny that Akber himself was the assassin. For two or three days we had a fellow-prisoner in poor Sirwar Khan, who had been deceived throughout the whole matter, and out of whom they were then endeavouring to screw money. He of course was aware from his countrymen that, not only had Akber committed the murder, but that he protested to the Ghazees that he gloried in the deed. On one occasion a moonshee of Major Pottinger, who had escaped from Charekhar, named Mohun Beer, came direct from the presence of Mahomed Akber to visit us. He told us that Mahomed Akber had begun to see the impolicy of having murdered the Envoy, which fact he had just avowed to him, shedding many tears either of pretended remorse, or of real vexation, at having committed himself. On several occasions Mahomed Akber personally, and by deputy, besought Skinner and myself to give him advice, as to how he was to extricate himself from the dilemma in which he was placed, more than once endeavouring to excuse himself for not having effectually protected the Envoy, by saying that Sir William had drawn a sword stick upon him. It seems that meanwhile the renewed negotiations with Major Pottinger, who had assumed the Envoy's place in cantonments, had been brought to a head, for on the night of the 30th, Akber furnished me with an Affghan dress (Skinner already wore one) and sent us both back to cantonments. Several Affghans, with whom I fell in afterwards, protested to me that they had seen Mahomed Akber shoot the Envoy with his own hand; amongst them Meerza Báoodeen Khan, who, being an old acquaintance, always retained a sneaking kindness for the English.

I am, my dear Eyre, yours very truly,
C. Mackenzie.

Cabul, 29th July, 1842.

(True copy.)
Vint. Eyre, Lieut. Bengal Artillery.

Letter addressed by Captain G. St. P. Lawrence, late Military Secretary to the Envoy, to Major E. Pottinger, C.B., late in charge of the Cabul Mission.

Sir,

In compliance with your request, I have the honour to detail the particulars of my capture, and of the death of my ever-to-be-lamented chief.

On the morning of the 23d December, at 11 A. M., I received a note from the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, warning me to attend, with Captains Trevor and Mackenzie, an interview he was about to have with Sirdar Mahomed Akber Khan. Accordingly, with the above-named officers, at about 12, I accompanied Sir William, having previously heard him tell Major-General Elphinstone to have two regiments of infantry and two guns ready for secret service. In passing through cantonments, on my observing that there were more Affghans in cantonments than usual, or than I deemed safe, the Envoy directed one of his Affghan attendants to proceed and cause them all to leave, at the same time remarking, how strange it was that, although the General was fully acquainted with the then very critical state of affairs, no preparations appeared to have been made, adding, "however, it

is all of a piece with the military arrangements throughout the siege." He then said, "There is not enough of the escort with us," to which I replied, that he had only ordered eight or ten, but that I had brought sixteen, and that I would send for the remainder, which I accordingly did, asking Lieut. Le Geyt to bring them, and to tell Brigadier Shelton, who had expressed a wish to attend the next interview, that he might accompany them. On passing the gate, we observed some hundreds of armed Affghans within a few yards of it, on which I called to the officer on duty to get the reserve under arms, and brought outside to disperse them, and to send to the General to have the garrison on the alert. Towards Mahmood Khan's fort, were a number of armed Affghans, but we observed none nearer.

The Envoy now told us that he, on the night previous, had received a proposal from Sirdar Mahomed Akber Khan to which he had agreed, and that he had every reason to hope it would bring our present difficulties to an early and happy termination; that Mahomed Akber Khan was to give up Naib Ameenoollah Khan as a prisoner to us, for which purpose a regiment was to proceed to Mahmood Khan's fort, and another corps was to occupy the Bala Hissar. Sir William then warned me to be ready to gallop to the king with the intelligence of the approach of the regiment, and to acquaint him with Akber's proposal. On one of us remarking that the scheme seemed a dangerous one, and asking if he did not apprehend any treachery, he replied: "Dangerous it is, but, if it succeeds, it is worth all risks; the rebels have not fulfilled even one article of the treaty, and I have no confidence in them, and if by it we can only save our honour, all will be well; at any rate, I would rather suffer an hundred deaths, than live the last six weeks over again." We proceeded to near the usual spot, and met Sirdar Mahomed Akber Khan, who was accompanied by several Giljye chiefs, Mahomed Shah Khan, Dost Mahomed Khan, Khoda Bux Khan, Azad Khan, &c. After the usual salutations, the Envoy presented a valuable horse which Akber had asked for, and which had been that morning purchased from Capt. Grant for 3000 rupees. The Sirdar acknowledged the attention, and expressed his thanks for a handsome brace of double-barrelled pistols which the Envoy had purchased from me, and sent to him, with his carriage and pair of horses, the day before.

The party dismounted, and horse clothes were spread on a small hillock which partially concealed us from cantonments, and which was chosen, they said, as being free from snow. The Envoy threw himself on the bank with Mahomed Akber and Captains Trevor and Mackenzie beside him; I stood behind Sir William till, pressed by Dost Mahomed Khan, I knelt on one knee, having first called the Envoy's attention to the number of Affghans around us, saying that if the subject of the conference was of that secret nature I believed it to be, they had better be removed. He spoke to Mahomed Akber, who replied, "No, they are all in the secret." Hardly had he so said, when I found my arms locked, my pistols and sword wrenched from my belt, and myself forcibly raised from the ground and pushed along, Mahomed Shah Khan, who held me, calling out, "Come along, if you value your life." I turned, and saw the Envoy lying, his head where his heels had been, and his hands locked in Mahomed Akber's, consternation and horror depicted in his countenance. Seeing I could do nothing, I let myself be pulled on by Mahomed Shah Khan. Some shots were fired, and I was hurried to his horse, on which he jumped, telling me to get up behind, which I did, and we proceeded, escorted by several armed men who kept off a crowd of Ghazees, who sprang up on every side shouting for me to be given up for them to slay, cutting at me with their swords and knives, and poking me in the ribs with their guns: they were afraid to fire, lest they should injure their chief. The horsemen kept them pretty well off, but not sufficiently so to prevent my being much bruised. In this manner we hurried towards Mahomed Khan's fort, near which we met some hundreds of horsemen who were keeping off the Ghazees, who were here in greater numbers, and more vociferous for my blood. We, however, reached the fort in safety, and I was pushed into a small room, Mahomed Shah Khan returning to the gate of the fort, and bringing in Capt. Mackenzie, whose horse had there fallen. This he did, receiving a cut through his neencha (Scother coat) on his arm, which was aimed at that officer, who was ushered into the room with me much exhausted and bruised from blows on his head and body. We sat down with some soldiers who were put over us with a view to protect us from the mob, who now surrounded the house, and who till dark continued execrating and spitting at us, calling on the men to give us up to be slaughtered.

One produced a hand (European) which appeared to have been recently cut off; another presented a blunderbuss, and was about to fire it, when it was knocked aside by one of our guard. Several of the Sirdars came in during the day, and told us to be assured that no harm should befal us; that the Envoy and Trevor were safe in the city (a falsehood, as will be afterwards seen). Naib Ameenoollah Khan and his sons also came. The former, in great wrath, said that we either should be, or deserved to be, blown away from a gun. Mahomed Shah Khan and Dost Mahomed Khan begged he would not so talk, and took him out of the room. Towards night food was given to us, and postheens to sleep on: our watches, rings, and silk handkerchiefs were taken from us; but in all other respects we were unmolested.

The followers of Mahomed Shah Khan repeatedly congratulated him on the events of the day, with one exception, viz. an old Moollah, who loudly exclaimed that "the name of the faithful was tarnished, and that in future no belief could be placed in them; that the deed was foul and could never be of advantage to the authors." At midnight we were taken through the city to the house of Mahomed Akber Khan, who received us courteously, lamenting the occurrences of the day: here we found Captain Skinner, and for the first time heard the dreadful and astounding intelligence of the murder of the Envoy and Captain Trevor, and that our lamented chief's head had been paraded through the city in triumph, and his trunk, after being dragged through the streets, stuck up in the Char Chouk, the most conspicuous part of the town. Captain Skinner told us, that the report was, that on Mahomed Akber Khan's telling Sir William to accompany him, he refused, resisted, and pushed the Sirdar from him; that in consequence he was

immediately shot and his body cut to pieces by the Ghazees; that Captain Trevor had been conveyed behind Dost Mahomed Khan as far as Mahomed Khan's fort, where he was cut down, but that his body was not mangled, though carried in triumph through the city. On the following morning (24th) we (Captain Skinner, Mackenzie, and self) were taken to Nuwab Zuman Khan's house, escorted by Sultan Jan and other chiefs, to protect us from the Ghazees; there we met Captains Conolly and Airey (hostages) and all the rebel Sirdars assembled in council. The Envoy's death was lamented, but his conduct severely censured, and it was said that now no faith could be placed in our words. A new treaty however was discussed, and sent to the General and Major Pottinger, and towards evening we returned as we came to Mahomed Akber's, where I remained a prisoner, but well and courteously treated till the morning of the 26th, when I was sent to Naib Ameenoollah Khan. On reaching his house I was ushered into his private apartment. The Naib received me kindly, showed me the Envoy's original letter in reply to Mahomed Akber's proposition, touching his being made Shah Shujah's Wuzeer, receiving a lack of rupees on giving the Naib a prisoner to us, thirty lacks on the final settlement of the insurrection, &c. To this the Naib added that the Envoy had told Mahomed Akber's cousin that a lack of rupees would be given for his (Ameenoollah Khan's) head. I promptly replied, "'tis false," that Sir William had never done so, that it was utterly foreign and repugnant to his nature, and to British usage. The Naib expressed himself in strong terms against the Envoy, contrasting his own fair and open conduct with that of Sir William. He told me that General Elphinstone and Major Pottinger had begged I might be released, as my presence was necessary to enable them to prepare bills on India, which it had been arranged the Sirdars were to get. After some delay, consequent on my asking for Captain Mackenzie to be released with me, and Mahomed Akber's stoutly refusing the release of either of us, I was sent into cantonments on the morning of the 29th, escorted by the Niab's eldest son and a strong party of horse and foot, being disguised as an Affghan for my greater protection. I must here record that nothing could exceed the Naib's kindness and attention to me while under his roof.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) G. St. P. Lawrence,
Military Secretary
to the late Envoy and Minister.

Camp Zoudah,
Ten miles South of Tezeen,
10*th May*, 1842.

(True copy.)
Vint. Eyre, Lieut. Bengal Artillery.

CHAPTER IX.

How we avenged him! Council of War. Terms accepted. Hostages given. Postponement of departure.

But what were our troops about all this time? Were no steps taken to rescue the Envoy and his friends from their perilous position? Where was the body-guard which followed them from cantonments? These questions will naturally occur to all who read the foregoing pages, and I wish it were in my power to render satisfactory answers.

The body-guard had only got a few hundred yards from the gate in their progress to the scene of conference, when they suddenly faced about and came galloping back, several shots being fired at them in their retreat. Lieut. Le Geyt, in passing through the gate, exclaimed that the Envoy had been carried off, and it was believed that, finding his men would not advance to the rescue, he came back for assistance. But the intelligence he brought, instead of rousing our leaders to instant action, seemed to paralyze their faculties; and although it was evident that our Envoy had been basely entrapped, if not actually murdered, before our very gate, and though even now crowds of Affghans, horse and foot, were seen passing and repassing to and fro in hostile array, between Mahomed's fort and the place of meeting, not a gun was opened upon them; not a soldier was stirred from his post; no sortie was apparently even thought of; treachery was allowed to triumph in open day; the murder of a British Envoy was perpetrated in the face and within musket-shot of a British army; and not only was no effort made to avenge the dastardly deed, but the body was left lying on the plain to be mangled and insulted, and finally carried off to be paraded in the public market by a ruffianly mob of fanatical barbarians.

Intense was the anxiety and wretched the suspense felt by all during the rest of the day. A number of Affghans, who were trafficking in cantonments at the time of the conference, on hearing the report of fire-arms in that direction, endeavoured to escape, but were detained by the officer at the gate. No certain tidings regarding the Envoy could be obtained: many confidently affirmed that he was alive and unharmed in Mahomed's fort; but Lieut. Warren stoutly maintained that he had kept his eye upon Sir William from the moment of his leaving the gate, and had distinctly seen him fall to the ground, and the Affghans hacking at his body. The agony of his poor wife during this dread interval of suspense may be imagined.

December 24*th.*—The fate of the Envoy and his three companions remained a mystery, until the arrival of a note from Capt. Conolly notifying his death and that of Capt. Trevor, and the safety of Capts. Lawrence and Mackenzie.

The two latter officers had been that morning escorted to a conference of chiefs at the house of Nuwab Zuman Khan, where the late Envoy's conduct was severely commented on; but his death was nevertheless lamented. The treaty was again discussed; and, after a few alterations and additions had been made, it was sent to Gen. Elphinstone, with an explanation of the breach of faith which had cost the Envoy his life.

Gen. Elphinstone now requested Major Pottinger to assume the office of political agent and adviser, which, though still suffering greatly from his wound, and incapacitated from active bodily

exertion, that gallant officer's strict sense of public duty forbade him to decline, although he plainly perceived our affairs to be so irretrievably ruined, as to render the distinction any thing but enviable, or likely to improve his hardly-earned fame.

The additional clauses in the treaty now proposed for our renewed acceptance were—1st. That we should leave behind all our guns, excepting six. 2nd. That we should immediately give up all our treasures. 3rd. That the hostages should all be exchanged for married men, with their wives and families. The difficulties of Major Pottinger's position will be readily perceived, when it is borne in mind that he had before him the most conclusive evidence of the late Envoy's ill-advised intrigue with Mahomed Akber Khan, in direct violation of that very treaty, which was now once more tendered for consideration.

December 25th.—A more cheerless Christmas-day perhaps never dawned upon British soldiers in a strange land; and the few whom the force of habit urged to exchange the customary greetings of the season, did so with countenances and in tones indicative of any thing but merriment. At night there was an alarm, and the drum beat to arms, but nothing occurred of any consequence.

December 26th.—Letters were received from Capt. Mackeson, political agent at Peshawur, announcing the march of strong reinforcements from India. An offer was made by Mahomed Osman Khan to escort us all safe to Peshawur for five lacs of rupees; and shortly after this the Naib Ameer arrived, with a verbal agreement to certain amendments which had been proposed in the treaty by Major Pottinger. He was accompanied by a Cashmeer merchant and several Hindoo shroffs, for the purpose of negotiating bills to the amount of fourteen lacs of rupees, payable to the several chiefs on the promise of the late Envoy.

Major Pottinger being altogether averse from the payment of this money, and indeed strongly opposed to any treaty binding the Indian government to a course of policy which it might find inconvenient to adopt, a council of war was convened by the General, consisting of himself, Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil, Col. Chambers, Capt. Bellew, Assist. Qr.-Mast.-Gen., and Capt. Grant, Assist. Adjt.-Gen. In the presence of this council, Major Pottinger declared his conviction that no confidence could be placed in any treaty formed with the Affghan chiefs; that, under such circumstances, to bind the hands of government, by promising to evacuate the country, and to restore the deposed Ameer, and to waste moreover so much public money, merely to save our own lives and property, would be inconsistent with the duty we owed our country and the government we served; and that the only honourable course would be either to hold out to the last at Cabul, or to force our immediate retreat to Jellalabad.

This, however, the officers composing the council, one and all, declared to be impracticable, owing to the want of provisions, the surrender of the surrounding forts, and the insuperable difficulties of the road at the present season; they therefore deemed it preferable to pay any sum of money, rather than sacrifice the whole force in a hopeless prolongation of hostilities. It was accordingly determined, *nem. con.*, that Major Pottinger should at once renew the negotiations which had been commenced by Sir William Macnaghten, and that the sums promised to the chiefs by that functionary previous to his murder should be paid.

Major Pottinger's objections being thus overruled, the tendered treaty was forthwith accepted, and a requisition was made for the release of Capt. Lawrence, whose presence was necessary to prepare the bills on India. Four married hostages, with their wives and children, being required by the chiefs, a circular was sent round, to ascertain if that number would volunteer to remain, a salary of 2000 rupees per month being guaranteed to each, as an inducement.

Such, however, was the horror entertained of Affghan treachery since the late tragical occurrence, that some officers went so far as to say they would sooner shoot their wives at once, than commit them to the charge of men, who had proved themselves devoid of common honour and humanity. There were, in fact, but one or two who consented to stay, if the General considered that by so doing they would benefit the public service.

December 27th.—The chiefs were informed that it was contrary to the usages of war to give up ladies as hostages, and that the General could not consent to an arrangement, which would brand him with perpetual disgrace in his own country.

December 29th.—The Naib Ameer came in from the city with Capt. Lawrence and the shroffs, when the bills were prepared without farther delay. Capts. Drummond, Walsh, Warburton, and Webb, having been accepted as hostages, were sent to join Capts. Conolly and Airey at the house of Nuwab Zuman Khan. A portion of the sick and wounded, amongst whom was Lieut. Haughton of the Goorkha regiment, were likewise conveyed to the city, and placed under the protection of the chiefs. Three of the Shah's guns, with the greater portion of our treasure, were made over during the day, much to the evident disgust of the soldiery.

December 30th.—The remainder of the sick went into the city, Lieut. Evans, H. M.'s 44th foot being placed in command, and Dr. Campbell, 54th N. I., with Dr. Berwick of the Mission, in medical charge of the whole. Two more of the Shah's guns were given up. It snowed hard the whole day. A crowd of armed Giljyes and Ghazees took up a threatening position close to the eastern gate, and even attempted to force an entrance into cantonments. Much annoyance was daily experienced from these people, who were in the

habit of plundering the peaceable dealers, who flocked in from the city with grain and forage, the moment they issued from the cantonments; they even committed frequent assaults on our Sepoys, and orders to fire on them on such occasions were repeatedly solicited in vain, although it was well known that the chiefs themselves advised us to do so, and the General had given Brigadier Shelton positive instructions to that effect, whenever circumstances might render it advisable. The consequence was that our soldiers were daily constrained to endure the most insulting and contemptuous taunts and treatment, from fellows whom a single charge of bayonets would have scattered like chaff, but who were emboldened by the apparent tameness of our troops, which they doubtless attributed to the want of common pluck, rather than to the restraints of discipline. Capt. Mackenzie and Skinner obtained their release this evening, the latter officer having, since the outbreak of the rebellion, passed through some curious adventures, in the disguise of an Affghan female.

January 5th.—Affairs continued in the same unsettled state until this date. The chiefs postponed our departure from day to day on divers pretexts. It had been agreed that Nuwab Jubbar Khan should escort us to Jellalabad with about 2000 followers, who were to be entertained for that purpose.

It is supposed that, up to the very last, the majority of chiefs doubted the reality of our intention to depart: and many, fearful of the civil discords for which our retreat would be the signal, would have gladly detained us at Cabul. Attempts were made continually by Akber Khan to wean the Hindoostanees from their allegiance, and to induce them to desert. Numerous cautions were received from various well-wishers, to place no confidence in the professions of the chiefs, who had sworn together to accomplish our entire destruction. Shah Shoojah himself sent more than one solemn warning, and, finding we were bent on taking our own course, used his utmost endeavours to persuade Lady Macnaghten to take advantage of his protection in the Bala Hissar. He also appealed to Brigadier Anquetil, who commanded the Shah's force, "if it were well to forsake him in the hour of need, and to deprive him of the aid of that force, which he had hitherto been taught to consider as his own?" All was however unavailing. The General and his council of war had determined that go we must, and go we accordingly did.

In the foregoing chapters I have offered what I honestly believe to be a faithful narration of the dismal train of events which preceded the evacuation of Cabul, and the abandonment of Shah Shoojah, by the British army. In taking a retrospective view of those unprecedented occurrences, it is evident that our reverses may be mainly attributed to a lack of ordinary foresight and penetration on the part of the chief military and civil authorities, on their first entering on the occupation of this country; a country whose innumerable fortified strongholds and difficult mountain passes, in the hands of a proud and warlike population, never really subdued nor reconciled to our rule, though unable to oppose the march of a disciplined army through their land, ought to have induced a more than common degree of vigilance and circumspection, in making adequate provision against any such popular outbreak as might have been anticipated, and did actually occur. But, instead of applying his undeniable talents to the completion of that conquest, which gained him an illustrious title and a wide renown, Lord Keane contented himself with the superficial success, which attended his progress through a country hitherto untraversed by an European army, since the classic days of Alexander the Great; he hurried off, with too great eagerness to enjoy the applause which awaited him in England, and left to his successors the far more arduous task of securing in their grasp the unwieldy prize, of which he had obtained the nominal possession.

On his return to India, Lord Keane took with him a large portion of the Bengal force, with which he had arrived at Cabul; the *whole* of the Bombay troops made a simultaneous homeward movement; and the army, with which he had entered Affghanistan, was thus reduced to a miserable moiety, before any steps had been taken to guard against surprise by the erection of a stronghold on the approved principles of modern warfare, or the establishment of a line of military posts to keep open our communications with India, on which country the army must necessarily for a long time have been entirely dependent for the munitions of war. The distance from Cabul to Ferozepore, our nearest Indian station, is about 600 miles. Between Cabul and Peshawur occur the stupendous and dangerous defiles of Khoord-Cabul, Tezeen, Purreedurrah, Jugdulluk, and Khyber, throughout whose whole extent food and forage are procurable only at long intervals, and even then with much difficulty.

From Peshawur to Ferozepore is the Punjab, or country of the Seiks, traversed by five great rivers, and occupied by a powerful nation, on whose pacific professions no reliance could be placed. Along this extended line of communication Lord Keane established but one small solitary post, in the fort of Ali Musjed, in the heart of the Khyber pass. He left behind him, in fact, an army, whose isolated position and reduced strength offered the strongest possible temptation to a proud and restless race, to rally their scattered tribes in one grand effort to regain their lost independence.

In Lord Keane's successors may be seen the same disposition to be too easily satisfied with the outward semblance of tranquillity. Another brigade was ere long withdrawn from a force already insufficient for any great emergency;

nor was their position for *holding* in subjection a vanquished people much improved by their establishment in an ill-situated and ill-constructed cantonment, with their commissariat stores separated from their lines of defence. To the latter mentioned error may be mainly attributed the evacuation of Cabul and the destruction of the army; for there can be no doubt that, notwithstanding all the difficulties of our position, and the incompetence of our commanders, had the cantonments been well supplied with provisions, the troops could have easily held out until the arrival of reinforcements from India. The real cause of our retreat was, beyond all question, *famine*. We were not *driven*, but *starved*, out of Cabul; and although, in my relation of our military transactions, I have been compelled by a regard to truth unwillingly to record proceedings which must be condemned by all, I do not the less feel most sensibly that every allowance ought in common justice to be made for men, who from the very commencement of the conflict, saw the combined horrors of starvation and a rigorous winter frowning in their face,—no succours within reach,—their retreat cut off,—and all their sanguinary efforts either altogether fruitless, or at best deferring for a few short days the ruin which on every side threatened to overwhelm them.

In connection with this subject, I may be excused for quoting, in conclusion, the powerful reasoning of a recent writer in the *Bombay Times*:—

"When a soldier finds that his every movement is directed by a master mind; that, when he is apparently thrust into the greatest danger, he finds, in truth, his greatest security; that his march to engage an apparently superior force is not a wild sacrifice, but the result of a well-calculated plan; when he knows that, however appearances may be, he is sure to come off with honour, for his brethren in arms are already in progress to assist him, and will not fail to be forthcoming at the hour appointed; when he sees that there is a watchful eye over him, providing for all his wants, assisting him to overcome all his difficulties, and enabling him to reap the fruit of all his successes; when he finds that even retreat is but a preparation for victory, and, as if guided by Providence, all his movements, though to him incomprehensible, are sure to prove steps to some great end;—when the soldier finds this, he rises and lies down in security, and there is no danger which he will not brave. But when, in every thing they undertake, they find the reverse of the picture I have drawn; when they are marched, as they imagine to glory, but find it is only to slaughter; when even victory brings no fruit, and retreat they discover to be flight; when the support they hope for comes not, and they find their labours to be without end or purpose; when the provisions they look for daily are issued to them no more, and they see all their efforts paralysed; when an army of thousands finds itself delivered, bound hand and foot, into the hands of a man without system, foresight, or military knowledge enough for a sergeant of police, the stoutest heart will fail, the bravest sink; for the soldier knows that, do what he will, his efforts can only end in ruin and dishonour."

CHAPTER X.

The retreat of the army, and its annihilation.

January 6th.—At last the fatal morning dawned which was to witness the departure of the Cabul force from the cantonments, in which it had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, where every mountain defile, if obstinately defended by a determined enemy, must inevitably prove the grave of hundreds.

Dreary indeed was the scene, over which, with drooping spirits and dismal forebodings, we had to bend our unwilling steps. Deep snow covered every inch of mountain and plain with one unspotted sheet of dazzling white, and so intensely bitter was the cold, as to penetrate and defy the defences of the warmest clothing.

No signs of the promised escort appeared: but at an early hour the preparations commenced for our march. A cut was made through the eastern rampart, to open an additional passage for the troops and baggage, a sufficient number of gun-wagons and platform planks were taken down to the river for the formation of a temporary bridge, and every available camel and yaboo (the whole amounting to 2000) was laden with military stores, commissariat supplies, and such small proportion of camp-equipage as was indispensably necessary to shelter the troops in a climate of extraordinary rigour.

The strength of the whole force at this time was, so far as can now be ascertained, very nearly as follows:—

1 troop of horse artillery	90	690 Europeans.
H. M.'s 44th foot	600	
5th regt. light cavalry, 2 squad.	260	970 cavalry.
5th Shah's irreg. do. (Anderson's)	500	
Skinner's horse, 1 ressala	70	
4th irreg. do. 1 do.	70	
Mission escort, or body-guard,	70	
5th native infantry,	700	2840.
37th do.	600	
54th do.	650	
6th Shah's infantry	600	
Sappers and miners	20	
Shah's do.	240	
Half the mountain train	30	
Total		4500 fighting men.

6 horse artillery guns.
3 mountain train do.

Besides the above, the camp-followers amounted, at a very moderate computation, to

about 12,000 men, besides women and children. These proved from the very first mile a serious clog upon our movements, and were, indeed, the main cause of our subsequent misfortunes. It is to be devoutly hoped that every future commander-in-chief of the Indian army will adopt decisive measures, to prevent a force employed on field service from being ever again afflicted with such a curse.

The order of march was as follows:—

H. M.'s 44th foot - - -	The advance, under Brigadier Anquetil.
Sappers and miners - - -	
Irreg. horse, 1 squad. - -	
3 mountain train guns - -	
The escort, with the ladies -	Main column, under Brigadier Shelton.
The invalids and sick - -	
2 horse artillery guns - -	
Anderson's irreg. horse - -	
37th native infantry, with treasure	
5th native infantry, with baggage	
54th native infantry - -	Rear-guard, under Col. Chambers.
6th Shah's infantry - - -	
5th light cavalry - - -	
4 horse artillery guns - -	

All being ready at 9 A. M., the advance commenced moving out. At this time not a single Affghan was to be seen in any direction, and the peaceable aspect of affairs gave rise to strong hopes that the chiefs intended to remain true to their engagements.

At 10 A. M. a message was brought from Nuwab Jubbar Khan, requesting us to defer our departure another day, as his escort was not yet ready to accompany us. By this time, however, the greater part of the force was in motion, and a crowd of Affghans, who had issued from the village of Beymaroo, impatient for plunder, had forced their way into the northern cantonment, or Mission Compound (which, owing to some mistake, had been evacuated too soon by the Shah's 6th infantry), and were busily engaged in the work of pillage and destruction. The advance was delayed for upwards of an hour at the river, having found the temporary bridge incomplete; and it was noon ere the whole had crossed over, leaving a clear road for the main column to follow.

The order of march, in which the troops started, was, however, soon lost, and the camp-followers with the public and private baggage, once out of cantonments, could not be prevented from mixing themselves up with the troops, to the utter confusion of the whole column.

The main body, with its long train of laden camels, continued to pour out of the gate until the evening, by which time thousands of Affghans, the majority of whom were fanatical Ghazees, thronged the whole area of cantonments, rending the air with their exulting cries, and committing every kind of atrocity. The rear-guard, being unable to restrain them, was obliged to provide for its own safety by taking up a position outside, on the plain, where a great quantity of the baggage had been brought to a stand-still at the canal (within 150 yards of the gate), whose slippery sides afforded no safe footing for the beasts of burden. The bridge across the river, being by this time impracticable, occasioned additional delay.

The Affghans, who had hitherto been too busily engaged in the work of plunder and destruction to take much notice of the troops, now began to line the ramparts, and annoy them with a mischievous fire of juzails, under which many fell; and it became necessary, for the preservation of those who remained, to spike and abandon two of the horse artillery guns.

Night had now closed around; but the Ghazees, having fired the residency and almost every other building in the cantonment, the conflagration illuminated the surrounding country for several miles, presenting a spectacle of fearful sublimity. In the mad fervour of their religious zeal, these ignorant fanatics even set fire to the gun-carriages belonging to the various pieces of ordnance, which we had left in position round the works, of whose use the Affghan chiefs were thus luckily deprived. The General had been often urged to destroy these guns, rather than suffer them to fall into the enemy's hands, but he considered that it would have been a breach of the treaty to do so. Before the rear-guard commenced its march, Lieut. Hardyman of the 5th light cavalry, with fifty rank and file, were stretched lifeless on the snow. Much baggage was abandoned at starting, and much was plundered on the road. Scores of worn-out Sepoys and camp followers lined the way, having sat down in despair to perish in the snow. It was 2 A. M. ere the rear-guard reached camp at Bygram, a distance of only five miles. Here all was confusion. The tents had been pitched without the slightest regard to regularity, those of different regiments being huddled together in one intricate mass, mixed up with baggage, camp-followers, camels, and horses, in a way which beggars description. The flimsy canvass of the soldiers' tents was but a poor protection from the cold, which towards morning became more and more intense; and thousands of poor wretched creatures were obliged to lie down on the bare snow, without either shelter, fire, or food. Several died during the night; amongst whom was an European conductor of ordnance.

About twenty juzailchees, who still held faithfully by Capt. Mackenzie, suffered less than the rest, owing to their systematic mode of proceeding. Their first step on reaching the ground was to clear a small space from the snow, where they then laid themselves down in a circle, closely packed together, with their feet meeting in the centre; all the warm clothing they could muster among them being spread equally over the whole. By these simple means sufficient animal warmth was generated to preserve them from being frost-bitten; and Capt. Mackenzie, who himself shared their homely bed, declared that he had felt scarcely any inconvenience from the cold. It was different with our Sepoys and camp followers, who, having had no former experience of such hardships,

were ignorant how they might best provide against them, and the proportion of those who escaped, without suffering in some degree from frost-bites, was very small. Yet this was but the *beginning* of sorrows!

January 7th.—At 8 A.M. the force moved off in the reverse order of yesterday—if that could be called *order* which consisted of a mingled mob of soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage-cattle, preserving not even the faintest semblance of that regularity and discipline, on which depended our only chance of escape from the dangers which threatened us. Even at this early stage of the retreat scarcely one half of the Sepoys were fit for duty; hundreds had, from sheer inability to keep their ranks, joined the non-combatants, and thus increased the confusion. As for the Shah's 6th inf., it was no where to be found; only a few straggling files were perceptible here and there; and it was generally believed that the majority of the regiment had absconded during the night to Cabul.

At starting, large clods of hardened snow adhered so firmly to the hoofs of our horses, that a chisel and hammer would have been requisite to dislodge them. The very air we breathed froze in its passage out of the mouth and nostrils, forming a coating of small icicles on our moustaches and beards.

The advance proceeded onward without molestation, though numerous small bodies of Affghan horse and foot were observed hanging about our flanks, and moving in a parallel direction with ourselves. These were at first supposed to form a part of our escort, but the mistake was soon discovered by their attacking the rear-guard, commanded by Brigadier Anquetil, consisting of H. M.'s 44th, Lieut. Green's mountain train guns, and a squadron of irregular horse. Much baggage fell into the enemy's hands, who, though in some degree kept in check by the guns, exhibited a bold front, and maintained a harassing fire on our troops, whose movements were terribly crippled by the disorderly multitude that thronged the road in front. The latter being for several minutes brought to a stand-still by a deep water-cut which intersected the road, the mountain-train guns endeavoured to pass clear of them by making a short detour, in doing which they got separated from the infantry, and—one happening at this unlucky moment to upset—the enemy seized the opportunity to rush forward and capture them, before H. M.'s 44th, who saw too late their awkward predicament, could render effectual assistance.

Their re-capture might still have been effected, could the soldiers have been prevailed upon to make the attempt, a gallant example being shown them by Lieut Green and his few artillerymen, who made a sudden charge upon the foe and spiked the guns, but, not being supported, were obliged a second time to abandon them. Lieut. White, the Adjutant of H. M.'s 44th, received a severe wound through the face on this occasion.

Brigadier Anquetil now sent to the front for reinforcements, which, however, it was found impracticable to furnish, from the crowded state of the road. The Affghan horse shortly after this charged into the very midst of the column of baggage, and carried off large quantities of plunder, creating the greatest confusion and dismay. Numbers fell from wounds, and still greater numbers from mere bodily weakness produced by cold, fasting, and fatigue. It was found necessary to spike and abandon two more horse-artillery guns, which the horses were found perfectly incapable of dragging any further through the deep snow.

On the arrival of the advance at Bootkhak, the General, having been informed that the rear was in danger of being entirely cut off, ordered a halt, and sent back all the troops that could be spared, together with the two remaining guns, to drive off the enemy, who had now assembled in great numbers in the rear, and were proceeding to crown some heights on the right commanding the road. This was, however, prevented by our troops under Brigadier Shelton, who took possession of the nearer heights, and kept the enemy in check for upwards of an hour. On this occasion, Lieut. Shaw, of the 54th N. I., was wounded severely in the thigh. Meanwhile Capt. Skinner had fallen in with a follower of Mahomed Akber Khan, from whom having learned that the chief was encamped near at hand, he accompanied the man to his master's presence. Mahomed Akber now informed Captain Skinner that he had been sent by the chiefs to escort us to Jellalabad, and declared that we had been attacked in consequence of having marched contrary to their wishes. He insisted on our halting at Bootkhak till the following morning, in which case he would provide food, forage, and firewood for the troops; but he said that he should expect six hostages to insure our not marching beyond Tezeen, before tidings should be received of Gen. Sale's evacuation of Jellalabad, for which an order had been already despatched to that officer, in compliance with the stipulations of the treaty.

These terms having been agreed to, the firing ceased for the present, and the force came to a halt on some high ground near the entrance of the Khoord-Cabul pass, having in two days accomplished a distance of only ten miles from Cabul.

Here, again, the confusion soon became indescribable. Suffice it to say that an immense multitude of from 14,000 to 16,000 men, with several hundred cavalry horses and baggage cattle, were closely jammed together in one monstrous, unmanageable, jumbling, mass. Night again closed over us, with its attendant train of horrors,—starvation, cold, exhaustion, death; and of all deaths I can imagine none more agonizing than that, where a nipping frost tortures every sensitive limb, until the tenacious spirit itself sinks under the exquisite extreme of human suffering.

January 8th.—At an early hour the treacherous Affghans again commenced to molest us with their fire, and several hundreds having assembled in hostile array to the south of the camp, the troops were drawn up in expectation of an attack. Major Thain, putting himself at the head of the 44th foot, and exhorting the men to follow him, led them boldly on to the attack; but the enemy did not think proper to await the shock of bayonets, and effected a hasty retreat. In this business it is satisfactory to be able to state that H. M.'s 44th foot behaved with a resolution and gallantry worthy of British soldiers, and plainly proved that, under an able and judicious leader, they could yet redeem their injured reputation.

Capt. Skinner again went to communicate with Mahomed Akber Khan, who demanded that Major Pottinger and Capts. Lawrence and Mackenzie should immediately be made over to him, which was accordingly done, and hostilities again ceased; the Sirdar promising to send forward some influential men to clear the path from the Giljyes, who occupied it, and were lying in wait for our approach. Once more the living mass of men and animals was in motion. At the entrance of the pass an attempt was made to separate the troops from the non-combatants, which was but partially successful, and created considerable delay. The rapid effects of two nights' exposure to the frost in disorganizing the force can hardly be conceived. It had so nipped the hands and feet of even the strongest men, as to completely prostrate their powers and incapacitate them for service; even the cavalry, who suffered less than the rest, were obliged to be lifted on their horses. In fact only a few hundred serviceable fighting men remained.

The idea of threading the stupendous pass before us, in the face of an armed tribe of bloodthirsty barbarians, with such a dense irregular multitude, was frightful, and the spectacle then presented by that waving sea of animated beings, the majority of whom a few fleeting hours would transform into a line of lifeless carcasses to guide the future traveller on his way, can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. We had so often been deceived by Affghan professions, that little or no confidence was placed in the present truce; and we commenced our passage through the dreaded pass in no very sanguine temper of mind. This truly formidable defile is about five miles from end to end, and is shut in on either hand by a line of lofty hills, between whose precipitous sides the sun at this season could dart but a momentary ray. Down the centre dashed a mountain torrent, whose impetuous course the frost in vain attempted to arrest, though it succeeded in lining the edges with thick layers of ice, over which the snow lay consolidated in slippery masses, affording no very easy footing for our jaded animals. This stream we had to cross and recross about eight-and-twenty times. As we proceeded onwards, the defile gradually narrowed, and the Giljyes were observed hastening to crown the heights in considerable force. A hot fire was opened on the advance, with whom were several ladies, who, seeing their only chance was to keep themselves in rapid motion, galloped forward at the head of all, running the gauntlet of the enemy's bullets, which whizzed in hundreds about their ears, until they were fairly out of the pass. Providentially the whole escaped, with the exception of Lady Sale, who received a slight wound in the arm. It ought, however, to be mentioned, that several of Mahomed Akber's chief adherents, who had preceded the advance, exerted themselves strenuously to keep down the fire; but nothing could restrain the Giljyes, who seemed fully determined that nobody should interfere to disappoint them of their prey. Onward moved the crowd into the thickest of the fire, and fearful was the slaughter that ensued. An universal panic speedily prevailed, and thousands, seeking refuge in flight, hurried forward to the front, abandoning baggage, arms, ammunition, women, and children, regardless for he moment of every thing but their own lives.

The rear-guard, consisting of H. M.'s 44th and 54th N. I., suffered severely; and at last, finding that delay was only destruction, they followed the general example, and made the best of their way to the front. Another horse-artillery gun was abandoned, and the whole of its artillery-men slain. Capt. Anderson's eldest girl, and Capt. Boyd's youngest boy, fell into the hands of the Affghans. It is supposed that 3000 souls perished in the pass, amongst whom were Capt. *Paton*, Assist. Qr.-Mast.-Gen.; and Lieut. *St. George*, 37th N. I.—Major *Griffiths*, 37th N. I., and *Scott*, H. M.'s 44th; Capts. *Bott*, 5th cavalry, and *Troup*, Brigadier-Major Shah's force, Dr. *Cardew* and Lieut. *Sturt*, engineers, were wounded, the latter mortally. This fine young officer had nearly cleared the defile when he received his wound, and would have been left on the ground to be hacked to pieces by the Ghazees, who followed in the rear to complete the work of slaughter, but for the generous intrepidity of Lieut. Mein of H. M.'s 13th light infantry, who, on learning what had befallen him, went back to his succour, and stood by him for several minutes, at the imminent risk of his own life, vainly entreating aid from the passers by. He was at length joined by Serjt. Deane of the Sappers, with whose assistance he dragged his friend on a quilt through the remainder of the pass, when he succeeded in mounting him on a miserable pony, and conducted him in safety to camp, where the unfortunate officer lingered till the following morning, and was the only man of the whole force who received Christian burial. Lieut. Mein was himself at this very time suffering from a dangerous wound in the head received in the previous October, and his heroic disregard of self, and fidelity to his friend in the hour of danger, are well deserving of a

record in the annals of British valour and virtue.

On the force reaching Khoord-Cabul, snow began to fall, and continued till morning. Only four small tents were saved, of which one belonged to the General: two were devoted to the ladies and children, and one was given up to the sick; but an immense number of poor wounded wretches wandered about the camp destitute of shelter, and perished during the night. Groans of misery and distress assailed the ear from all quarters. We had ascended to a still colder climate than we had left behind, and were without tents, fuel, or food: the snow was the only bed for all, and of many, ere morning, it proved the *winding-sheet*. It is only marvellous that any should have survived that fearful night!

January 9th.—Another morning dawned, awakening thousands to increased misery; and many a wretched survivor cast looks of envy at his comrades, who lay stretched beside him in the quiet sleep of death. Daylight was the signal for a renewal of that confusion, which attended every movement of the force. The General had intended us to march at 10 A. M., but a large portion of the troops, with nearly all the camp followers, moved off without orders at 8 A. M., and had advanced about a mile from the camp, when they were recalled by the General, in consequence of a communication from Mahomed Akber Khan, who promised to use every endeavour to furnish us with supplies; but strongly recommended us to halt until he could make some proper arrangements for escorting us down safely. There can be no doubt that the general feeling in camp was adverse to a halt, there being scarcely even a native soldier, who did not plainly perceive that our only chance of escape consisted in moving on as fast as possible. This additional delay, therefore, and prolongation of their sufferings in the snow, of which one more march would have carried them clear, made a very unfavourable impression on the minds of the native soldiery, who now for the first time began very generally to entertain the idea of deserting; nor is it at all astonishing that these symptoms should have first developed themselves amongst the Shah's native cavalry, who were, for the most part, exceedingly young soldiers, and foresaw full well the fatal result of all these useless and pernicious delays. The love of life is strong in every breast.

These men had hitherto behaved remarkably well, notwithstanding the numerous efforts that had been made to detach them from their duty; and, if their fealty at last gave place to the instinct of self-preservation, be it remembered in their favour, that it was not until the position of the force, of which they formed a part, had become altogether desperate beyond the reach of cure.

Towards noon Capt. Skinner arrived in camp with a proposition from Mahomed Akber Khan that all the widowed ladies and married families, whose destitute situation in camp rendered them objects of universal pity and sympathy, should at once be made over to his protection, to preserve them from further hardships and dangers; in this case he promised to escort them down safely, keeping them one day's march in rear of the army. The General, though not himself disposed to place much confidence in Mahomed Akber's friendly professions, was strongly recommended by Capt. Skinner to trust him on the present occasion, as he felt assured that such a mark of confidence would be attended with happy results to the whole force. Anxious at all events to save the ladies and children from further suffering, the General gave his consent to the arrangement, and told Capt. Skinner to prepare all the married officers and ladies to depart immediately with a party of Affghan horse, who were in waiting to receive them. His intention also was that all the wounded officers in camp should have had the option of availing themselves of the same opportunity to seek Mahomed Akber's protection; but the others were hurried off by the Affghans before this had become generally known, and only two were in time to join them.*

Up to this time scarcely one of the ladies had tasted a meal since leaving Cabul. Some had infants a few days old at the breast, and were unable to stand without assistance. Others were so far advanced in pregnancy, that, under ordinary circumstances, a walk across a drawing-room would have been an exertion; yet these helpless women, with their young families, had already been obliged to rough it on the backs of camels, and on the tops of the baggage yaboos: those who had a horse to ride, or were capable of sitting on one, were considered fortunate indeed. Most had been without shelter since quitting the cantonment—their servants had nearly all deserted or been killed—and, with the exception of Lady Macnaghten and Mrs. Trevor, they had lost all their baggage, having nothing in the world left but the clothes on their backs; *those*, in the case of some of the invalids, consisted of *night dresses* in which they had started from Cabul in their litters. Under such circumstances a few more hours would probably have seen some of them stiffening corses. The offer of Mahomed Akber was consequently their only chance of preservation. The husbands, better clothed and hardy, would have infinitely preferred taking their chance with the troops; but where is the man who would prefer his own safety, when he thought he could by his presence assist and console those near and dear to him?

It is not therefore wonderful that, from per-

* Capt. Troup, Brigadier-major Shah's force, and Lieut. Mein, H. M.'s 13th Light Inf., who went as Lady Sale's protector.

Lieuts. Waller and Eyre were likewise suffering from severe and painful wounds received in action at Cabul, which totally disabled them from active service.

sons so circumstanced, the General's proposal should have met with little opposition, although it was a matter of serious doubt whether the whole were not rushing into the very jaws of death, by placing themselves at the mercy of a man, who had so lately imbrued his hands in the blood of a British Envoy, whom he had lured to destruction by similar professions of peace and good-will.

But whatever may have been the secret intent of Akber's heart, he was at this time our professed friend and ally, having undertaken to escort the whole force to Jellalabad in safety. Whatever suspicions, therefore, have been entertained of his hypocrisy, it was not in the character of an *enemy* that he gained possession of the married families; on the contrary, he stood pledged for their safe escort to Jellalabad, no less than for that of the army to which they belonged; and by their unwarrantable detention as prisoners, no less than by the treacherous massacre of the force, he broke the universal law of nations, and was guilty of an unpardonable breach of faith. Shortly after the departure of the married families, it was discovered that the troopers of the Shah's irregular cavalry and of the mission escort were deserting in great numbers, having been enticed away, as was supposed, by Mahomed Akber, to whom a message of remonstrance was in consequence sent. He assured the General, in reply, that not only would he refrain from enticing the men away, but that every future deserter from our camp should be shot.

Meanwhile a large body of Affghan horse had been observed in the vicinity of the camp, in company with the cavalry deserters; and, fears being entertained that it was their design to attack the camp, a general parade of the troops was ordered for the purpose of repelling them. The 44th foot at this time was found to muster 100 files, and the native infantry regiments, on an average, about 60 files each. Of the Irregular Horse not above 100 effective troopers remained, and the 5th Light Cavalry, though more faithful to their salt, had been reduced by casualties to about 70 fighting men. On the arrival of Mahomed Akber's answer to the General's message, the opportunity was taken of the troops being paraded, to explain to them its purport, and to warn them that every man, who might be discovered deserting, would be shot. At this very time, a Chuprassie of the mission, being caught in the act, was instantly shot, as an example to the rest, by order of the General, and the crime thus received a salutary check. Capt. Mackay, having been chosen to convey to Gen. Sale a fresh order for the evacuation of Jellalabad, was sent over in the evening to the Sirdar with that view. The promises of Mahomed Akber to provide food and fuel were unfulfilled, and another night of starvation and cold consigned more victims to a miserable death.

January 10th.—At break of day all was again confusion, the troops and camp-followers crowding promiscuously to the front, so soon as the orders for a march were given, every one dreading, above all things, to be left in the rear. The European soldiers were now almost the only efficient men left, the Hindoostanees having all suffered more or less from the effects of frost in their hands and feet; few were able even to hold a musket, much less to pull a trigger; in fact, the prolonged delay in the snow had paralysed the mental and bodily powers of the strongest men, rendering them incapable of any useful exertion. Hope seemed to have died in every breast. The wildness of terror was exhibited in every countenance.

The advanced guard (consisting of H. M.'s 44th foot, the sole remaining horse artillery gun, and about fifty troopers of the 5th cavalry) having managed, with much difficulty, to push their way to the front, proceeded a couple of miles without molestation, as far as a narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills, through which flowed a small stream. Towards this point numbers of Affghan foot had been observed hurrying, with the evident intention of opposing the passage of the troops, and were now found to occupy the height on the right in considerable force. No sooner did the advance approach within shot, than the enemy, securely perched on their post of vantage, commenced the attack, pouring a destructive fire upon the crowded column, as it slowly drew nigh to the fatal spot. Fresh numbers fell at every volley, and the gorge was soon choked with the dead and dying: the unfortunate Sepoys, seeing no means of escape, and driven to utter desperation, cast away their arms and accoutrements, which only clogged their movements without contributing to their defence, and along with the camp-followers fled for their lives. The Affghans now rushed down upon their helpless and unresisting victims sword in hand, and a general massacre took place. The last small remnant of the Native Infantry regiments were here scattered and destroyed; and the public treasure, with all the remaining baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile, the advance, after pushing through the Tungee with great loss, had reached Kubbur-i-Jubbar, about five miles ahead, without more opposition. Here they halted to enable the rear to join, but from the few stragglers who from time to time came up, the astounding truth was brought to light, that, of all who had that morning marched from Khoord-Cabul, they were almost the sole survivors, nearly the whole of the main and rear columns having been cut off and destroyed. About 50 horse artillery-men, with one twelve-pounder howitzer, 70 files H. M.'s 44th, and 150 cavalry troopers, now composed the whole Cabul force; but, notwithstanding the slaughter and dispersion that had taken place, the camp-followers still formed a considerable body.

The approach of a party of Affghan horse induced the General to draw up his little force in line, preparatory to an expected attack; but on its being ascertained to be Mahomed Akber

Khan and his followers, Captain Skinner was despatched to remonstrate with him on the attack on our troops, after a treaty had been entered into, and their safety guaranteed.

In reply, he expressed his regret at what had occurred, but said that, notwithstanding all his endeavours, he found it impossible to restrain the Giljyes, who were in such a state of excitement as to be beyond the control even of their own chiefs. As a last resource, he recommended that the few remaining troops should lay down their arms, and place themselves entirely under his safeguard, in which case he could ensure their safe escort to Jellalabad; but that as the camp-followers still amounted to some thousands, and far outnumbered his own people, there was no alternative but to leave them to their fate. To these terms the General could not bring himself to consent, and the desperate march was resumed. Here Captain Mackay rejoined the troops, as the Sirdar considered it impossible for him at present to make his way safe to Jellalabad.

About five more miles led down the steep descents of the Huft Kotul, into a narrow defile, or confined bed of a mountain stream.

A ghastly sight here met the eye, the ground being strewn with the bodies of a number of camp-followers, with whom were several wounded officers and soldiers, who, having gone on ahead of the column, were attacked on reaching the foot of the hill, and massacred. The heights commanding the defile (which was about three miles long) were found crowned with the enemy. Mahomed Akber and his train had taken a short cut over the hills to Tezeen, and were followed by the few remaining troopers of the Irregular Cavalry. Dr. Magrath, seeing them take, as he thought, a wrong direction, hastened to recall them, and was taken prisoner by a Giljye chief. In their passage down the defile, a destructive fire was maintained on the troops from the heights on either side, and fresh numbers of dead and wounded lined the course of the stream. Brigadier Shelton commanded the rear with a few Europeans, and but for his persevering energy and unflinching fortitude in repelling the assailants, it is probable the whole would have been there sacrificed.

The diminished remnant reached the encamping ground in the Tezeen valley at about 4 P. M., having lost since starting from Cabul, inclusive of camp-followers, about 12,000 men; no less than 15 officers were killed and wounded in this day's disastrous march.

Although it was now sufficiently plain that Mahomed Akber either could not or would not act up to his friendly professions, the General endeavoured to renew his worse than useless negotiation with that chief, in the faint hope that something might still be done to better the situation of the troops; but Capt. Skinner, who was deputed on the occasion, returned with precisely the same answer as before; and as the General could not in honour accede to his proposal, all hope of aid from that quarter was at an end.

It was now determined to make an effort, under cover of darkness, to reach Jugdulluk, a distance of twenty-two miles, by an early hour on the following morning, the principal object being to get through the strong and dangerous pass of that place, before the enemy should have sufficient notice of their intention, to occupy it in any force. As there existed a short cut from Tezeen to Jugdulluk over the hills, the success of the attempt was very doubtful; but the lives of all depended on the issue; and at 7 P. M. the little band renewed its forlorn and dismal march, word having been previously sent to Mahomed Akber that it was the General's intention to move only as far as Seh Baba, distant seven miles. On moving off, the last gun was abandoned, and with it Dr. Cardew, who had been lashed to it in the hope of saving him. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous from the commencement of the siege for his zeal and gallantry, and had become a great favourite with the soldiery in consequence, by whom his hapless fate was sincerely lamented. Dr. Duff, the superintending surgeon of the force, experienced no better fortune, being left in a state of utter exhaustion on the road midway to Seh Baba. Little or no molestation was experienced by the force until reaching Seh Baba, when a few shots being fired at the rear, there was an immediate rush of camp-followers to the front, and the main body of the 44th European soldiers, who had hitherto been well in advance, getting mixed up in the crowd, could not be extricated by withdrawing them to the rear, owing to the narrowness of the road, which now traversed the hills to Burik-ab. Bodies of the neighbouring tribes were by this time on the alert, and fired at random from the heights, it being fortunately too dark for them to aim with precision; but the panic-stricken camp-followers now resembled a herd of startled deer, and fluctuated backwards and forwards, *en masse*, at every shot, blocking up the entire road, and fatally retarding the progress of the little body of soldiers who, under Brigadier Shelton, brought up the rear.

At Burik-ab a heavy fire was encountered by the bindmost from some caves near the roadside, occasioning fresh disorder, which continued all the way to Kutter-Sung, where the advance arrived at dawn of day, and awaited the junction of the rear, which did not take place till 8 A. M.

January 11th.—The distance from Jugdulluk was still ten miles; the enemy already began to crown the surrounding heights, and it was now evident that the delay occasioned by the camp-followers had cut off the last chance of escape.

From Kutter-Sung to Jugdulluk it was one continued conflict; Brigadier Shelton, with his brave little band in the rear, holding overwhelming numbers in check, and literally performing wonders. But no efforts could avail to ward off the withering fire of juzails, which from all sides assailed the crowded column, lining the road with bleeding carcasses. About 3 P. M. the advance reached Jugdulluk, and

took up its position behind some ruined walls that crowned a height by the road-side. To show an imposing front, the officers extended themselves in line, and Capt. Grant, Asst.-Adjt.-Gen., at the same moment received a wound in the face. From this eminence they cheered their comrades under Brigadier Shelton in the rear, as they still struggled their way gallantly along every foot of ground, perseveringly followed up by their merciless enemy, until they arrived at their ground. But even here rest was denied them; for the Affghans, immediately occupying two hills which commanded the position, kept up a fire from which the walls of the enclosure afforded but a partial shelter.

The exhausted troops and followers now began to suffer greatly from thirst, which they were unable to satisfy. A tempting stream trickled near the foot of the hill, but to venture down to it was certain death. Some snow that covered the ground was eagerly devoured, but increased instead of alleviating, their sufferings. The raw flesh of three bullocks, which had fortunately been saved, was served out to the soldiers, and ravenously swallowed. At about half past three a message having been brought from Mahomed Akber to Capt. Skinner requesting his presence, that officer promptly obeyed the call, hoping thereby, even at the eleventh hour, to effect some arrangement for the preservation of those who survived. The harassed and worn-out troops, in the expectation of a temporary truce during his absence, threw themselves down to snatch a brief repose; but even this much-needed luxury was denied them by their vigilant foes, who now, from their commanding position, poured into the crowded enclosure death-dealing volleys in rapid succession, causing the utmost consternation among the terrified followers, who rushed wildly out in the vain hope of finding shelter from the fire. At this perilous juncture Capt. Bygrave, with about fifteen brave Europeans, sallied forth in the full determination to drive the enemy from the heights, or perish in the attempt. Unflinchingly they charged up the hill, the enemy retreating before them in the greatest trepidation. The respite, however, thus signally gained was of but short duration, for the heroic little band had no sooner returned, than the enemy reoccupied their posts of vantage, and resumed their fatal fire. Thus passed the time until 5 P. M., when Capt. Skinner returned from his interview with Mahomed Akber, bringing a message to the General from that chief, who requested his presence at a conference, and demanded Brigadier Shelton and Capt. Johnson as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. The General, seeing no alternative, made over temporary command to Brigadier Anquetil, and departed with the two above-named officers under the escort of Mahomed Shah Khan. The troops witnessed their departure with despair, having seen enough of Affghan treachery, to convince them that these repeated negotiations were mere hollow artifices, designed to engender confidence in their victims, preparatory to a fresh sacrifice of blood. The General and his companions were received by the Sirdar with every outward token of kindness, and no time was lost in supplying them with the bodily sustenance they so greatly needed; they were likewise assured that immediate arrangements should be made for the supply of food to the famishing troops, and for their safe escort to Jellalabad, after which they were shown into a small tent, to enjoy, for the first time since leaving Khoord-Cabul, a quiet and refreshing sleep.

January 12th.—Numerous Giljye chiefs, with their attendant clansmen, flocked in from the neighbouring parts to pay their homage to Mahomed Akber; and about 9 A. M. a conference was held, at which the three British officers and all the influential chiefs were present. All the latter were loud and profuse in their expressions of bitter hatred against the English, and for a long time the Sirdar's efforts to conciliate them seemed to be unsuccessful; but the offer of two lacs of rupees appeared at last in some measure to appease them, of which sum Mahomed Akber promised to advance one lac himself, and to be security for the other. The day nevertheless wore on without any thing decisive having been agreed upon. The General became impatient to rejoin his force, and repeatedly urged the Sirdar to furnish him with the necessary escort, informing him at the same time that it was contrary to British notions of military honour, that a general should be separated from his troops in the hour of danger; and that he would infinitely prefer death to such a disgrace. The Sirdar put him off with promises, and at 7 P. M., firing being heard in the direction of the pass, it was ascertained that the troops, impatient of further delay, had actually moved off. From the time of the General's departure the situation of the troops had been in truth one of dark and cruel suspense, unenlightened by one solitary ray of hope. At an early hour in the morning, before the enemy had yet made their appearance on the hills, Major Thain, accompanied by Capt. Skinner, rode out a few hundred paces in the direction of Mahomed Akber's camp, in expectation of meeting a messenger from the Sirdar to the last named officer; a Giljye soldier suddenly made his appearance, and, passing Major Thain, who was several yards in advance, went close up to Capt. Skinner, and shot him with a pistol through the face. Major Thain instantly returned to camp, and announced this act of treachery. The unfortunate officer was carried inside the enclosure, and lingered in great pain till 3 P. M. In him the state lost an officer of whose varied merits as a soldier and a man it is difficult to speak too highly. A deep feeling of anguish and despair now pervaded the whole assemblage. The extremes of hunger, thirst, and fatigue were suffered alike by all; added to which, the Affghans again crowned the heights and recommenced hostilities, keeping up a galling fire the whole day with scarcely half an hour's intermission.

Sally after sally was made by the Europeans, bravely led on by Major Thain, Capt. Bygrave, and Lieuts. Wade and Macartney; but again and again the enemy returned to worry and destroy. Night came, and all further delay in such a place being useless, the whole sallied forth, determined to pursue the route to Jellalabad at all risks.

The sick and wounded were necessarily abandoned to their fate. Descending into the valley of Jugdulluk, they pursued their way along the bed of the stream for about a mile and a half, encountering a desultory fire from the Giljyes encamped in the vicinity, who were evidently not quite prepared to see them at such an hour, but were soon fully on the alert, some following up the rear, others pressing forward to occupy the pass. This formidable defile is about two miles long, exceedingly narrow, and closed in by lofty precipitous heights. The road has a considerable slope upwards, and, on nearing the summit, further progress was found to be obstructed by two strong barriers formed of branches of the prickly holly-oak, stretching completely across the defile. Immense delay and confusion took place in the general struggle to force a passage through these unexpected obstacles, which gave ample time for the Giljyes to collect in force.

A terrible fire was now poured in from all quarters, and a massacre even worse than that of Tunga Tareekee commenced, the Affghans rushing in furiously upon the pent-up crowd of troops and followers, and committing wholesale slaughter. A miserably small remnant managed to clear the barriers. Twelve officers,* amongst whom was Brigadier Anquetil, were killed. Upwards of forty† others succeeded in pushing through, about twelve‡ of whom, being pretty well mounted, rode on ahead of the rest with the few remaining cavalry, intending to make the best of their way to Jellalabad. Small straggling parties of the Europeans marched on under different officers; the country became more open, and they suffered little molestation for several miles, most of the Giljyes being too busily engaged in the plundering of the dead to pursue the living. But much delay was occasioned by the anxiety of the men to bring on their wounded comrades, and the rear was much harassed by sudden onsets from parties stationed on the heights, under which the road occasionally wound. On reaching the Sourkab river, they found the enemy in possession of the bridge, and a hot fire was encountered in crossing the ford below it, by which Lieut. Cadet, H. M.'s 44th, was killed, together with several privates.

January 13th.—The morning dawned as they approached Gundamuk, revealing to the enemy, who had by this time increased considerably in their front and rear, the insignificance of their numerical strength. To avoid the vigorous assaults that were now made by their confident foe, they were compelled to leave the road, and take up a defensive position on the height to the left of it, where they made a resolute stand, determined to sell their lives at the dearest possible price. At this time they could only muster about twenty muskets.

Some Affghan horsemen, approaching from the direction of Gundamuk, were now beckoned to, and an attempt was made by Lieut. Hay to enter upon some specific arrangement. Hostilities were for a few minutes suspended, and, at the invitation of a chief, Major Griffiths, the senior officer, accompanied by Mr. Blewitt to act as interpreter, descended the hill to a conference.

Several Affghans now ascended the height, and assumed a friendly tone towards the little party there stationed; but the calm was of short duration, for the soldiers, getting provoked at several attempts being made to snatch away their arms, resumed a hostile attitude, and drove the intruders fiercely down. The die was now cast, and their fate sealed; for the enemy, taking up their post on an opposite hill, marked off man after man, officer after officer, with unerring aim. Parties of Affghans rushed up at intervals to complete the work of extermination, but were as often driven back by the still dauntless handful of invincibles. At length, nearly all being wounded more or less, a final onset of the enemy, sword in hand, terminated the unequal struggle, and completed the dismal tragedy. Major Griffiths and Mr. Blewitt had been previously led off to a neighbouring fort, and were thus saved. Of those whom they left behind, Captain Souter alone, with three or four privates, was spared, and carried off captive, having received a severe wound in the shoulder; he had tied round his waist before leaving Jugdulluk the colours of his regiment, which were thus miraculously preserved.

It only remains to relate the fate of those few officers and men, who rode on ahead of the rest after passing the barriers. Six of the twelve officers, Capts. Bellew, Collier, Hopkins, Lieut. Bird, Drs. Harpur, and Brydon, reached Futtehabad in safety, the other six having dropped gradually off by the way and been destroyed. Deceived by the friendly professions of some peasants near the above-named town, who brought them bread to eat, they unwisely delayed a few moments to satisfy the cravings of hunger; the inhabitants meanwhile armed themselves, and, suddenly sallying forth, cut down Capt. Bellew and Lieut. Bird; Capts. Collier and Hopkins, and Drs. Harpur and Brydon, rode off, and were pursued; the three former were overtaken and slain within four miles of Jellalabad; Dr. Brydon by a miracle escaped, and was the only officer of the whole Cabul force, who reached that garrison in safety.

Such was the memorable retreat of the British army from Cabul, which, viewed in all its circumstances,—in the military conduct which preceded and brought about such a consummation, the treachery, disaster, and suffering which accompanied it,—is, perhaps, without a parallel in history.

* Appendix. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

ROUGH NOTES

DURING

IMPRISONMENT IN AFFGHANISTAN.

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IMPRISONMENT IN AFFGHANISTAN,

1842.

EDITOR'S NOTICE.

The following "rough notes" will be found a very interesting sequel to the foregoing narrative. They are strictly what they profess to be—penned in haste, to be despatched when opportunity should serve, as perhaps the last proof of his existence, which the writer might give his friends for many a day. How narrowly the Cabul prisoners did at last escape an indefinitely prolonged captivity, is known to all. And now that a gracious Providence has so restored them, it is hoped that the Author will, at a future opportunity, be enabled to add *more particulars* of an every-day life with such a party in an Affghan prison, and to fill up the gap which necessarily now remains between the 29th of June, when these Notes break off, and the 21st of September, on which happy day they again breathed the air of freedom.

January 9th.—In my notes on the retreat of the British force from Cabul, I have already mentioned the departure, from Gen. Elphinstone's camp at Khoord-Cabul, of the ladies, with their husbands and other officers, to the proffered protection of Mahomed Akber Khan; but it may be expedient briefly to remind the reader of the mode in which this event was brought about. I have been assured by Major Pottinger that, on the night of the 8th, the Sirdar, having spontaneously entered on the subject, expressed to that officer his serious apprehensions of the peril to which the ladies and children would be exposed by remaining in camp (it being impossible to restrain the Giljyes from a continuance of hostilities), and that, with a view to prevent further misery and suffering to the individuals in question, he should lose no time in proposing to the General that all the ladies and married families might be made over to his care for safe escort to Jellalabad, keeping one march in rear of the army. Major Pottinger having declared his entire approval of the Sirdar's humane intentions, advantage was taken of Capt. Skinner's return to camp on the following morning, to make known the proposal to Gen. Elphinstone; and a small party of Affghan horse was sent with him, to escort all such as might be able to avail themselves of the offer. The General, hoping that so signal a mark of confidence in Mahomed Akber's good faith, might be attended with beneficial results to the army, and anxious at all events to save the ladies from a prolongation of the hardships they had already endured, readily consented to the arrangement; and, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, deemed it incumbent on him to send their husbands also, more especially as some were helpless from severe wounds. The whole* were accordingly ordered to depart immediately with the Affghan escort, by whom we were impatiently hurried off, before the majority had been made clearly to comprehend the reason of their being so suddenly separated from their companions in trouble. At that time so little confidence was placed by any of us in

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* Lady Macnaghten,
Lady Sale,*
Mrs. Sturt, her daughter,
Capt. Boyd, wife, and child,
Capt. Anderson, ditto, ditto,
Lieut. Waller,* ditto, ditto,
Lieut. Eyre,* ditto, ditto,
Mr. Ryley, ditto, ditto,
Mrs. Trevor and seven children,
Mrs. Mainwaring and child,
Capt. Troup,*
Lieut. Mein,*
Serjt. Wade and family.

N.B. Those marked thus * were wounded.

Mahomed Akber's plausible professions, that it seemed as though we were but too probably rushing from a state of comparative safety into the very jaws of destruction; but, placing our dependence on a watchful Providence, we bade a hasty, and as it proved to many, an eternal, farewell to our friends, and mournfully followed our conductors to the place allotted for our reception, about two miles distant from camp. The road lay through ravines and wilds of the most savage description, one universal garb of snow clothing the dreary and uninviting scene. On the way we passed several hundred Giljye horse drawn up in line, as if in readiness for an attack on the camp. Half an hour's ride brought us to a small fort perched on the edge of a precipitous bank, which we ascended by a slanting slippery path, and entered the gate with a mistrust by no means diminished by the ferocious looks of the garrison, amidst a circle of whom some of us were kept standing for several minutes, during which our sensations were far from agreeable. At last, however, we were shown into a small inner court, where, to our great relief, we found our three countrymen, Major Pottinger, and Capts. Mackenzie and Lawrence, who had been made over as hostages at Bootkhak, and in the midst of whom sat, to the inexpressible joy of his parents, the youngest boy of Capt. and Mrs. Boyd, who, having been picked up in the Khoord-Cabul pass on the previous day by one of Mahomed Akber's followers, had been committed by that chief to Major Pottinger's protection. The accommodation provided for us, though the best the place afforded, was of the most humble description, consisting of three small dark hovels, into which ladies and gentlemen were promiscuously crowded together, the bachelors being, however, separate from the married families. But even this state of things was heaven itself compared with the cold and misery we had been suffering in camp on the bare snow, and we felt most thankful for the change. The court-yard was all day crowded with the friends and relations of Mahomed Akber, whose bearing towards us was exceedingly kind and courteous; but their presence obliged the ladies to remain closely immured in their dark cells. In the course of the afternoon the chief himself made his appearance, and, having requested an interview with Lady Macnaghten, expressed to that lady his sorrow at having been instrumental to her present misfortunes, and his desire to contribute to her comfort as long as she remained his guest. But an Affghan nobleman's ideas of comfort fall very far short of an English peasant's; and we soon learned to consider spoons, forks, and other table gear as effeminate luxuries, and plunged our fingers unhesitatingly into the depths of a greasy pilao, for which several of us scrambled out of one common dish. The warmth of a wood* fire, though essential to protect us from the severe extremes of cold, could only be enjoyed at the expense of being blinded and half-stifled by the smoke; the bare ground was our only bed, and postheens (or sheepskin cloaks) our only covering; but these and various other inconveniences were indeed of small moment, when weighed in the balance against the combination of horrors we had escaped, and which still encompassed our unhappy countrymen and fellow-soldiers in camp.

January 11*th.*—At about 11 A. M. we started, under an escort of about 50 horse, for Tezeen, having been previously cautioned to use our swords and pistols in case of need, as an attack might be expected from the blood-thirsty Ghazees who thronged the road. The retreating army had marched over the same ground on the previous day, and terrible was the spectacle presented to our eyes along the whole line of road: the snow was absolutely dyed with streaks and patches of blood for whole miles, and at every step we encountered the mangled bodies of British and Hindoostanee soldiers, and helpless camp-followers, lying side by side, victims of one treacherous undistinguishing fate, the red stream of life still trickling from many a gaping wound inflicted by the merciless Affghan knife. Here and there small groups of miserable, starving, and frost-bitten wretches, among whom were many women and children, were still permitted to cling to life, perhaps only because death would in their case have been a mercy. The bodies of Major Scott and Ewart, and of Dr. Bryce, were recognised. Numerous parties of truculent Ghazees, the chief perpetrators of these horrors, passed us laden with booty, their naked swords still reeking with the blood of their victims. They uttered deep curses and sanguinary threats at our party, and seemed disappointed that so many of the hated Feringhees should have been suffered to survive. We reached Tezeen, a distance of sixteen miles, at close of day, where the fort of Mahomed Khan received us for the night. Here we found Lieut. Melville of the 54th N. I., who had delivered himself up to Mahomed Akber on the previous day, having received some slight sword cuts in defending the colours of his regiment. We were also sorry to see no less than 400 of our irregular Hindoostanee horse encamped outside the fort, having deserted to the enemy on the 9th and 10th. They belonged chiefly to Anderson's horse and the body-guard.

January 12*th.*—At 10 A. M. we again proceeded on our journey down the Tezeen valley preceded by the cavalry deserters. At Seh Baba, striking off from the high road, which here crosses some hills to the right, we kept our course along the stream,* to the fort of

* The Affghans are in many parts of the country almost entirely dependent for fuel on a species of *Artemisia*, or southernwood, which grows every where in the greatest profusion, and scents the whole atmosphere with its powerful fragrance.

* I have not particularised the features of such portions of the high road as we traversed, because they were already well known.

Surroobee, a distance of sixteen miles. Between Tezeen and Seh Baba we encountered the same horrifying sights as yesterday; we passed the last abandoned horse-artillery gun, the carriage of which had been set on fire by the Ghazees, and was still burning; the corpse of poor Cardew lay stretched beside it, with several of the artillery-men. A little further on we passed the body of Dr. Duff, the superintending surgeon to the force, whose left hand had suffered previous amputation with a *pen-knife* by Dr. Harcourt! Numbers of worn-out and famished camp-followers were lying under cover of the rocks, within whose crevices they vainly sought a shelter from the cold. By many of these poor wretches we were recognised, and vainly invoked for the food and raiment we were unable to supply. The fate of these unfortunates was a sad subject of reflection to us, —death in its most horrid and protracted form stared them in the face; and the agonies of despair were depicted in every countenance. The fort of Surroobee belongs to Abdoolah Khan, Giljye. Near Seh Baba we were overtaken by Dr. Macgrath of the 37th N. I., who had been taken prisoner on the 10th, and was now sent to join our party; we were thus unexpectedly furnished with medical assistance, of which the sick and wounded had sorely felt the want.

January 13*th.*—Resuming our march at 10 A. M., we crossed the hills in a southeast direction towards Jugdulluk. The road in many places was very steep, and for several miles traversed a high table-land, presenting no signs of cultivation or human propinquity. Within about five miles of Jugdulluk, we again entered the high road, along which our army had recently passed; and the first sight that presented itself was the body of a fine European soldier: —Again our path was strewed with the mangled victims of war.—We reached Jugdulluk late in the evening; and, passing by the ruined inclosure within which the remnant of the force had so hopelessly sought shelter, we beheld a spectacle more terrible than any we had previously witnessed, the whole interior space being one crowded mass of bloody corpses. The carnage here must have been frightful. The body of Capt. Skinner was recognised, and an Affghan was persuaded by Capt. Lawrence to inter it during the night, Mahomed Akber's consent having been previously procured. About two hundred yards below this fatal spot we found three ragged tents pitched for our reception, Mahomed Akber Khan being encamped hard by; and we now learned for the first time that Gen. Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Capt. Johnson, were *hostages* in his hands, the rest of the force having been annihilated. Mr. Fallon, an assistant in one of the public offices, had also been taken prisoner at the same time.

January 14*th.*—Shortly after sunrise we pursued our journey, accompanied by Akber Khan, with his hostages, or rather *prisoners*, and about 600 horse, of whom the Hindoostanee deserters formed a part. The road took a northerly direction up a gorge in the hills, and thence proceeded for five or six miles up a narrow defile, through which runs a small stream whose upper surface was covered with ice. Throughout these regions of snow the cold was intense, and we passed several springs whose waters, arrested by the frost, hung suspended in long glittering icicles from the rocks, exhibiting a spectacle whose brilliancy would, under less depressing circumstances, have called forth exclamations of wonder and admiration, which we had not now the heart to utter. After clearing this defile, our course became somewhat easterly, through a more open country, and over a tolerably good road, for four or five miles, when we entered another short defile leading over a rocky ghat, after surmounting which the road again improved, until we reached the steep and difficult pass of Udruk-budruck. The ascent was about 1000 feet, up a narrow winding path, which, from the sharp and jagged nature of the rocks, scarcely afforded a practicable footing for our horses and camels. From the summit we had an extensive view of the country to the north, bounded by lofty snow-clad hills, the intervening space being broken up into innumerable ravines, whose barren surface was unrelieved by a single tree, the only signs of vegetable life being confined to the banks of the Cabul river, which partially fertilized the narrow valley immediately below us. The descent into this plain, down the rugged mountain side, was infinitely more tedious, and attended with greater peril, than the previous ascent, our jaded beasts threatening to cast their riders with violence on the rocks at every step. It was dark ere we reached the fort of Kutz, after a fatiguing journey of twenty-four miles, which had occupied no less than ten hours. This place belongs to Mahomed Ali Khan, Giljye, and is situated near the right bank of the Punjsheer river. Although the clouds threatened rain, we were refused admittance within the walls, and were consequently obliged to repose in the open air, exposed the whole night to a high cutting wind. Fortunately we had now descended into a milder climate, or the poor ladies and children must have suffered severely. At midnight we were roused up by the arrival of our daily meals, consisting of half-baked cakes of unleavened bread, and untempting lumps of tough mutton; but our servants had by this time prepared us some hot tea, which was far more satisfactory to wearied travellers than the solid fare of Affghan cooks.

January 15*th.*—At an early hour we were again on the move, and a few hundred yards brought us to the Cabul river, which at the ford was divided into two branches, the last extremely rapid, and the water reaching up to our saddle-girths; many of the ladies, being mounted on ponies, were obliged to dismount, and ride astride on the chargers of their Affghan acquaintance, to avoid getting wet. Nothing

could exceed the politeness and attention of Mahomed Akber on this occasion, who manifested the greatest anxiety until all had crossed over in safety. Several men and ponies were swept down by the violence of the current and drowned; a whole host of camp dogs, whose masters had been slain, and who had attached themselves to us, remaining on the other side, to our great relief.—Our course was now northeasterly, over a barren undulating country, for about ten miles, until we reached the fertile valley of Lughmanee, at the border of which we crossed a wide and rapid stream; the whole plain beyond was thickly studded with small high-walled forts and villages, by whose inhabitants we were greeted, *en passant*, in no measured terms of abuse, in which exercise of speech the fair sex, I am sorry to say, bore a conspicuous part, pronouncing the English ladies not only immoral in character, but downright "scarecrows" in appearance, and the gentlemen, "dogs," "base born," "infidels," "devils," with many other unpronounceable titles equally complimentary, the whole being wound up with an assurance of certain death to our whole party ere many hours should elapse.

We also passed within a mile of a plain white building on our left, which was pointed out as the tomb of Lamech the father of Noah, and a favourite place of pilgrimage with the Affghans. At about 3 P. M. we reached the walled town of Turghurree, within which we found lodging, after a march of about sixteen miles. We found the Affghan gentry most agreeable travelling companions, possessing a ready fund of easy conversation and pleasantry, with a certain rough polish and artless independence of manner, which, compared with the studied servility and smooth-tongued address of the Hindoostanee nobles, seldom fails to impress our countrymen in their favour.

January 16*th*.—We were well pleased to find that a day's halt had been determined upon, which was no less acceptable for the needful rest it secured for man and beast, than for the opportunity it afforded us of performing our Sabbath devotions, which, under present circumstances, could not fail to be a source of more than ordinary comfort. Some disturbance was occasioned during the day by a party of Giljyes threatening to attack the town, and a few shots were exchanged from both sides, by which two or three men were said to have been killed. The affray was believed to have originated in discontent at the division of the spoil of our army. This place has a small bazar, and many poor wanderers from our camp were permitted to take refuge within the walls, where a meal was dealt out to them daily by some charitable Hindoo residents.

January 17*th*.—The Sirdar's intention had been to keep us at Turghurree for several days; but, owing to the hostile spirit evinced towards us by the populace, he was obliged to hurry us away. At 11 A. M. we accordingly resumed our journey, under a guard of about 200 Juzailchees, whom it had been necessary to collect for our protection. Crowds of Affghans lined the walls to witness our departure, and some of our small remains of baggage fell a prey to the insatiable love of plunder, for which the Giljyes are notorious. Many of our Hindoostanee servants, who had hitherto followed our fortunes, now left us, under the idea that the Sirdar had decided upon our destruction. We pursued a northeasterly course along the valley, passing numerous forts, and at 2 A. M. reached Buddeeabad, a distance of eight miles, where one of the chief strongholds of Mahomed Shah Khan, Giljye, had been vacated for our reception. The accommodation provided for us here was better than we had hitherto experienced. The fort was of a square form, each face about 80 yards long, with walls 25 feet high, and a flanking tower at each corner. It was further defended by a faussebray and deep ditch all round, the front gate being on the southwest face, and the postern on the northeast, each defended by a tower or bastion. The Zuna-Khaneh, or private dwelling, occupied two sides of a large square space in the centre, shut in by a high wall, each wing containing three apartments raised about eight feet from the ground, and the outer side of the principal room, consisting entirely of a wooden framework, divided into five compartments, with ornamented panels in each, made to slide up and down at pleasure. All the better sort of houses in the country have the chief rooms constructed in this manner, which is better adapted for the summer than the winter season, as it admits of a free circulation of air, but is an insufficient barrier against the cold. There was no supply of water inside the fort, but a small river ran past, at the distance of half a mile on the southeast side, and a little stream or canal about 100 yards outside the walls. It is singular that few Affghan forts have wells, notwithstanding the general abundance of water near the surface in all the cultivated valleys; and it would, generally speaking, be very easy to cut off the external supply of that necessary element, thus forcing the garrison to surrender without expending a shot. This fort is quite new, having been built since our occupation of the country. The owner, Mahomed Shah Khan, is father-in-law of Mahomed Akber Khan, and is one of the few chiefs who never deigned to acknowledge Shah Shooja. Insatiable avarice and ambition are his ruling passions, and, as our conquest put an end to his promising schemes of aggrandizement, his hatred towards us is intense. Unhappily he exercised great influence over his son-in-law, of whose cause in fact he was the chief supporter; and he was generally admitted to have been the principal instigator to the treacherous seizure of our envoy, for whose murder, however, which was committed in the heat and impulse of the moment, he is not answerable. Mahomed Akber and his cousin Sultan Mahomed Khan, familiarly called Sultan Jan, accompanied us to Buddeeabab, where they endeavoured to arrange matters for our comfort to the utmost of their power. Sultan Jan is eminently handsome, proportion-

ately vain, and much given to boasting. Both he and the Sirdar were equally kind and courteous; but the latter is in manner a more perfect gentleman, and never, like his cousin, indulges in comparisons to the disadvantage of the English, of whom he invariably speaks with candour and respect.

The Sirdar has been completely baulked in his plans by the refusal of Gen. Sale to vacate Jellalabad, on which he had by no means calculated; even now he could not be persuaded that an order from Major Pottinger would not be obeyed by Captain Macgregor, the political authority there, although the Major constantly assured him that with us a prisoner, however exalted his rank, not being considered a free agent, has no power or control over any public officers of government, however much his inferiors in rank and station. I have no doubt his hope was that General Sale, yielding to the apparent necessities of the case, would have vacated the town and forthwith retreated to Peshawur, in which case he made pretty sure of the assistance of the Khyberries, in completing the annihilation of the British force.

January 18th.—Mahomed Akber and Sultan Jan departed, with the professed object of attempting the reduction of Jellalabad, and apparently very confident of success. As we remained immured in the fort of Buddeeabab until the 11th of April, I can scarcely expect that a minute detail of daily occurrences during that period would interest the reader. It would be equally idle to note down the various reports that reached us from time to time of passing events. The Affghans excel all the world in the ready fabrication of falsehoods, and those about us were interested in keeping us in the dark as much as possible. Nevertheless the truth could not always be concealed, and we managed, notwithstanding all their vigilance, to obtain pretty accurate intelligence of what was passing in the world without, though of course it was difficult entirely to separate the wheat from the chaff. On our first arrival we suffered some inconvenience from the want of clean linen, having in our transit from fort to fort been much pestered by vermin, of which, after they had once established a footing, it was by no means an easy matter to rid ourselves. The first discovery of a real living l-o-u-s-e was a severe shock to our fine sense of delicacy; but custom reconciles folk to any thing, and even the ladies eventually mustered up resolution to look one of these intruders in the face without a scream. The management of our household matters, as well as the duty of general surveillance, was committed to a Mehmandar, who generally took advantage of his temporary authority to feather his own nest, by defrauding us in respect to the quality and quantity of our needful supplies. Moossa Khan was the first agent of this kind with whom we had to deal; and he was so little restrained by scruples, as to pass for a most consummate rogue even among Affghans.

For mere ordinary civility the unfortunate widow of the murdered Envoy found it her interest to repay him with costly presents of Cashmere shawls, &c., and was twice induced to pay twenty rupees for the recovery of a favourite cat, which Moossa Khan had actually stolen from her himself, for the sake of the expected reward. This man was, nevertheless, much trusted by Mahomed Akber, who valued him no less for his capacity for intrigue, than for his unscrupulous zeal in the performance of the meanest or wickedest purposes. Such a coadjutor could not long be spared from his master's side in attendance upon us, and he was accordingly relieved on the 20th January, for the purpose of carrying on intrigues against the British with the leading chieftains of the Punjab. His successor was an old acquaintance of Capt. Troup, named Meerza Bawndeen Khan, who in peaceful times styled himself Syud, but now for a time sunk his religious distinction in the more warlike title of Khan. This man had, at the outbreak of the rebellion, been imprisoned on suspicion of favouring the English, but was released immediately on the arrival of Mahomed Akber, whom he had befriended during that chief's confinement at Bokhara, and to whose fortune he now attached himself. His manners were exceedingly boorish, and he took little pains to render himself agreeable, though, from his previous conduct, there was reason to believe that, under all his roughness of exterior, there lurked a secret preference for our cause. In most respects we certainly benefited by the change.

On the 21st we had rain, and on the 22d snow fell on the neighbouring hills.

On the 23d there was snow in the fort itself, a proof of the unusual severity of the winter, being quite a rare occurrence in this valley.

We had hitherto received our food at the hands of Affghan cooks, who little consulted the delicacy of the European palate. Our daily diet consisted of boiled rice, mutton boiled to rags, and thick cakes of unleavened dough; which, for ladies and children, was not the most enviable fare, whilst the irregular hours at which it was served up interfered greatly with our own comforts. It was now arranged, however, greatly to the satisfaction of all concerned, that our meals should be prepared by our own Hindoostanee servants, the Affghans furnishing materials.

We had a visit from the Sirdar and Sultan-Jan on the 23d, the chief having his head-quarters at present at Trighurree, where he was making preparation for the siege of Jellalabad. Major Pottinger, at his request, wrote a letter to Capt. Macgregor, explaining all that had occurred since the army left Cabul.

On the 24th, the Sirdar, having heard that we were much in want of money, sent 1000 rupees to be distributed among us.

On the 27th, he paid us another visit, his principal object being to induce Major Pottinger to make some alterations in the letter for Capt. Macgregor.

January 29th.—This day was rendered a joyous and eventful one to us, by the arrival from Jellalabad of a budget of letters and newspapers from our brother officers there garrisoned, who had likewise generously subscribed a quantity of clothes and other comforts from their little store for our use. It was truly gratifying to receive these proofs of sympathy from our countrymen, and to have a door of communication opened once more with the civilized world. Some of our friends managed to inform us of all that was going on, by dotting off letters of the alphabet in the newspapers, which is an easy mode of carrying on secret correspondence, and not likely to be detected by an Asiatic. In this manner we became acquainted with Brigadier Wild's failure in the Khyber pass, and with General Pollock's march from India: we also heard now for the first time that Dr. Brydon had reached Jellalabad alive, being the only officer who escaped out of the whole army which had left Cabul. Captains Collyer and Hopkins, with Dr. Harper, were found dead within four miles of the town of Jellalabad. It is said that, one of the ill-fated trio having been wounded, the remaining two went back to his assistance; but for which act of charity they would probably have been saved. It is singular that Dr. Brydon was mounted on a miserable pony, and seemed, humanly speaking, one of the most unlikely persons of the whole force to effect so wonderful an escape. Capt. Bellew, Lieut. Bird, and two or three other officers, with several European soldiers, were killed near Futtehabad, having imprudently delayed at a village to satisfy the cravings of hunger, and thus given the inhabitants time to arm themselves and overpower them.

February 15th.—The tedium of a prison life was again relieved to-day by the arrival of Abdool Guffoor Khan and Dost Mahomed Khan from the Sirdar, bringing with them Major Griffiths of 37th N. I. and Mr. Blewitt, a clerk of the pay office, both of whom, with the Sergt.-Major of the 37th N. I., were taken prisoners at Gundamuk, after witnessing the massacre of almost all the officers and men who reached that place. Capt. Souter, H. M. 44th regiment, was led off at the same time by another chief, having preserved the colours of his regiment by tying them round his waist. The Sergt.-Major was so fortunate as to be set at liberty on the payment of certain rupees as a ransom, and a similar arrangement was on the point of being made for the release of Major Griffiths and Mr. Blewitt, when they were demanded by Mahomed Akber, and unwillingly delivered up by their captor. Major Griffiths had received a severe wound in the arm from a bullet. We were also delighted to learn that Capt. Bygrave, paymaster to the force, was safe, and would soon join us.

By command of Mahomed Akber we were this day ordered to deliver up our arms, which we had hitherto been permitted to retain. The cause of this was declared to be the discovery of a clandestine correspondence, carried on between Major Pottinger and Capt. Macgregor, which had so much displeased the Sirdar, that he sent a solemn warning to the Major to desist from such practices in future, significantly reminding him of the tragical fate of Sir William Macnaghten. Major Pottinger boldly acknowledged the fact of his having written privately to Jellalabad, and justified it on the plea that he had given no promise to the Sirdar to refrain from so doing. By Abdool Guffoor Khan we again enjoyed the gratification of receiving letters from our friends at Jellalabad. This chief was supposed to be friendly to our interests, having materially assisted Gen. Sale with supplies for his force. He was evidently much suspected by the Affghans about us, who maintained a strict watch over every word he uttered during his visit.

February 16th.—Captain Souter joined us to-day, having been made over to the Sirdar by the chief who captured him.

February 19th.—On the 6th, we had a heavy fall of rain, since which the weather had become exceedingly close. This morning it was remarked that an unusual degree of heat and stillness pervaded the air.

Whether these were premonitory symptoms of what was shortly to happen it is impossible to determine; but at 11 A. M. we were suddenly alarmed by a violent rocking of the earth, which momentarily increased to such a degree that we could with difficulty maintain our balance. Large masses of the lofty walls that encompassed us fell in on all sides with a thundering crash; a loud subterraneous rumbling was heard, as of a boiling sea of liquid lava, and wave after wave seemed to lift up the ground on which we stood, causing every building to rock to and fro like a floating vessel. After the scenes of horror we had recently witnessed, it seemed as if the hour of retribution had arrived, and that Heaven designed to destroy the blood-stained earth at one fell swoop. The dwelling in which we lodged was terribly shaken, and the room inhabited by Lady Sale fell in,—her ladyship, who happened to be standing on the roof just above it, having barely time to escape. Most providentially, all the ladies, with their children, made a timely rush into the open air at the commencement of the earthquake, and entirely escaped injury. Gen. Elphinstone, being bedridden, was for several moments in a precarious position, from which he was rescued by the intrepidity of his servant *Moore*, a private of H. M. 44th, who rushed into his room and carried him forth in his arms. The poor General, notwithstanding all that had occurred to cloud his fame, was greatly beloved by the soldiery, of whom there were few who would not have acted in a similar manner to save his life. The quaking continued for several minutes with unabated violence, and a slight tremor in the earth was perceptible throughout the remainder of the day. The Affghans were, for the time being, overwhelmed

with terror; for, though slight shocks of earthquake are of common occurrence every year during the cold season, none so fearful as this had visited the country within the memory of the present generation. We shortly learned that our fort had been singularly favoured, almost every other fort in the valley having been laid low, and many inhabitants destroyed in the ruins. The town of Turghurree especially seems to have suffered severely, scarcely a house being left standing, and several hundreds of people having been killed in the fall.

The first idea that struck the Affghans, after their fears had subsided, was, that the defences of Jellalabad must have been levelled to the ground, and a high road made for the Sirdar and his followers to walk in. Elevated by this hope, they confidently attributed the late phenomenon to a direct interposition of the Prophet in their favour.

We all passed the night in the open air, being afraid to trust the tottering walls of our habitation, especially as shocks of earthquake continued to occur almost every hour, some of which were rather severe.

February 21*st*.—The swords of Gen. Elphinstone and Brigadier Shelton were this day returned to them by order of the Sirdar.

February 23*d*.—Capt. Bygrave joined us in a very weak state, having suffered much from frost in one foot, and having entirely lost the ends of his toes. His adventures, after leaving Jugdulluk, were perilous, and his ultimate escape wonderful. After starting from Jugdulluk on the night of the 12th January, he was one of the first to surmount the strong barriers of prickly holly-oak which choked the pass. Collecting a small party of the men, who were similarly fortunate, he harangued them on the absolute necessity of their holding firmly together in the bond of discipline, for the preservation of their lives, declaring his willingness to lead them, if they would only obey orders, and act with spirit adequate to the emergency. The men, thus addressed, set up a loud cheer, and protested their intention to be guided solely by his commands and wishes. For three or four miles they steadily kept their ranks, and held the pursuing enemy at bay; but at length the repeated onsets of the Affghan horsemen, who every moment increased in number in their rear, threw the little band into confusion, which Capt. Bygrave exerted himself in vain to remedy. The men would neither hold together, nor pursue their march with that steadiness of purpose, on which hung their only chance of safety. Capt. Bygrave at length finding all his efforts to save them unavailing, and foreseeing the inevitable destruction of the whole party, determined, as a last resource, to strike off the high road and endeavour to make his way over the hills to Jellalabad. Mr. Baness, an enterprising merchant, who had become involved in the difficulties that beset our army, was induced to accompany him in this hazardous undertaking. Their course for the first few miles was altogether north, in order to get as far as possible from the track of the pursuing Giljyes: by day they sought close cover—now among long rushes in the low bed of a mountain stream, and now under the thick foliage of evergreen shrubs on the summit of some lofty snow-clad peak. Their sole subsistence was a few dry grains of coffee, of which Mr. Baness had a small supply in his pocket, with an occasional bit of wild liquorice root, which they fortunately discovered growing in the bed of the Soorkab river. Travelling entirely at night, they experienced great difficulties in steering a direct course among the tortuosities of the innumerable ravines, which every where intersected their desultory track; on one occasion they found themselves suddenly upon the high road, where the first sight that offered itself was the mangled body of an European soldier; and, fearing to proceed along a path so lately beset with enemies, they were obliged to avoid the danger by retracing their steps for many miles. Thus passed four wearisome nights and days, during which time Capt. Bygrave, with frost-bitten feet, and worn-out shoes, had suffered so much from lameness, as to become more and more incapable of progressing; until at last, in the extreme of weakness and misery, having declared to Mr. Baness his inability to proceed further, he endeavoured to persuade that gentleman to seek with him the nearest village, and throw themselves on the protection of a chief. Mr. Baness would not, however, consent to run such hazard, and declared his intention to pursue his course to Jellalabad, if possible. Loth, however, to forsake his companion, he urged him unavailingly to fresh exertion; and at length, declaring that for the sake of his large family he was bound to proceed onward without delay, he took a mournful leave of his fellow-traveller, and, after twice returning in the forlorn hope of prevailing on him to move, departed on his solitary way. Left to himself, under such helpless circumstances, Capt. Bygrave almost yielded to despair,—but, after a prolonged slumber, found himself strong enough to walk, or rather crawl, a few miles further. The second night after Mr. Baness's departure brought him to a Giljye village,* where, lying concealed till morning under some straw in a cave, he gave himself up to the first person who came near, who, being easily conciliated by the offer of some gold, conducted him to a neighbouring hut;—hence, after partaking of some refreshment, he was led to the residence of the chief of the village, Nizam Khan, who received him hospitably, and treated him with the utmost kindness for several days, when he was delivered up to the Sirdar, then encamped at Charbagh, in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad. There he found the chief actively employed in preparing gun-ammunition for the proposed siege; several of our captured guns were there, from which the

* Kutch Soorkab, four miles north of Gundamuk.

Affghan smiths managed to extract the spikes in a very few hours.

March 3*d*.—Severe shocks of earthquake every day. The Meerza, professing to have received an order from the Sirdar, insisted on searching the boxes of Lady Macnaghten and Captain Lawrence. Unfortunately, the former had a great number of valuable Cashmere shawls, all of which were critically examined in order to ascertain their probable worth: but much disappointment was evinced that no jewels were forthcoming, as it was generally believed that her ladyship possessed a large assortment. Nothing was taken from her on this occasion; but it might easily be foreseen that such booty would ere long prove an irresistible temptation to our Giljye friends.

A cruel scene took place after this, in the expulsion from the fort of all the unfortunate Hindoostanees, whose feet had been crippled by the frost. The limbs of many of these poor wretches had completely withered, and had become as black as a coal; the feet of others had dropped off from the ankle; and all were suffering such excruciating torture as it is seldom the lot of man to witness. Yet the unmerciful Giljyes, regardless of their sufferings, dragged them forth along the rough ground, to perish miserably in the fields, without food or shelter, or the consolations of human sympathy. The real author of these atrocities was generally believed to be the owner of the fort, Mahomed Shah Khan. The Meerza, however, though compelled to carry the order into effect, readmitted several of the unfortunate victims at night.

March 10*th*.—In consequence of the repeated earthquakes, we deserted the house, and took up our abode in some small wooden huts constructed by our servants. To-night our slumber was broken by loud cries of "Murder!" which were found to proceed from Lady Sale's Hindoostanee ayah, whom one of her admirers, in a fit of jealousy, had attempted to strangle in her sleep. The wretch failing in his purpose, jumped over the wall, which was about twenty feet high, and, being discovered in the morning, narrowly escaped a hanging by Lynch law at the hands of the Meerza, who was with difficulty persuaded to alter his sentence to banishment from the fort.

March 11*th*.—Dost Mahomed Khan, accompanied by Imam Verdi, arrived from the Sirdar, and held a long private conference with Major Pottinger. It was generally supposed that Mahomed Akber had made some overtures to the Indian government relative to the return of the Ameer his father. Reports were in circulation of the fall of Ghuznee, which afterwards proved too true. We also learned on good authority that Khoda Bux Khan, a powerful Giljye chief, had left the Sirdar, whose cause seemed on the decline.

March 12*th*.—Very heavy rain. Heard of Gen. Sale's sortie from Jellalabad in consequence of a supposed attempt on the part of the Affghans to mine the walls;—many of the enemy killed.

March 13*th*.—A report abroad, which turned out true, that the Sirdar was wounded in the left arm by one of his own followers, who had been bribed with a lack of rupees by Shah Shooja. The assassin was ripped open, according to Affghan custom in such cases.

March 18*th*.—The Meerza was this day recalled by the Sirdar, and his place filled by the Nazir of Mahomed Shah Khan, Saleh Mahomed. We heard of the murder of Shah Shooja by the hand of Shooja Dowla, eldest son of Nuwab Zeman Khan, who shot the unfortunate old king with a double-barrelled gun, as they were proceeding together to the royal camp at Seeah Sung. It is a curious fact that Shah Shooja was present at the birth of his murderer, to whom he gave his own name on the occasion.

March 21*st*.—The inhabitants of this valley are said to be removing their families and property to the hills for safety. The Safees, a mountain tribe in the neighbourhood, were said to have created much alarm, having been bought over by Capt. Macgregor.

March 24*th*.—The Nazir endeavoured to find out what amount of ransom was likely to be paid for us, and gave out that two lacks of rupees would be accepted. This, however, seemed to us all a mere *ruse* to fathom our purses, and he was referred to Capt. Macgregor for the information he required.

March 29*th*.—Sooltan Jan is said to have gone to oppose General Pollock with 1000 horse.

April 1*st*.—We received letters from Jellalabad, by which we learned that Gen. Pollock had authorized Capt. Macgregor to ransom us. A severe thunderstorm at night.

April 3*d*.—Heard of the destruction of the 27th N. I. at Ghuznee, and of another successful sortie made by Gen. Sale at Jellalabad, by which he obtained a large supply of cattle.

April 9*th*.—Tidings brought of Mahomed Akber's camp at Char Bagh having been surprised by Gen. Sale, when his whole force was completely routed, three guns recaptured, and the Sirdar himself and friends barely managed to save themselves by flight. The arrival of Mahomed Shah Khan this evening confirmed this joyful intelligence. It had been reported to us this morning that at a council of chiefs held at Tirghurree on the previous night, much debate had taken place regarding the disposal of their prisoners, when it was proposed by some to destroy us at once: our anxiety was, therefore, intense all day, until the Khan by his friendly manner somewhat reassured us. He had a long interview with Major Pottinger, who endeavoured to propose terms for our release; to which, however, the Khan would not listen for a moment, but said we must follow the Sirdar's fortune, who would start for the hills early next morning.

April 10*th*.—We were all ready for a start at an early hour, but no camels came till 3 P. M.; meanwhile a scene of pillage went on,

in which Mahomed Shah Khan acted the part of robber-chief. His first act was to select all our best horses for himself, after which he deliberately rummaged Lady Macnaghten's baggage, from which he took shawls to the value of 5000*l.* He next demanded her jewels, which she was obliged reluctantly to give up, their value being estimated at 10,000*l.*, or a lack of rupees. Not satisfied even with this rich plunder, he helped himself freely out of Capt. Lawrence's boxes to every thing that took his fancy; after which, being well aware of the poverty of the rest, he departed. Fortunately my own riding horse was spared, through the kind interference of the Meerza who accompanied the Khan. This characteristic little drama having been acted, the signal was given for our departure, the European soldiers being left behind, with a promise of release on the payment of a ransom.

It was a treat to get free of the dismal high walls, within which we had been so long immured; and as we had arrived in the depth of winter, when all was bleak and desolate to the eye, the universal verdure with which returning spring had now clothed the valley struck us with all the force of magic. We had proceeded about four miles on the road towards Alishung, when our progress was arrested by a few horsemen, who galloped up waving their hands joyfully, and crying out "Shabash!" "Bravo!" "All is over! the Feringhee army has been cut up in the Khyber Pass, and all their guns taken by Sultan Jan!" The mutual joy of the Affghans seemed so perfectly sincere, that, notwithstanding the improbability of the story, we felt almost compelled to believe it, especially when the order was given to return forthwith to our old quarters at Buddeeabad. On the way back the new-comers entered into full-length particulars regarding the alleged defeat of our army. The Ensofzyes, they said, had agreed to take three lacks of rupees for the free passage of our troops through the Khyber, of which half was paid in advance. They had no sooner fingered the cash, than they laid a trap with Sultan Jan for the simultaneous attack of the front and rear of the army in the narrowest part of the pass, which had proved entirely successful. We found the poor soldiers delighted to see us again; for, having heard several shots fired after our departure, they imagined we had all been killed. We were not long in discovering that the story we had heard was all a hoax, the real cause of our sudden return being some dispute among the chiefs, in consequence of which an attack on our party was anticipated; but we were told to hold ourselves in readiness for a fresh start on the following morning.

The whole population of the valley are in the greatest consternation for fear of an attack from the English force, and are bundling their families up to the hills for safety.

April 11*th.*—We were off again at 12 A. M. The first three miles were along the Tirghurree road, after which we struck off to the hills to the right. Our course now became westerly, and skirting the base of the hills for four or five miles, we crossed a low ridge into the cultivated valley of Alishung; where, after crossing a rapid, we passed close by Mahomed Akber Khan on the opposite bank, seated in a nalkee on a knoll by the road-side. He looked ill and careworn, but returned our salutes politely. A little further on we found three tents pitched for our reception, in which we had scarcely time to take shelter ere the rain fell in torrents, and continued all night. A very indifferent dish of tough mutton constituted our meal for the day. In the course of the evening Sultan Jan arrived in the camp, with only about thirty horsemen left of the thousand with whom he went forth to battle; the rest had all fled. He seemed grievously crestfallen, and, unlike the Sirdar, exhibited his malice and spleen by cutting our acquaintance. Mahomed Akber, with the liberality which always marks the really brave, invariably attributes his own defeat to the fortune of war, and loudly extols the bravery exhibited by our troops led on by the gallant Sale. The guard around our camp consisted entirely of Seiks, under a Mussulman Rajah, who, having been banished many years ago by Runjeet Sing, was befriended by Dost Mahomed Khan, the then ruler of Cabul, to whose family he has ever since attached himself. He was a splendid-looking fellow, with very prepossessing manners, and expressed himself much disgusted with the Affghans, who took advantage of his going out to fight at Char Bagh to plunder his camp. Altogether, he seemed well disposed towards us, which, under our present circumstances, was cheering.

April 12*th.*—At our first starting this morning the bachelors were separated from the married families and ladies, and we went off by different roads. This sudden separation being very disagreeable to us all, Capt. Lawrence besought the Sirdar to permit us to proceed together as before. He also remonstrated with him for dragging the ladies and children with him all over the country, when they were so ill able to bear up against fatigue and exposure, representing that it would redound more to his honour to release them at once. Mahomed Shah Khan, who was present, upon this flew into a rage, and declared that "wherever he went we must all follow; that if our horses failed, we must trudge on foot; and that if we lagged behind, he would drag us along by force." He is the greatest enemy we have, and seems at present to govern the Sirdar completely. He was, however, taken to task by Mahomed Akber for his rudeness, and we were allowed to proceed all together, as heretofore. The road lay among low hills over a sandy soil, with several slight ascents and descents, one ascent being rather steep and long. About half way we crossed a small stream, and, after travelling about twelve miles, found the camp pitched in a narrow ravine, through which flowed a rivulet, the ground being covered with bunches of tall reeds, to which the Affghans set fire at

night. Two old goats were sent us for dinner, which, not being fit to eat, we returned, and were afterwards supplied with an awfully tough old sheep in exchange.

April 13*th.*—The road again lay over steeps. On the left we saw the pass of Udruk-budruk in the distance. We gathered quantities of a curious herbaceous plant, the under surface of whose leaves was covered with a beautiful crimson dewy-looking substance, which the Affghan ladies use as rouge. About twelve miles brought us to a small scantily-cultivated valley, in which were two small forts partially ruined by the earthquake. The inhabitants enjoy the credit of being the greatest thieves in the whole country, so they must be bad indeed. Our whole march was about fourteen miles.

April 14*th.*—At starting we crossed the pass of Bad-push, the ascent up which was not less than 1600 feet over a very steep and rocky road. The descent was less abrupt and comparatively short. On these hills grew the holly-oak, wild almond, and a terebinthaceous tree called Khinjuck, yielding a fragrant medicinal gum, which I imagined might be the myrrh or balsam of commerce. It is, at all events, in great repute among the Affghans, who find it efficacious for sabre wounds. A species of mistletoe grew in great profusion on its branches; the flower somewhat resembled that of the mango, and the young leaves were oblong, lanceolate, opposite, and slightly serrate. An evergreen shrub, with a jasmine-like flower, was very abundant.

Following the course of a stream about six miles, we reached the left bank of the Cabul river, which here issued from between some precipitous hills with an exceedingly rapid current. About a hundred yards from the bank stood a small fort. We crossed on a raft of inflated bullock-hides, the motion of which we found exceedingly pleasant. The horses crossed by a ford some distance higher up and about four miles round. On the right bank we found Mahomed Akber in his *nalkee*, to whom we paid our respects. The stream is about a hundred yards broad, and a few Affghans swam their horses over, though with some difficulty. The river is not navigable from this to Jellalabad, owing to the number of rapids and whirlpools.

April 15*th.*—We were kept waiting until noon for our horses, and in the mean time were amused by seeing a herd of cattle swim over the river; in attempting which they were all carried violently down a rapid, and several, failing to effect a landing, were obliged to return along the bank and make a second effort. No camels were brought with kujawurs for the weak ladies and the sick, who were accordingly forced to ride on horseback. Poor Gen. Elphinstone, who left Buddeeabad in a most precarious state of health, was much shattered by the fatigues of travelling, and seemed to be gradually sinking to the grave. The road ran for a mile along the bank of the river, and then suddenly turned up a ravine to the right. Two miles more led to a valley communicating with that of Tezeen, about a mile up which we encamped outside the fort of Surroobee, where we had previously halted on the 12th of January. Here was one of the mountain-train guns which had been captured on the retreat. We found that our Hindoostanee servants, who remained behind here, had been well treated by Abdoolah Khan, but the majority had died from the effects of frost-bites.

April 16*th.*—Mahomed Akber fortunately found it convenient to halt here, which proved seasonable both to man and beast; but we were told to expect a long journey into the hills in the neighbourhood of Tezeen, where it is the Sirdar's intention to conceal us. An Affghan, lately arrived from Cabul, informed us that the city was divided into two great parties, of whom the Dooranees and Kuzzilbashes formed one, and the Barukzies and Giljyes the other.

April 17*th.*—Another halt enabled us to enjoy a quiet Sunday. The Sirdar and a portion of his followers paid a visit to some neighbouring chiefs, but his people were deserting him fast. The Giljyes have been trying hard to excite the fears of the peasantry against the English by tales of our cruelty and oppression.

April 18*th.*—Having been warned last night to be ready for a march at dawn of day, we were all on the alert; but, after waiting a long time for orders to mount, we received a message from Mahomed Akber that we should await his return.

April 19*th.*—It rained hard all night and continued to pour the whole day, but we were obliged, nevertheless, to march sixteen miles to Tezeen. The road was up a narrow valley the whole way, crossing a stream twice before reaching Seh Baba, which we passed half way, after which we crossed the stream continually. At Seh Baba we encountered a putrid smell from the decomposed bodies of those who fell on the retreat, which lined the whole road. In some places we passed high piles of human bodies still fresh, the remains probably of those unfortunate beings who, having escaped the knives of the Ghazees, had struggled for existence until they sunk under the combined miseries of famine and exposure. The Affghans informed us that many had been driven to the miserable expedient of supporting life by feeding off the flesh of their deceased comrades!—From Seh Baba to Tezeen is one continued rise, the valley being about half a mile broad and shut in by lofty heights on both sides. The stream is at this season a perfect torrent from the melting snow. We passed several encampments of the wandering Giljyes, whose flocks browsed on the neighbouring hills. We were all wet to the skin in spite of our *posteens*, or sheepskin cloaks, and, on arriving at Mahomed Khan's fort at Tezeen, we found it so much dilapidated by the earthquake as to afford only the most scanty accommodation. The poor ladies were at first crammed into a small dirty room, filled with Affghan women, where they sat in their dripping clothes until, after much

delay and trouble, they were accommodated with a separate apartment. As for the gentlemen, they had to scramble for shelter in a dark confined hovel, Capt. Mackenzie and myself preferring to pass the night in a stable with our horses, the rain dripping over us until morning.

This day's exposure decided the fate of Gen. Elphinstone, who reached the fort in a dying state.

Captain Mackenzie received an intimation this night of the Sirdar's intention to send him on a mission to Gen. Pollock's camp at Jellalabad.

April 20th.—It rained the whole day, and, having nothing dry to put on, we were more uncomfortable than ever. Mrs. Waller was delivered of a daughter. This was the fourth addition to our number of captives; Mrs. Boyd, Mrs. Riley, and a soldier's wife named Byrne, having been confined during our sojourn at Buddeeabad. A peculiar Providence seemed on all occasions to watch over the ladies, and nothing surprised us more than the slight nature of their sufferings on *these* occasions.

There was a severe shock of earthquake again to-day. These shocks have always appeared to me to be in some way connected with heavy rain beforehand.

April 21st.—Some tents having been pitched outside the fort, the whole of our party removed into them, with exception of the Wallers, ourselves, Gen. Elphinstone, Major Pottinger, Capt. Mackenzie, and Dr. Magrath, to all of whom permission was given to remain for the present in the fort. Atta Mahomed Khan, the owner of the place, expressed to us much annoyance at the conduct of his kinsman Mahomed Shah Khan in stirring up the rebellion, and hinted at his own desire to be on friendly terms with our government. It seems he was promised remuneration by Capt. Macgregor for the damage done to his property by Gen. Sale's force in October 1841, to the fulfilment of which pledge he still looked forward.

The Sirdar was holding a levée to-day, at which Major Pottinger was present, when he burst into a violent passion, and declared that his own countrymen had basely deserted and betrayed him, although he had all along acted entirely at the instigation of the chiefs at Cabul, especially in the murder of the Envoy and the destruction of our army; yet these very men now refused to support him; and he solemnly swore that, if ever he had the power, a severe example should be made of them.

A part of the outer wall fell to-day from the effects of yesterday's earthquake. At night the ladies of Mahomed Shah Khan, and other chiefs who were travelling in our company, invited Mrs. Eyre to dinner. She found them exceedingly kind in manner and prepossessing in outward appearance, being both well dressed and good looking. They asked her the old question as to the gender of the Company Sahib, and were greatly wonderstruck to learn that England was governed by a woman. They expressed the utmost dread of Capt. Macgregor, whom they regard in the same formidable light in which a child does the giant of a nursery tale.

April 22d.—A great bustle was created at an early hour this morning by the arrival of a messenger from the Sirdar to Dost Mahomed Khan, who was awakened from his slumbers in the General's room and immediately hurried away. Our fellow-captives in camp marched shortly afterwards for the Zanduk valley, near the Aman Koh, about eight miles south of Tezeen. There was apparently some apprehension entertained of a surprise from Cabul, as we ourselves were hurried off at about 9 A. M. to a small fort two miles higher up the valley, whither the Sirdar had preceded us. This sudden movement was a deathstroke to the General, who, though so weak as to be unable to stand, was made to ride on horseback the whole way.

April 23d.—Mahomed Akber received about 6000 rupees from Cabul, probably sent by his uncle, Nuwab Jubbar Khan. Futty Jung, the eldest son of the murdered monarch, retained possession of the Bala Hissar, and demanded from the Sirdar that all the European prisoners should be rendered up to him. The residents of Cabul, we learned, were deserting the city in great numbers, from dread of our army, and all efforts to induce the people to oppose Gen. Pollock's advance were fruitless. This information at once decided the Sirdar to send Capt. Mackenzie to treat with Gen. Pollock without further delay, and that officer was warned to be in readiness to start at a moment's notice.

Some one having told the Sirdar that I could draw faces, he sent for me on that pretence; but to my surprise pumped me for half an hour on artillery matters, being very inquisitive as to the manufacture of fuses and port-fires, the mode of throwing shells from mortars and howitzers, and the mode of regulating the length of fuse for different distances, on all which subjects I enlightened him just enough to render his darkness visible. Before I went, he requested me to take the likeness of one of his followers, and of a favourite Arab horse, and, though my performance was very indifferent, he expressed himself pleased. I was afterwards called to examine a sextant which had been just brought to him: it was greatly damaged, but I explained its uses; after which, finding he could make no better use of it, he made me remove the coloured glasses, which he proposed to convert into spectacles to preserve his eyes from the glare.

About 7 P. M. Major-General Elphinstone breathed his last,—a happy release for him from suffering of mind and body. Deeply he felt his humiliation, and bitterly regretted the day when he resigned the home-born pleasures of his native land, to hazard the high reputation of a proud name in a climate and station, for which he was constitutionally unfit. Of his merits I have already spoken at large in another place; but it is due no less to the memory of the dead than to the large circle of living friends and

relatives, who, I feel assured will mourn his loss, that I should record how, to the very last moment of his being, he exhibited a measure of Christian benevolence, patience, and high-souled fortitude, which gained him the affectionate regard and admiring esteem of all who witnessed his prolonged sufferings and his dying struggles, and who regarded him as the victim less of his own faults, than of the errors of others, and the unfathomable designs of a mysterious Providence, by whom the means are always adapted to the end. The Sirdar seemed to have been unconscious of the General's extreme danger until this morning, when he offered, too late, to grant him his release. Had he listened to the advice of those who wished him well, he would have adopted this generous course at Buddeeabad; but his chief supporters were interested in keeping him in the dark, and in frustrating every scheme that tended to reconcile him to the British nation; so the timely counsel was unheeded. His eyes at last were opened to the truth; and he now endeavoured to make all the amends in his power by offering to send the remains for honourable interment at Jellalabad. At 8 A. M. Capt. Mackenzie departed on his mission, which related principally to the release of the ladies and children.

April 25th.—A rude framework having been constructed by an Affghan carpenter, the General's body, after being well covered up in felt blankets, was packed in it, and the vacant spaces filled with the highly-scented leaves of wormwood. At 2 P. M., all being ready, it was slung across the back of a camel, and sent off under a small guard of Giljyes, accompanied by one of the European soldiers who attended the deceased, whom the Sirdar thought likely to pass unnoticed in the common costume of the country. The Sirdar afterwards invited us all to sit with him outside the fort. Whilst we were engaged in conversation, a messenger arrived with letters from Loodianah, informing him that his family had been starved for a whole week. On being told the contents, we all immediately pronounced the whole a mischievous fabrication; upon which the Sirdar somewhat bombastically proclaimed his disregard whether it were true or false, for that the destruction of his whole family should not alter his resolutions. He then resumed the previous conversation as if nothing had occurred, in the course of which he told me that the daily loss of life, by the fire of the cantonment guns during the siege, was between thirty and forty, but he declared that the shells fired from the Bala Hissar into the city did little or no damage to life or property.

April 26th.—Sad to say, the poor General's body was interrupted on its journey near Jugdulluk. It seems that the party in charge, on approaching the camp of some wandering Giljyes, were challenged, and thought that the best way to avoid discovery would be to assume confidence, and to come to a halt there for the night. The European soldier was covered up with blankets, and warned to remain quiet until morning. About 10 P. M., however, he was roused by a tumult of angry voices, in which the words "Feringhee" and "Kafir" were frequently repeated. A rush was shortly after made to where he was lying, and the covering being snatched from off his head, he was immediately attacked, and wounded in the arm with a sword, nothing saving his life but the thick blanket of felt which covered his body, and the interposition of a chief, who hurried him off to his tent. The bigoted savages next stripped the body of the General, which they pelted with stones, and would have burned, but for the remonstrances of the Sirdar's men, who threatened them with the vengeance of their master. Mahomed Akber's annoyance was great on receiving these awkward tidings, but he lost no time in despatching as large a party as he could spare, to rescue the European and repack the body.

In the course of conversation with Major Pottinger, the Sirdar asked him whether he would take his oath that he had never written any thing to Jellalabad, but what had come to his (the Sirdar's) knowledge. The Major maintained a significant silence, but shortly afterwards, having occasion to remark that, if the treaty had been fulfilled, not a British soldier would now have remained in Affghanistan, the Sirdar emphatically asked him if he would swear to the truth of what he uttered, to which the Major readily consenting, the Sirdar seemed now for the first time to believe what he had before utterly discredited, and looked around upon his followers with an expression of face which seemed to say, "What a miserable fool then have I been!"

April 27th.—The Sirdar started with Major Pottinger to visit our fellow-prisoners in the Zanduh valley. Lieut. Waller and myself, in the course of our evening stroll, amused ourselves in observing some Juzailchees firing at a mark about 100 yards distant: almost every shot was well directed, but they were all so dilitory in loading, that a British soldier could have fired four or five shots to their one.

The European soldier who accompanied the General's body returned this evening, having been rescued by the Sirdar's men from the savages who detained him, and who now professed great contrition for having offended the Sirdar. The body, after being repacked, had been forwarded on its way to Jellalabad.

April 28th.—A cossid, bearing a letter from Capt. Conolly to Gen. Pollock, was intercepted and severely beaten by the Sirdar's men, and detained a prisoner until his return.

April 29th.—A wild sheep was brought in, having been shot in the neighbouring hills. Its horns resembled those of a common ram, but its face and general outline were not unlike an antelope, though more coarse and clumsy.

April 30th.—The Sirdar and Major Pottinger returned from their excursion. Whilst at Zanduh, Ameenoolah Khan and other chiefs sent to demand that Major Pottinger should be delivered

up to him, or twelve lacks of rupees in his stead. The bills given by the Major on the Indian Government, payable on the safe arrival of the Cabul force at Jellalabad, having been dishonoured, the chiefs have been endeavouring to extort the money from the Hindoo shroffs.

May 1*st.*—To-night the Sirdar sent us a large supply of English letters and newspapers which had just come from Jellalabad, where Capt. Mackenzie had arrived safe. These were the first letters we had received for eight months, and we sat up the greater part of the night devouring their contents.

May 2*d.*—I was sent for by the Sirdar to examine a cavalry saddle, as he was anxious to know whether it was made of hog's skin. I told him it was a difficult question to decide, as both hog and cow skins were used, and could not easily be distinguished. As he gave me some knowing winks, and was evidently most unwilling that a good saddle should be sacrificed to the religious scruples of his moolah, who was seated in the room, I voted in favour of the cow; and, as Lieut. Waller afterwards declared himself on the same side, the Sirdar, considering that two witnesses decided the point, determined to hold his own: and I believe in his heart he cared little about the natural history of the hide, so long as it suited his purposes.

Late at night I was roused from bed by a message from the Sirdar, who pressed me hard to go and fight for him at Cabul against Ameenoollah Khan and Futty Jung. He was perfectly aware, he said, that no Englishman would serve against his own countrymen, but that in this case his enemies were equally hostile to the British; so that, in fighting for him, I should be serving my own country. I replied that I was already badly wounded and tired of fighting for the present; that I was quite incompetent, from my ignorance of Affghan politics, to form an opinion as to the rights and merits of the case; and that, even were I ever so much disposed to embrace his cause, no English officer or soldier could legally take arms under a sovereign power, without having first obtained the consent of his own sovereign. My refusal apparently annoyed him a good deal, and I was obliged to repeat it several times before he would allow me to return to rest.

May 3*d.*—The Wallers and ourselves started for the Zanduh valley after breakfast, and had just mounted our horses, when Capt. Mackenzie made his appearance on his return from Jellalabad. His mission had not opened any immediate prospect of release for us, though the negotiation was, on the whole, of a friendly nature. After the exchange of a few words he was hurried off to the Sirdar, and we pursued our way to Zanduh. The road ascended the hills in a southeasterly direction, and was very steep and undulating for about three miles, when it descended into the narrow bed of a stream, one of the ramifications of the Tezeen valley, up which our course was southerly for the rest of the march. Four or five miles further brought us to camp, where the valley was a little wider, with cultivated steppes of land, on which the tents were pitched. Snow was still lying on the neighbouring heights, and about four miles further south the lofty mountain peak of Aman Koh reared its pine-clad crest. On our way we noticed the juniper, which universally prevails in these hills, attaining in some spots the size of a goodly tree. Here and there we passed a few stunted pines, which might be considered as mere stragglers from the neighbouring forests of Suffed Koh. The wild almond, a showy and fragrant species of Edwardsia; a shrubby cratægus-looking plant, covered with blossoms; the yellow dog-rose, the sweet-briar, the artemisia, the white tulip, and a very pretty iris, constituted the prominent botanical features of the road over which we travelled. We found our friends enjoying themselves during the heat of the day, in shady bowers formed of juniper: the climate seemed delightful.

May 4*th.*—The Sirdar sent for Capt. Troup to accompany him and Major Pottinger to Cabul. Capt. Mackenzie was to start immediately on a second mission to Jellalabad.

May 5*th.*—The English hostages at Cabul were said to be under the protection of a Syud, son of the chief moolah; and Ameenoollah Khan, having endeavoured to seize them, had been driven into the Bala Hissar by Nuwab Zeman Khan, and his house in Cabul burned to the ground.

May 7*th.*—A hard frost this morning! the shrubs and herbs within reach of the spray of the stream being covered with large icicles. Our keeper now was Mahomed Rufeek, whose family resides at Candahar. From his pleasing manners, and constant civility and kindness, he soon became a general favourite. I took a long walk with him to-day among the hills south of camp; we saw nothing but juniper trees, anemones, and wild geraniums, the spring having only just commenced in that elevated region. The rocks were chiefly of limestone, with vertical strata.

May 8*th.*—This morning I was agreeably surprised by an Affghan bringing some of my own books and sketches for sale, of which I immediately possessed myself. In the forenoon a few drops of snow fell! The last three days were bitterly cold, and we enjoyed a blazing fire at night.

May 9*th.*—Enjoyed another walk in the hills, with a fine bracing air, and a magnificent view in the direction of Hindoo Khoosh, whose everlasting snows and jagged peaks bounded the scene. On our return we heard the cheerful note of the cuckoo. I found a curious parasite on the juniper.

May 10*th.*—Capt. and Mrs. Anderson were agreeably surprised by the arrival of their eldest girl from Cabul. It will be remembered that she was lost in the Khoord-Cabul pass during the retreat on the 8th of January; since which

she had been an inmate of Nuwab Zeman Khan's family, where she was treated with the greatest possible kindness. She had been taught to say "My father and mother are infidels, but I am a Mussulman." Capt. Troup, who had obtained her release, wrote word that he and Major Pottinger were in Nuwab Jubbar Khan's house at Cabul; that the city was in a most unquiet state, and the opposite parties fighting every day, the Cabulees siding alternately with whichever side paid them best. At night, a note was received from Major Pottinger, who had just witnessed an engagement between the Barukzyes and Dooranees, in which the former were victorious; but he described the affair as more ludicrous than tragical, having been a forcible representation of the "battle of spurs."

May 12*th.*—Capts. Boyd, Waller, and myself, accompanied by two Affghans, ascended some lofty hills to the west. Some Giljyes of the Jubbar Khail overtook us, and offered to escort us to Jellalabad. Our attendants, instantly taking alarm, hurried us away homewards. We had a fine view of Hindoo Khoosh to the north, and Suffeed Koh to the south. At the height of 2000 feet above our camp, the husbandmen were only now ploughing the ground, whilst in the Zanduh valley, immediately below, the crops were green. We descended by the bed of a stream, on whose steep sides a species of wild onion grew abundantly. A beautiful fritillaria was also common; and an asphodelous plant bearing a gigantic spadix of yellow flowers, which I took for an ornithogalum. On our return, Dost Mahomed Khan, who was encamped near us, rated Mahomed Rufeek severely for allowing us to stray so far. This chief is a thorough boor in his ideas and manners, and is always exhibiting some mean and silly suspicion of our intentions: had it depended on him, we should all have been shut up in dark cells or narrow cages long ago.

May 16*th.*—Capt. Mackenzie returned from his second trip to Jellalabad, where Gen. Elphinstone's body had arrived safe and had been interred with due military honour. It does not appear that much was done towards effecting our release. The terms the Sirdar proposed to Gen. Pollock for our release were,—that he should be made governor of the Lughman province, and be exempted from attendance at court, and uncontrolled by our political officers. Of this proposal Gen. Pollock very properly took not the smallest notice. It seems that a despatch from the Sirdar, in which an offer was made to release the ladies and children unconditionally, which was sent after Capt. Mackenzie, did not reach him, having been intercepted, as was supposed, by Mahomed Shah Khan. Gen. Nott was expected to march for Cabul from Candahar on the 17th instant.

May 17*th.*—Capt. Mackenzie left for Cabul, to communicate the result of his mission to the Sirdar.

May 18*th.*—Dost Mahomed Khan was much struck by hearing Mahomed Rufeek read a Persian translation of the "Sermon on the Mount" out of Gladwain's "Moonshee." He was fervent in his admiration of the Lord's Prayer, as well as of several other passages; and the injunction to pray in private seemed to throw light on our apparent neglect of outward observances. Corporal Lewis of H. M. 44th, who had been kept a prisoner at Tezeen in the fort of Khooda Bux Khan, was allowed to visit our camp to-day. The poor fellow had been starved and ill-treated by his savage captors, until he made an outward profession of Mahomedanism, when he received the name of Deen Mahomed, and was made to attend prayers with the faithful.

May 20*th.*—A beacon-light was burning all night on the hill above us, and pickets were thrown out in all directions. It was supposed that a chuppao, or night surprise, was expected.

May 22*d.*—Our horses arrived from Cabul, for which city we received notice to march next morning.

May 23*d.*—Marched about 9 A. M. Three of us obliged to walk for want of horses. Ladies travelled in kujawurs, laden on mules. We retraced our former track down the bed of the stream, and across the hills, to the fort where Gen. Elphinstone died. A few miles of descent made a great difference in the climate and the progress of vegetation; the wild roses were every where in full bloom, and, with other gay flowers, scented the air and enlivened the scene. We crossed a branch of the Tezeen valley; a short cut over the hills led us to the foot of the Huft Kotul, or hill of seven ascents. Here we once more encountered the putrid bodies of our soldiery, which thenceforward strewed the road as far as Khoord Cabul, poisoning the whole atmosphere. A little beyond Kubbur-i-jubbar we passed two caves, on opposite sides of the road, full as they could hold of rotten carcasses. Thence to Tungee Tureekee the sight became worse and worse. Mahomed Rufeek asked me whether all this would not excite the fury of Gen. Pollock's army; I told him he need not be surprised if every house in Cabul were levelled to the ground. From the last-mentioned spot we turned off the high road to the left, and, passing a large ruined village, arrived at the fort of Khoord Cabul,—where we had previously lodged on the 9th of January,—after a fatiguing march of twenty-two miles. The contrast between the summer and winter aspect of the valley immediately below the fort was striking: the whole now presenting one red field of cultivation.

May 24*th.*—Again on the move at 9 A. M. The Khoord Cabul pass being now absolutely impassable from the stench of dead bodies, we took the direct road towards Cabul, having Alexander the Great's column in view nearly the whole day. The first three or four miles were over a barren plain, when the road entered among hills crossing a ghat of moderate height into a valley about three miles in width, in the

middle of which we halted for half an hour at a deliciously cool and clear spring, which supplied a small tank or pond: just above this, crowning the hill to the left, stood a ruined Grecian tope. Resuming our way, we again entered some hills, the road making a continuous ascent for about a couple of miles to Alexander's pillar, one of the most ancient relics of antiquity in the East, and conspicuously situated on the crest of a mountain range which bounds the plain of Cabul on the southeast. It stands about seventy feet high; the shaft is of the Doric order, standing on a cubic pedestal, and surmounted by a sort of urn. As we reached this classic spot, a view of almost unrivalled magnificence burst suddenly upon our sight. At the distance of some two thousand feet below, the whole picturesque and highly cultivated valley of Cabul was spread before us like a map: the towering mountain ranges of Kohistan and Hindoo Khoosh, clad in a pure vesture of snow, bounded the horizon, at the distance of nearly a hundred miles. The Bala Hissar was dimly discernible in the distance, from whose battlements the roar of cannon broke ever and anon upon the ear, betokening the prolongation of the strife between hostile tribes and ambitious chiefs. The descent was very long and tedious, and the road about midway very steep and bad. On the way down another Grecian pillar was discernible among the hills on the left. The rocks were chiefly of micaceous schist, and a dark stone resembling basalt. The gum-ammoniac plant grew here; the young flower was clustered together not unlike a small cauliflower. It is an umbelliferous plant, growing to the height of six feet, and its general appearance and mode of growth resembling an heracleum. It has a strong disagreeable scent, which reminded me slightly of assafœtida. The gum exudes plentifully, and is at first milky, but afterwards turns to yellow, and has a bitter nauseous taste. The plant is called by the Affghans *gundele*, and the gum is sold in the Cabul bazar under the name of *feshook*.

At the foot of the hill we rested at a tank or pond supplied by a large spring which gushes from under the rock; another ruined Grecian tope crowned a small eminence at a few hundred yards' distance. The road now skirted the base of the hills to the left for about four miles, when we reached the fort of Ali Mahomed, Kuzzilbash, distant three miles from Cabul, and close to the Logur river, where we were accommodated for the night, having marched altogether about twenty miles.

May 25*th*.—The ladies of Ali Mahomed having removed to a neighbouring fort, we occupied their apartments, which lined two sides of an inclosed square, and were very commodious, and decidedly the best quarters we have yet enjoyed. The valley about here is thickly studded with forts, and very highly cultivated.

May 26*th*.—Captain Troup paid us a visit. He told us the Sirdar was living in the outskirts of the city about two miles from us, that Ameenoollah Khan joined him, but that Futty Jung still held out in the Bala Hissar, in hopes of being soon relieved by the arrival of our army. Mahomed Akber is desirous to obtain possession of the citadel principally on account of the treasure within it, as he never professed to dream of resisting our arms. He earnestly desired to be on friendly terms with the British government, and often said that he wished he had been so fortunate as to become acquainted with the English in early life, as he had been filled with prejudices against them which had greatly influenced his conduct, but which he now saw to be unfounded. It seems that Gen. Pollock offered on his own responsibility to release the ladies and children of his family from their confinement, but in his present precarious state of life the Sirdar has declined the offer.

Hundreds of Hindostanees crowded the streets of Cabul begging for bread, which was daily served out to them by Nuwab Jubbar Khan and Zeman Khan. The civility of all classes to the European hostages and prisoners in and about Cabul was remarkable.

May 27*th*.—We all received permission to walk in the adjacent garden, and the gentlemen were allowed to bathe in a running canal near the fort, which, now that the weather had become sultry, were real luxuries.

May 29*th*.—Shuja Dowlah, the assassin of Shah Shoojah, paid us a visit. He was a handsome quiet-looking man, whom few would have guessed to be the perpetrator of such a deed. He tried hard to persuade us that the Shah had played us false, and that he had committed a praiseworthy action in getting rid of him. The murder was committed at the instigation of Dost Mahomed Khan, Giljye, by way of retribution for the attempt on Mahomed Akber's life at Charbagh by an agent of Shah Shoojah; but the act is much reprobated by all classes at Cabul, and by no one more than the Nuwab Zuman Khan, who has banished Shuja Dowlah from hishouse ever since.

May 30*th*.—Shah Dowla, another son of Nuwab Zuman Khan, paid us a visit, and inquired particularly if we were well treated by the Sirdar. We were informed that, in consequence of the Sirdar having demanded the persons of the Naib Shereef Mohun Loll and the late wuzeer, the Kuzzilbash had risen in a body against him, and declared their intention to hold their part of the city until the arrival of our troops. We heard a great deal of firing to-night, and the extreme vigilance of our guard led us to suppose that the Sirdar's affairs were not prospering. Dost Mahomed Khan arrived in the fort at night.

May 31*st*.—Guns were heard all night, and we were refused permission to leave the fort, as usual, to-day. Mahomed Rufeek, we were sorry to learn, had incurred suspicion, from his family having aided Gen. Nott at Candahar. He determined to throw up the Sirdar's service in consequence.

June 1*st*.—Dost Mahomed Khan departed for the city accompanied by Mahomed Rufeek.

Permission was again given us to go into the garden, and to bathe in the canal as before.

June 2d.—Intelligence was brought us that Gen. Nott had obtained a victory at Kelat-i-Giljye, in which 2000 of the enemy were killed.

June 3d.—It was reported that Futty Jung had offered a large reward to any one who would seize and escort us all to the Bala Hissar. The Sirdar made a fierce attack on the Bala Hissar in the evening, and a brisk cannonade was kept up on both sides for several hours, but without any decisive result.

June 4th.—Capt. Troup paid us a visit, bringing with him several necessaries, for which we had previously written to the Sirdar. It was believed in the city that one of the bastions of the Bala Hissar had been mined, but that the Sirdar was deferring its explosion in the hope that he might succeed without it, being unwilling to injure the defences of the place. But this report was probably set abroad for the purpose of intimidating the defenders, of whom only two men had been wounded during the whole siege up to this date.

A messenger arrived this morning from Jellalabad with letters for Futty Jung and Lady Sale. From the latter we learned that Gen. Pollock had written to Mahomed Akber, declaring it to be contrary to the laws of nations to make war against women and children, which it was hoped might shame him into the release of that portion of his prisoners, who came under the benefit of the rule.

Hopes began to be entertained of the safety of Dr. Grant of the Goorkha regiment, who was supposed to be concealed in Cabul. A shock of earthquake felt to-day.

June 6th.—About 5 P. M. a good deal of firing was heard, and our garrison was in a state of great excitement. Futty Jung said to have sallied from the Bala Hissar and carried off a quantity of Mahomed Akber's military stores and camels. At night we heard that the Sirdar had seized Ameenoolah Khan, whom he suspected of intriguing with Futty Jung, probably with good foundation. The Khan said to be worth 18 lacks of rupees, which it was the Sirdar's intention to make him disgorge. Ameenoolah Khan was originally the son of a camel-driver, but by dint of his talents, bravery, and cunning, rose to be one of the most powerful nobles in the country. The late Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan feared and suspected him so much as to forbid him to enter Cabul. He possessed the whole of the Logur valley, and could bring 10,000 men into the field. The accession of such a man to his cause was of much importance to Mahomed Akber, and his seizure was a dangerous step, being likely to provoke the hostility of his son. Ameenoolah Khan was the chief instigator of the rebellion, and of the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes; after which he lent the weight of his influence to each party alternately, as it suited his purpose. Such a vacillating wretch was not long likely to escape retributive justice.

June 7th.—Contradictory reports were in circulation all day. Some affirm the Bala Hissar to have been taken; others that the Sirdar had sustained a ruinous defeat, and that he was engaged in plundering the city, prior to taking flight. That something extraordinary had occurred was evident from the mysterious deportment of the Affghans, and their anxiety to prevent our receiving any communication from without. A parcel of useful articles arrived for us from our good friends at Jellalabad, but every thing was opened by the guard at the gate, who gave us only what they chose, and seized all the letters, to send to the Sirdar. There was no firing from the Bala Hissar today as usual. The climate in this part of the valley we found delightfully cool and pleasant, which may have arisen in part from the luxuriant cultivation round about. The most common trees are the poplar, willow, mulberry, and oleaster, or *sinjut*, the bright silvery foliage of the latter contrasting strikingly with the deep green of the rest, and its flowers scattering a powerful and delicious perfume through the surrounding air. Purple centaurias adorned the corn fields, and a handsome species of hedysarum, with a lupin-like flower, enlivened the border of every field and water-course; whilst a delicate kind of tamarisk ornamented the banks of the neighbouring river. In the garden I found a very beautiful orobanche growing parasitically from the roots of the melon.

June 9th.—Capt. Mackenzie paid us a visit. From him we learned positively that the Sirdar sprung a mine under one of the towers of the Bala Hissar, near the Shah Bazar, on the 6th; that the storming party was driven back with a loss of sixty men killed, and that much damage was done in the adjacent part of the town by the explosion. On the following day, Futty Jung, finding his people disinclined to support him any longer, made terms with Mahomed Akber and the other chiefs, giving up a tower in the Balar Hissar to each, and himself retaining possession of the royal residence. Thus the citadel was now divided between the Dooranees, Barukzyes, Giljyes, and Kuzzilbashes, represented by Futty Jung, Mahomed Akber, Nuwab Zeman Khan, Mahomed Shah Khan, and Khan Shereen Khan. A curious arrangement, truly! and calculated to facilitate the union of parties already jealous of each other, and each of whom had, doubtless, an eye to the rich treasure of money and jewels still in Futty Jung's possession. The story of Ameenoolah Khan's seizure turned out to be untrue. There was a violent quarrel a few days back between the two old Nuwabs, Zeman Khan and Jubbar Khan, when the former seized hold of the latter's beard exclaiming, "You are the fellow who first brought the Feringhees into the country, and to whom, therefore, all our troubles may be attributed." Abdool Glujas Khan, the son of Jubbar Khan, being present, drew a pistol and threatened to shoot Zeman Khan for the indignity offered to his father. Mahomed Ak-

ber sat by the whole time, laughing heartily at the scene.

June 10*th.*—A smart shock of earthquake during the night.

June 11*th.*—Capt. Mackenzie returned to the city. It was supposed he would start in a day or two on a fresh mission to Jellalabad.

June 20*th.*—Heard from Capt. Mackenzie that Mahomed Akber was waging war with Nuwab Zeman Khan; also that Gen. Nott had seized the person of Sufter Jung, the rebel son of Shah Shooja-ool-moolk. Ali Mahomed assured us that it was the Sirdar's intention shortly to march to Jellalabad, to pay his respects to Gen. Pollock! From other quarters we heard that he meditated carrying us all off to the banks of the Oxus.

June 21*st.*—We were told by Ali-Mahomed that the Sirdar had taken Nuwab Zeman Khan and his two sons prisoners, and, after seizing all his guns, treasure, and ammunition, had released them again.

June 25*th.*—Capts. Mackenzie and Troup paid us a visit. Mahomed Akber's late successful conflict with Nuwab Zeman Khan had rendered him, for the time being, supreme in Cabul. The Kuzzilbashes had tendered their unwilling submission, and had delivered up Mohun Loll, who was immediately put to the torture. Jan Fishan Khan, the laird of Purghman, a staunch friend of the British, had been obliged to fly for his life, his two sons having been slain in the fight. Khoda Bux Khan, and Atta Mahomed Khan, Giljyes, fought against Mahomed Akber on this occasion. Both Capt. Troup and Capt. Mackenzie had since been allowed to visit the hostages, whom they found in the house of the Meer Wyze, the chief moollah of the city, to whose protection they had been committed by Zeman Khan, in consequence of the desperate efforts of the Ghazees to slay them. During their stay in the good Nuwab's house, their lives were in constant danger from those fanatics, who on one occasion actually forced their way into the building to accomplish their purpose, and were only hindered by the Nuwab falling on his knees, casting his turban on the ground, and entreating them not to dishonour his roof by committing violence to those under its protection. Before sending them to the Meer Wyze, which was done at night, he took the precaution to line the streets with his own followers, with strict orders to fire upon every one who should so much as poke his head out of a window; and he not only accompanied them himself, but sent his own family on ahead. Capt. Conolly had obtained convincing proof that Shah Shoojah originated the rebellion with a view to get rid of Burnes, whom he detested, and of several chiefs, whom he hoped to see fall a sacrifice to our vengeance; little anticipating the ruinous result to himself and to us. Poor Burnes had made but few friends among the chiefs, who now never mention his name but in terms of the bitterest hatred and scorn. He seems to have kept too much aloof from them; thus they had no opportunity of appreciating his many valuable qualities, and saw in him only the traveller, who had come to spy the nakedness of the land, in order that he might betray it to his countrymen. The King considered him as a personal enemy, and dreaded his probable succession to the post of Envoy on the departure of Sir W. Macnaghten.

Of Mahomed Akber Khan, I have been told from an authentic source that, on the morning of the departure of the army from Cabul on the 6th of January, he and Sultan Jan made their appearance booted and spurred before the assembly of chiefs, and being asked by Nuwab Zeman Shah where they were going, Mahomed Akber replied, "I am going to slay all the Feringhee dogs, to be sure." Again: on the passage of our troops through the Khoord-Cabul pass on the 8th, he followed with some chiefs in the rear, and in the same breath called to the Giljyes in *Persian* to desist from, and in *Pushtoo* to continue, firing. This explains the whole mystery of the massacre, and clears up every doubt regarding Mahomed Akber's treachery.

June 27*th.*—To our surprise, the European soldiers whom we left in the fort at Buddeeabad, and whom we believed to have been ransomed, made their appearance. They all agreed in stating that they had been ill-treated and starved ever since our departure, which they mainly attributed to the evil influence of their own countrywoman, Mrs. Wade, who had disgraced her country and religion by turning Mahomedan, and, having forsaken her husband, had become the concubine of an Affghan in Mahomed Shah Khan's service, and had taken every occasion to excite prejudice and hostility against the English captives, who were plundered of the little money and the few clothes they possessed, and exposed to continual insult and savage threats. She actually was so base as to betray her own husband, in whose boot two pieces of gold had been sewn up with her own hands, of which he was deprived at her suggestion. On their arrival at Cabul, she had gone off to Mahomed Shah Khan's fort, taking with her a little orphan child named Staker, of which she had charge.

June 28*th.*—Capt. Mackenzie having been taken ill, Capt. Troup returned to the city without him. The Sirdar, we learned, had made preparation for a flight to Bameean, in anticipation of the advance of our troops; whither, of course, the prisoners would accompany him. His ultimate place of refuge, it was supposed, would be Herat.

June 29*th.*—A shock of earthquake. Capt. Troup came to see us again before starting to Jellalabad on a mission from the Sirdar. Futty Jung was this day proclaimed king by Mahomed Akber, who contented himself for the present with the title of wuzeer. Capt. Mackenzie still very ill. * * * * *

The Author's autograph manuscript breaks off here; but, as there remain still to be noted the events of three months, including those critical movements by which Mahomed Akber's captives were so nearly hurried beyond the hope of freedom, it is hoped that he will yet tell, in his own words, the remainder of the tale. In the mean time his private letters will make the conclusion less abrupt.

—"Our real foe is Mahomed Shah Khan, but for whose baneful influence the Sirdar would have released the ladies long ago. The latter has many good points, and, but for *one* act, would be more worthy of clemency than the chiefs at whose instigation he did every thing, and who would fain make him their scape-goat." * * * *

"*July 29th.*—We have had a good deal of sickness amongst us, and Mackenzie had a narrow escape of his life from a malignant fever. All the invalids are, however, recovering, thank God! I fear, however, that our prospects are blacker than ever. We had hopes, a few days ago, that a fair exchange would be agreed upon between Mahomed Akber and Gen. Pollock, of the Ameer and all the other Affghan prisoners for us poor wretches. But the General has since received instructions to advance on Cabul; and Mahomed Akber declared to-day to Troup, with an expression of savage determination in his countenance, that so surely as Pollock advances, he will take us all into Toorkistan, and make presents of us to the different chiefs. And depend upon it he will carry his threats into execution, for he is not a man to be trifled with." * * * *

The public are aware how well Mahomed Akber would have kept this pleasant promise; but the next and last communication is from Cabul, announcing the happy deliverance of the whole party, whose varied fortunes have for the last twelve months excited such universal interest.

"Camp, Cabul, 22d Sept. 1842.

"*Cabul, Sept. 22d.*—Heaven be praised! we are once more free. Our deliverance was effected on the 20th, and we arrived safe in Gen. Pollock's camp yesterday evening. On the 25th of August we were hurried off towards *Toorkistan*, and reached *Bameean* on the 3d of September, every indignity being heaped upon us by the way. There we awaited fresh orders from Mahomed Akber. Meanwhile Pollock's army advanced on Cabul, carrying all before them. About the 10th of September an order came to carry us off to *Koorloom*, and to butcher all the sick, and those for whom there was no conveyance. Fortunately discontent prevailed among the soldiers of our guard, and their commandant began to intrigue with Major Pottinger for our release. A large reward was held out to him, and he swallowed the bait. The Huzarah chiefs were gained over; and on the 16th we commenced our return towards Cabul, expecting to encounter the defeated and now furious Akber on the way. On the 17th we were reinforced by Sir R. Shakespeare who had ridden out from Cabul with 600 Kuzzilbash horsemen to our assistance. His aid was most timely; for Sultan Mahomed Khan, with 1000 men, was hastening to intercept us. On the 20th, after forced marches, we met a brigade of our troops, and our deliverance was complete."

LIST OF PRISONERS RELEASED ON GENERAL POLLOCK'S ARRIVAL AT CABUL.

Major-Gen. Shelton, Her Majesty's 44th foot.
Lieut.-Col. Palmer,*27th Bengal native infantry.
Major Griffiths, 37th Bengal native infantry.
Capt. Troup, Shah's service.
— Anderson, ditto.
— Bygrave, paymaster.
— Boyd, commissariat.
— Johnson, ditto S. S. F., 26th native infantry.
— Burnett, 54th native infantry.
— Souter, Her Majesty's 44th foot.
— Waller, Bengal horse artillery.
— Alston,* 27th native infantry.
— Poett,* ditto.
— Walsh, 52d Madras native infantry.
— Drummond, 3d Bengal light cavalry.
Lieut. Eyre, Bengal artillery.
— Airey, Her Majesty's 3d buffs.
— Warburton, Bengal artillery, S. S. F.
— Webb, 38th Madras native infantry, S. S. F.
— Crawford, Bengal 3d native infantry, S. S. F.
— Mein, Her Majesty's 13th light infantry.
— Harris,* 27th Bengal native infantry.
— Melville, 54th Bengal native infantry.
— Evans, Her Majesty's 44th foot.
Ensign Haughton, 31st Bengal native infantry.
— Williams, 37th Bengal native infantry.
— Nicholson, ditto.
Conductor Ryley, ordnance commissariat.
Doctor Campbell.
Surgeon Magrath.
Assistant-Surgeon Berwick, left in charge.
— Thomson.

LADIES.

Lady Macnaghten.
— Sale.
Mrs. Trevor, 8 children.
— Anderson, 3 ditto.
— Sturt and 1 child.
— Mainwaring, ditto.
— Boyd, 3 children.
— Eyre, 1 child.
— Waller, 2 children.
Conductor Ryley's wife, Mrs. Ryley, 3 children.
Private Bourne's (13th light infantry) wife, Mrs. Bourne.
Mrs. Wade, wife of Sergeant Wade.

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* Those marked thus * were of the Ghuznee garrison.

Major Pottinger, Bombay artillery.
Captain Lawrence, 11th light cavalry.
— Mackenzie, 48th Madras native infantry.
Mr. Fallon, clerk } not in the service.
— Blewitt, do. }

HER MAJESTY'S 44TH FOOT.

Sergeant Wedlock.	Private M'Carthy.
— Weir.	— M'Cabe.
— Fair.	— Nowlan.
Corporal Sumpter.	— Robson.
— Bevan.	— Seyburne.
Drummer Higgins.	— Shean.
— Lovell.	— Tongue.
— Branagan.	— Wilson.
Private Burns.	— Durant.
— Cresham.	— Arch.
— Cronin.	— Stott.
— Driscoll.	— Moore.
— Deroney.	— Miller.
— Duffy.	— Murphy.
— Matthews.	— Marshall.
— M'Dade.	— Cox.
— Marron.	— Robinson.
Private Brady.	Boys Grier.
— M'Glyn.	— Milwood.

HER MAJESTY'S 13TH LIGHT INFANTRY.

Private Binding.	Private Maccullar.
— Murray.	— M'Connell.
— Magary.	— Cuff.
— Monks.	

BENGAL HORSE ARTILLERY.

Sergeant M'Nee.	Gunner Dalton.
— Cleland.	Sergeant Wade, baggage-sergeant to the Cabul mission.
Gunner A. Hearn.	
— Keane.	

(Signed) G. PONSONBY, Captain,
Assistant-Adjutant-General.

(True copy.) (Signed) R. C. SHAKESPEARE,
Military Secretary.

(True copies.) (Signed) T. H. MADDOCK,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(True copies.) J. P. WILLOUGHBY,
Secretary to the Government.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS KILLED DURING THE REBELLION, AT AND NEAR CABUL,

Between 12*th October*, 1841, *and* 6*th January*, 1842, *the day of leaving Cabul.*

Political.			
Sir W. H. Macnaghten, Bart.	Murdered	at a conference on	23d Dec.
Sir Alexander Burnes	"	in his own house in the city on	2d Nov.
Capt. Broadfoot, 1st Eng. Regt.	"	in Sir A. B.'s house in the city on	2d "
Lieut. Burnes, Bombay Infty.	"	" "	2d "
Lieut. Rattray	"	at a conference at Lughmanee in Kohistan	3d "
H. M. 44*th.*			
Lieut. Col. Mackerell	Killed in action	at Cabul	10th Nov.
Capt. Swayne	"	"	4th "
Capt. M'Crea	"	"	10th "
Capt. Robinson	"	"	4th "
Lieut. Raban	"	"	6th "
5*th N. I.*			
Lieut. Col. Oliver	"	"	23d Nov.
Capt. Mackintosh	"	"	23d "
37*th N. I.*			
Capt. Westmacott	"	"	10th Nov.
Ensign Gordon	"	"	4th "
35*th N. I.*			
Lieut. Jenkins	"	at Khoord-Cabul	12th Oct.
Capt. Wyndham	"	at Jugdulluk	12th "
H. M. 13*th Light Infantry.*			
Lieut. King	"	at Tezeen	12th Oct.
Local Horse.			
Capt. Walker, 1st N. I.	"	at Cabul	23d Nov.
27*th N. I.*			
Lieut. Laing	"	"	23d Nov.
Shah's Service.			
Capt. Woodburn, 44th N. I.	"	"	23d Nov.
Capt. Codrington, 49th N. I.	"	at Chareeker	23d "
Ensign Salisbury, 1st V. Regt.	"	"	23d "
Ensign Rose, 54th N. I.	"	"	23d "
Doctor Grant, Bombay Estab.	"	"	23d "
Lieut. Maule, Artillery	"	in his camp at Kahdarrah	3d "
Capt. Trevor, 3d Light Cav.	"	at a conference	23d Dec.
Local Lieut. Wheeler	"	in his camp at Kahdarrah	3d Nov.

From 6th January up to the 12th January 1842 inclusive on the retreat.

Staff.			
Dr. Duff, Superin.-Surgeon	Killed	between Tezeen and Seh Baba	10th Jan.
Capt. Skinner, 61st N. I.	"	at Jugdulluk	12th "
Capt. Paton,* 58th N. I.	"	at Khoord-Cabul pass	8th "
Lieut. Sturt,* Engineers	"	"	8th "
Horse Artillery.			
Dr. Bryce	"	on march to Tezeen	10th Jan.
5th Light Cavalry.			
Lieut. Hardyman	"	outside the cantonment	6th Jan.
H. M. 44th.			
Major Scott	"	on march to Tezeen	10th Jan.
Capt. Leighton	"	"	10th "
Lieut. White	"	Junga Fareekee	10th "
Lieut. Fortye*	"	Jugdulluk	10th "
5th N. I.			
Major Swayne*	"	at Junga Fareekee	10th Jan.
Capt. Miles	"	"	10th "
Lieut. Deas*	"	"	10th "
Lieut. Alexander	"	"	10th "
Lieut. Warren	"	"	10th "
54th N. I.			
Major Ewert	"	on march to Tezeen	10th Jan.
Capt. Shaw*	"	"	10th "
Lieut. Kirby	"	"	10th "
37th N. I.			
Lieut. St. George	"	Khoord-Cabul Pass	8th Jan.
H. M. 44th.			
Lieut. Wade	"	Jugdulluk	12th Jan.
27th N. I.			
Dr. Cardew*	"	Tezeen	10th Jan.

After leaving Jugdulluk on the 12th to the final massacre.

Staff.		
Major Thain* H. M. 21st Ft. A. D. C.	Jugdulluk Pass	12th Jan.
Capt. Bellew, 56th N. I.	Futtehabad	13th "
Capt. Grant, 27th N. I.	Gundamuk	13th "
Capt. Mackay, Assist. P. M.†	Doubtful.	
Horse Artillery.		
Capt. Nicholl	Jugdulluk Pass	12th Jan.
Lieut. Stewart	Gundamuk	13th "
5th Light Cavalry.		
Lieut.-Col. Chambers	Jugdulluk Pass	12th Jan.
Capt. Blair	"	12th "
Capt. Bott	"	12th "
Capt. Hamilton	Gundamuk	13th "
Capt. Collyer	Near Jellalabad	14th "
Lieut. Bazett	Jugdulluk Pass	12th "
Dr. Harpur	Near Jellalabad	14th "
Veterinary Surgeon Willis	Doubtful.	

* These officers had been previously wounded at Cabul. Captain Paton's left arm had been amputated.

† Capt. Mackay, Assist. P. M. Shah's Staff, being mentioned in the text twice (pp. 51, 52.), I insert his name thus. It is not in the original list.—EDITOR.

H. M. 44th.

Capt. Dodgin	Jugdulluk Pass	12th Jan.
Capt. Collins	Gundamuk	13th "
Lieut. Hogg	"	13th "
Lieut. Cumberland	"	13th "
Lieut. Cadett	Soorkab	12th "
Lieut. Swinton	Gundamuk	13th "
Ensign Gray	Doubtful.	
Paymaster Bourke	Jugdulluk	12th "
Qr.-Master Halaban*	Jugdulluk Pass	12th "
Surgeon Harcourt	"	12th "
Assist. Surgeon Balfour	Doubtful.	
Assist. Surgeon Primrose	Gundamuk	13th "

5th N. I.

Capt. Haig	Doubtful.	
Lieut. Horsbrough	Gundamuk	13th Jan.
Lieut. Tombs	Doubtful.	
Ensign Potenger	"	
Lieut. Burkinyoung	"	
Dr. Metcalfe	Gundamuk	13th Jan.

37th N. I.

Capt. Rind	Gundamuk	13th Jan.
Lieut. Steer	Jugdulluk Pass	12th "
Lieut. Vanrenen	Near Soorkab	12th "
Lieut. Hawtrey	Gundamuk	13th "
Lieut. Carlyon	Doubtful.	

54th N. I.

Capt. Anstruther	Doubtful.	
Capt. Corrie	"	
Capt. Palmer	"	
Lieut. Weaver	Gundamuk	13th Jan.
Lieut. Cunningham	"	13th "
Lieut. Pottinger	Neemla	13th "
Lieut. Morrison	Gundamuk	13th "

H. M. 13th Lt. Inf.

Major Kershaw	Doubtful.	
Lieut. Hobhouse	Gundamuk	13th Jan.

Shah's Service.

Brigadier Anquetil	Jugdulluk Pass	12th Jan.
Capt. Hay, 35th N. I.	Gundamuk	13th "
Capt. Hopkins, 27th N. I.	Near Jellalabad	13th "
Capt. Marshall, 61st N. I.	Jugdulluk Pass	12th "
Lieut. Le Geyt, Bombay Cav.	Neemla	13th "
Lieut. Green, Artillery	Gundamuk	13th "
Lieut. Bird, Madras Estab.	Futtehabad	13th "
Lieut. Macartney	Gundamuk	13th "

LIST OF OFFICERS SAVED OF THE CABUL FORCE.

In imprisonment in Affghanistan.

Political.

Major Pottinger, C. B.	Wounded at Charekar on	6th Nov.
Capt. Lawrence.		
Capt. Mackenzie, Madras Estab.	" in action at Cabul on	23d "

Staff.

Major-Gen. Elphinstone, C. B.	" on retreat at Jugdulluk (Died at Tezeen on April 23d.)	12th Jan.
Brigadier Shelton.		

* This officer had been previously wounded at Cabul.

Capt. Boyd, At. Cy. Gl.			
Lieut. Eyre, Arty. D. C. O.	Wounded in action at Cabul	- - -	22d Nov.
Horse Artillery.			
Lieut. Waller - - - - -	"	" - - - - -	4th Nov.
H. M. 44*th.*			
Capt. Souter - - - - - -	"	on retreat at Gundamuk - -	13th Jan.
H. M. 13*th.*			
Lieut. Mein - - - - - -	"	in action under General Sale at Khoord-Cabul Pass - - -	Oct.
37*th N. I.*			
Major Griffiths - - - - -	,,	on retreat in Khoord-Cabul Pass -	8th Jan.
Dr. Magrath.			
Shah's Service.			
Capt. Troup - - - - - -	"	" " - -	8th Jan.
Capt. Johnson.			
Capt. Anderson.			
Paymaster.			
Capt. Bygrave - - - - -	The toes of one foot nipped off by frost on retreat.		
Mr. Ryley, conductor of Ordnance.			
54*th N. I.*			
Lieut. Melville. - - - - -	"	on retreat near Huft Kotul - -	10th Jan.
Shah's Service.			
Dr. Brydon - - - - - -	Escaped to Jellalabad.		

THE END.

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OF

PERSIAN, HINDOSTANI, AND OTHER ORIENTAL WORDS EMPLOYED IN THIS VOLUME.

Akukzye. The name of one of the great Affghan tribes.
Aloo-baloo. The wild sour cherry.
Aman. The cry for mercy—quarter.
Ameer. Commander or chief.
Ana. A small coin; sixteen of which make a rupee. Its value is about three halfpence.
Ashurpee. A mohur—a gold coin. Its value is about thirty shillings English.
Ayah. A female attendant—a nurse.
Bahadur. A bravo—a boaster or braggadocio; also a brave man—a hero.
Bahadur (verb). To boast or brag.
Bala Hissar. Upper citadel—royal palace.
Barats. Legal documents — assignments — promissory notes.
Barukzye. The name of one of the five great Dooranee tribes.
Bash or *bosh.* Nothing—humbug.
Bashee. A head-man.
Bédanas. A sort of mulberry.
Behmaru. The name of a village near Cabul. The word signifies "the husbandless."
Bhanghys. Baggage.—Boxes. They are boxes hung at each end of a pole, and carried on a man's shoulder.
Bheestees. Water-carriers.
Bhoosa or *Boussa.* Chopped straw—chaff. *Hindostani.*
Bhoodkhees. Presents.
Bildars. Excavators—sappers.
Bourj or *Burj.* A fortified hill or tower.
Bukshees. Gifts—presents—*douceurs.*
Bukhraeed. A Mahommedan feast. The festival of the goat; held to commemorate the history of Abraham and Ishmael (Isaac).
Bunneah. A trader—a corn-merchant or dealer in grain, flour, &c.
Cafila. A caravan—a convoy.
Cass. A kind of furze.
Caupoochees. Porters.
Chaoney. An encampment—cantonments.
Charpoys. A bed on four poles, with ropes crossed over them.
Chattak. A measure for grain, &c. The 16th part of a seer, or about 2 ounces English.
Chebootras. Small thick mats, on which slaves usually sit or *squat.*
Chillum. The part of the hookah, or pipe, containing the lighted tobacco—hence used for the pipe itself.
Chillumchee. A washand-basin.
Chiragh. A lamp.
Chogah. A sort of cloak.
Chokey. A police station.
Chouk. A bazar—a street. Also the portion of the taxes *excused* to the native Chiefs for keeping the passes open, and for keeping the tribes in check.
Chowdry. The chief man or head of a bazar.
Chuddah. A sheet or veil.
Chupao. A night attack—a surprise—a foray.
Chupao (verb). To attack by night—to surprise by stealth.
Chupatties. Unleavened cakes, made of ottah.
Chuprassy. A messenger—a servant bearing a badge or brass plate.
Chuttah or *chatta.* An umbrella or parasol.
Compound. An enclosed space—the ground round a house.
Cossid. A courier—an express—a foot messenger.
Crore. Ten lakhs of rupees, or one million pounds sterling.
Dâk. Letter post.
Dallies. Baskets for fruits, &c.—panniers.
Dewan. A steward.
Dhal. A kind of split pea—pulse.
Dhooley. A palanquin for the sick.
Dhye. Sour curds.
Dooranee. The general name of the five great tribes; the Populzye — Barukzye — Nurzye — Barmizye and Abkhuzye.
Durbar. Levee.
Duffodar A non-commissioned officer of cavalry.
Elchee. An ambassador—an agent.
Eusofzyes. An Affghan tribe north of Peshawer.
Fakirs. Devotees—mendicants.
Fatcha. The prayer for the reigning monarch—a part of the Mohammedan service; the reading of which is equivalent to doing homage.
Feringhees. Europeans—Franks—foreigners.
Fernez. Sweet curds.
Fouj. An army.
Ghee. Clarified butter.
Ghuzee or *Ghazeea.* A champion of religion—a fanatic.
Gilzye. The name of a great Affghan tribe.
Gobrowed. Dumbfounded—at a *non-plus.*
Godowns. Storehouses—granaries.
Golees. Balls—bullets.
Golundaz. Artillerymen—literally, throwers of balls.
Goor. Coarse brown sugar or molasses.
Goorkha. A native of Nepaul; literally, "Cowherd."
Gulas. Cherries.
Hamaum. A hot bath—baths; commonly written *Hummums.*
Haut. A measure equal to half a yard—a cubit.
Havildar. A sergeant in the native troops.
Hazir-Bashes. The king's bodyguard. The words imply "Ever ready."
Hookm. An order—permission—the word of command.
Hoosseinee-Angoor. A peculiarly fine sort of grape, of immense size, called "the bull's eye."
Huft Kohtul. The seven passes.
Hurkaru. A messenger.
Janbaz. The Affghan cavalry.
Jee. Life—spirit—"with right good-will."
Jeerga. An assembly or council—a diet.
Jemadar. A native officer holding the rank of lieutenant.
Jhala. A raft.
Jingals. Wall pieces, carrying a ball of about a quarter of a pound.
Jorabs. Boots.
Jung. The fight or battle.
Juwans. Young men.
Juzail. The long rifle of the Affghans.
Juzailchees. Riflemen.
Kaffirs. Infidels.
Kaloss. Safe—free. Finished.
Kazanchez. A treasurer—a treasury.
Keshmish. Raisins—grapes.
Khan. A nobleman. In Cabul the title is assumed by every one.
Khelluts. Dresses of honour.
Khootba. The prayer for the king.
Kirkee. A wicket or window.
Kos. A measure of distance, equal to about two English miles.
Kote. A fort.
Kotilla Taj-i. The name of a pass—literally, the crown of the mountains.
Kotilla Murdee. The dead men's pass.
Kujavas. Camel-panniers.
Kulassy. A tent pitcher—a baggage servant.
Kulma. The Mohammedan creed.
Kuneh. A private dwelling.
Kurtoot. The name of a village—literally, the donkey's mulberry.
Kurwar or *Khurwah.* A measure; equal to 700 lbs. English.
Kuzzilbashes. Persians; or persons of Persian descent, residing in Cabul.
Kyde. Prison. The root of the vulgar English "quod"—to put in quod.
Kysee. The white apricot.
Lakh. One hundred thousand.
Lakh of Rupees. Ten thousand pounds sterling.
Larye. A battle—an engagement.
Lascar. An attendant on guns, magazines, &c.
Loonghee. The cloth of a turban.
Loot. Plunder.
Loot (verb). To sack—to plunder.
Mast. Curds.
Maund. A measure of grain; about 80 lbs. English.
Maush. A sort of grain.
Meerza. A secretary—a Mohammedan writer.
Meer Wysc. A teacher—the high-priest.

Mchmandar. A cicerone—a man of all work—a *factotum.*
Mehter. A class of camp-followers—a sweeper.
Mohur. A coin, generally gold; its value is about thirty shillings English.
Moollah. A priest.
Moong. Pulse.
Moonshee. A secretary or interpreter.
Muezzin. The call of the *Faithful* to prayers.
Mushk. A leathern bag for holding water—a goat's skin.
Musjid. A temple or place of worship.
Nagura. A set of drums which the natives beat to announce the presence of the king or any great chief.
Naib. A deputy or lieutenant.
Naich. A corporal in the native troops.
Nal. A horse-shoe.
Nalbunds. Farriers.
Nalkee. A palanquin.
Nans. Cakes of bread. (? Latin, Annona.)
Nawaub. A prince. Nabob.
Nazir. A master of the household.
Neemchees. A kind of spencer made of sheep-skins.
Neencha. A coat.
No-roz. The Vernal Equinox. The Mohammedan New Year's Day.
Nullah. The bed of a river; also used for a river.
Numdas. Coarse felt carpets.
Ooloos. The tribes or clans. To summon the Ooloos, answers to our "calling out the militia."
Oorsees. Open-work lattices.
Ottah or *Attah.* Ground wheat—flour, or, rather, what is called pollard.
Palkee. A palanquin.
Pall. A kind of tent.
Pesh Khedmuts. Attendants.
Pillau. A dish of meat and rice.
Posha Khana. An armory.
Poshteen. A sheep-skin; also a fur-pelisse.
Pushtoo. The language of the natives of Affghanistan.
Pyjania. Loose trousers.
Raj. A government—a province.
Rajah. A prince.
Ressalah. A troop of horse.
Rezai or *Resaiz.* A counterpane—a quilt.
Rui-band. A veil.
Rupee. A silver coin; its value is about two shillings English.
Saces. A groom.
Sahib. Sir—master.
Salaam. Salutation. To make salaam—to pay one's respects.
Seer. A measure; about equal to two lbs. English.
Shah Bagh. The king's garden.
Shah Guzees or *Shahghasses.* The household troops—the "yeomen of the guard." Officers of the court.
Shah-zada. A king's son—a prince.
Shalu. Red cotton cloth from Turkey.
Shikar. Field sports.
Shikargurs. Hunting grounds—preserves.
Shoke. A hobby—a mania.
Shroffs. Native bankers—money changers.
Shubkoon. A surprise at night.
Shytan. The devil.
Siah Sung. The black rock.
Siahs. A large sect of the Mohammedans; opposed to the Soonees.
Sipahees. The native Hindostanee troops. Sepoys.
Sir-i-chusm. The name of a village—the words signify "the head of the spring."
Sirdar. A general. The title assumed by Mahomed Akbar Khan.
Sirdar-i-Sirdan. The chief of the generals. Generalissimo.
Soonees. A large sect of the Mohammedans.
Subadar. A native officer, holding the rank of captain.
Sugs. Dogs. *A term of contempt.*
Sungah. Breastwork. Fortifications.
Surda. A species of melon. The *cold* melon.
Surwans or *Surwons.* Camel drivers—grooms.
Setringees. A kind of small carpet.
Suwars. Horsemen—troopers.
Syud. The title of a chief of the Ooloos.
Syud. A holy man—a saint.
Syuds. A sect of the Mohammedans; claiming to be the descendants of the prophet; and who therefore wear the green turban.
Tattoes. Ponies.
Topes. Tombs—mounds—barrows. There are several in Affghanistan, built in the time of Alexander.
Topshee Bashee. The commander of the artillery. "The master-general of the ordnance."
Turnasook. The red plum.
Tykhana. A cellar.
Usufzyes. An Affghan tribe north of Peshawer.
Vakeel. A deputy—a commissioner—one who acts or negotiates for another.
Wuzeer. Vizier.
Wuzeerat. The office of vizier.
Xummuls. Coarse blankets.
Yaboos. Affghan ponies.
Yaghi. Rebellions—in a state of rebellion—or of independence.
Zenana. A harem.
Zerdaloos. Apricots.
Zilzilla. An earthquake.
Zubberdust. Overbearing—"with the strong arm."
Zuna. A dwelling.

NOTICE.

THE absence of the author from England, and the consequent impossibility of consulting her during the progress of this work through the press, may have caused some errors to creep in—especially in the spelling of the Oriental words. The greatest care, however, has been taken to adhere exactly to the original manuscript.

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JOURNAL OF LADY SALE.

INTRODUCTION.

* * * * I have not only daily noted down events as they occurred, but often have done so hourly. I have also given the reports of the day, the only information we possessed; also such news as was telegraphed from the Bala Hissar, or sent in by the king or by Captain Conolly to the envoy; and many other reports brought by Affghan gentlemen of Captain Sturt's* acquaintance, and by others of lower degree, who, having had dealings with him in the engineer department and public works, and having received kindness from him, gave him such intelligence and warning as was in their power; all of which he communicated [to his superior officers] at different times; but the warnings were not attended to; and as when he gave his advice it was seldom adhered to, he became disgusted, and contented himself with zealously performing his duties and making himself generally useful, acting the part of an artillery officer as well as that of an engineer. Had poor Sturt's life been spared, it was his intention to have worked up my rough notes, and to have added much valuable information: he was too much overworked to afford leisure to give me assistance at the time. His plans, drawings, &c., with his public and private papers, were lost, except a note or two that were, just a few days before we left Cabul, put with my Journal. I believe several people kept an account of these proceedings; but all except myself lost all they had written, and had recourse to memory afterward. I lost everything except the clothes I wore, and therefore it may appear strange that I should have saved these papers. The mystery is, however, easily solved. After everything was packed on the night before we left Cabul, I sat up to add a few lines to the events of the day, and the next morning I put them in a small bag and tied them round my waist. I am indebted to Captain Souter, of H. M. 44th regiment, for a plan, from recollection, of the cantonment and forts. The inaccuracies, if any, are but trifling; and it is sufficiently clear to indicate the positions of the principal places alluded to.

A much better narrative of past events might have been written, even by myself; but I have preferred keeping my Journal as originally written, when events were fresh, and men's minds were biased by the reports of the day, and even hour.

It is easy to argue on the wisdom or folly of conduct after the catastrophe has taken place. With regard, therefore, to our chiefs, I shall only say that the envoy has deeply paid for his attempt to out-diplomatize the Affghans. General Elphinstone, conscious that his powers of mind had become enfeebled with those of his body, finding there was no hope of General Nott's arrival to assume the command, called in another officer to his aid, who had but one object in view (to get back, at all hazards, to Hindostan). He averred that a retreat to the Bala Hissar was impossible, as we should have to fight our way (for one mile and a half!). If we could not accomplish that, how were we to get through a week's march to Jellalabad? Once in the Bala Hissar, which would have been easily defended by one thousand men, we should have had plenty of troops for foraging purposes; and the village of Ben-i-shehr, just under the Bala Hissar, would have given us a twelvemonth's provisions if we had only made the demonstration of a night-march, to have the appearance of taking them by force. Sallies from thence might also have been made into the town, where there was always a party, particularly the Kuzzilbashes, who would have covertly assisted us, until our returning fortunes permitted them to do so openly.

Independent of ——'s determination to return to India, he often refused to give any opinion when asked for it by the General, a cautious measure, whereby he probably hoped to escape the obloquy that he expected would attach to the council of war, composed of General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, Brigadier Anquetil, and Colonel Chambers. I might say nominally composed; numerically it was much more extended. Captain Grant, with cold caution, obstructed every enterprise, and threw all possible difficulties in the way; Captain Bellew was full of doubts and suggestions, all tending to hamper and retard operations; and numbers of young men gave much gratuitous advice; in fact, the greater part of the night was spent in confusing the general's ideas, instead of allowing a sick man time by rest to invigorate his powers. Brigadier Shelton was in the habit of taking his rezai with him, and lying on the floor during these discussions, when sleep, whether real or feigned, was a resource against replying to disagreeable questions. Major Thain, a sincere friend and good adviser of the general's, withdrew, in disgust, from the council; and Sturt, who was ever ready to do anything or give his opinion when asked, from the same feeling no longer proffered it.

As a proof that Sir William Macnaghten's confidence in Shah Shoojah was latterly much shaken, he wrote to the Governor of India, proposing that, if it really should be proved that

* Lady Sale's son-in-law.

His Majesty was acting treacherously against us, the Dost should be restored to his country. But it is very doubtful whether this despatch ever reached the Governor-General.

I shall not refer back to many small insurrections that took place, but only allude to the events that immediately preceded the grand insurrection at Cabul.

I believe I have indifferently written the name of a village as Dehmaru and Behmaru; it is called both, but Behmaru is the correct name, signifying the husbandless: Dehmaru would be the Husband's Village. It takes its name from a romantic legend of a girl of rank betrothed to a chief who was said to have been slain in combat, and she consequently pined away and died also; but the lover recovered from his wounds, and placed a stone, said to be one of those white ones that look like women in Bourkhor, over her grave on the Behmaru hill; and when he died he was buried beside her, with a similar stone to mark the spot.

JOURNAL.

CABUL.

September, 1841.—Sir William Macnaghten obtained a force to be sent out to the Zoormut country. A chief contemptuously designated as a robber, was said to have gone into the town of Zaho beyond Gurdez. The information given to Captain Hay, commanding one of the Shah's corps, represented the place as contemptible. He went there with some few troops supported by guns, found that the place was much stronger than he had supposed, and that he could not do anything against it, and that he was fired at from six forts. On this intelligence reaching Cabul, a large force was sent out on the 28th of September, under Colonel Oliver of the 5th, consisting of half of Captain Abbott's battery, two iron nine-pounder guns, a wing of the 44th Queen's, the 5th N. I., Captain Warburton's guns, Captain Backhouse's mountain train, Anderson's horse, the Kohistan corps, and two others of the Shah's, with the King's sappers and miners and Hindostanee sappers and miners under Captain Sturt, as sole engineer.

The first days' march was through the city, with narrow streets and sharp turnings, very unfavourable for guns, as was also a bad road afterward, a nullah, and a steep ascent; all which circumstances kept them from getting into camp until late in the evening; after that the road was good, with the exception of the Al-Timor pass, which was very steep. It rises 9600 feet above the level of the sea. The crest was represented as being as much as a man on horseback could surmount, and the artillery would never have been got over it had not the natives given their assistance: 800 of them dragged the guns up. The great difficulty (as far as I could learn) lay, not so much in the acclivity, as in the roughness of the road, which was perfectly filled with huge blocks of stone. Here it was dreadfully cold, and snow fell. Beyond this pass the people of the country fled, abandoning their property, and consequently their suffering must be very great in the approaching winter.

The chiefs declared that they were ready to submit, but the orders were peremptory to destroy the forts that had fired on the Shah's troops. Lieutenant John Conolly and Lieutenant Burnet (54th) chupao'd* Akram Khan, riding sixty miles at night with 300 horsemen. They surprised the chief, his wives, and families; it was, however, done through the treachery of the chief's son-in-law, who disclosed his retreat. The Shah has ordered Akram Khan's execution. While these events were going on, disturbances had broken out near Cabul, where much had occurred to incite the chiefs to rise. In former times, under the feudal system, when the sovereign of Cabul required troops, each bold chieftain came forward with his retainers; but these vassals had been taken from them, and were imbodied in corps commanded by British officers, to whom they owed no affection, and only paid a forced obedience, while their hearts were with their national religion; their chief's power was now greatly limited, and the chouk guarantied to them was withheld on the plea that the Company had commanded retrenchments. But the saving required by Government was a curtailment of those expenses which were defrayed by its own rupees, whereas the 40,000 rupees now the subject of dispute were, in fact, no saving at all to us, as the money was never paid by the Company but was the chouk or money excused to the chiefs out of the revenue or dues owing to the King, on condition of their enforcing the submission of the petty chiefs and the payment of their rents. This sum, whether paid to Shah Shoojah or not, would never have replenished the Hon. Company's coffers; and by upholding the Shah in such an act of aggression we compromised our faith, and caused a pretty general insurrection, said to be headed by Meer Musjude.

The Kohistanee chiefs are urged on by the Dooranee chiefs in Cabul, and all the country about Tézeen and Bhoodkhak is in a state of revolt. It is only wonderful this did not take place sooner.

The Indian government have for some time been constantly writing regarding the enormous expenditure in Affghanistan, every dāk has reiterated retrench; but, instead of lessening the political expenses and making deductions in that department, they commenced by cutting off these 40,000 rupees from the chiefs.

Affairs having assumed this gloomy appearance, the envoy sent in all haste for the force under Col. Oliver to return as quickly as possible, leaving it to Capt. Macgregor's diplomatic ability to patch up the Zaho business as best he might, and come to the rescue with his advice regarding the Tézeenites, with whose customs, &c., he had much familiarity. Macgregor strong-

* See Vocabulary for this and other Oriental terms.

ly advised the not stirring up a hornet's nest, and wished to try what he could do by diplomacy. Valour, however, was the order of the day; and various were the suggestions of the politicals. One plan was, that Gen. Sale's brigade, on its way down to the provinces, should make a detour via Nigerow. The troops were not to fight, but only by their presence to overawe the Nigerowians, while some neighbouring tribes, who had a blood fued with them, should make the attack. Plans of the country were sent in, with imaginary roads drawn on them from various points, while supervening obstacles to the march of an army, such as hills and passes, were omitted. The scheme was not considered feasible, in consequence of the advanced state of the season, it being now October, and from the apprehension that the cold would destroy the camels requisite to carry the tents and provisions.

9th October.—The 35th N. I., commanded by Col. Monteath, C. B., with two six-pounder guns under Lieut. Dawes, were suddenly sent, at a day's notice, to Boodkhak, partly as being the first march towards the provinces (they forming a part of Sale's, or the 1st brigade), and partly in consequence of the disturbances.

11th.—The 13th light infantry, commanded by Lieut.-col. Dennie, C. B., were also sent, at a few hours' notice, to Boodkhak; but as they were not to proceed on their march until the arrival of Capt. Abbott with his guns, I remained at Cabul with my daughter, Mrs. Sturt, who had been staying with us during her husband's absence with Col. Oliver's force; and Sale took his departure from Cabul, fully expecting me to follow him in three days at the latest.

12th.—The 13th and 35th, with the two guns under Dawes, moved forward, the whole under Sale, their object being to go through the Khoord Cabul pass, and place the 35th N. I. in an advanced position at Khoord Cabul, after which the 13th were to fall back again on Boodkhak. This movement was effected, but with considerable loss. The Khoord Cabul is a narrow defile, enclosed by high and rugged rocks; it is said that the number of the enemy did not exceed 60 men, but they possessed considerable advantage over our troops in their knowledge of the country and in the positions they took up; for until they commenced firing not a man was known to be there. They were concealed behind rocks and stones, and by a stone breastwork that they had hastily thrown up, behind which, on our troops entering the pass, they laid in wait, and appeared to pick off the officers in particular. The number of the enemy were, however, underrated, as I am assured there were fully 200 of them. The 35th lost, in killed and wounded, about 40 men; and Capt. Younghusband, of the same corps, was badly wounded in the foot. The 13th had 8 men killed and 19 wounded. Gen. Sale was wounded in the left leg; the ball entered near the ankle, shivered the small bone, and was taken out from the skin on the other side, where it had lodged. Lieut. Mein, of the 13th, while leading his company up to the breastwork, was severely and dangerously wounded in the head; the skull was fractured by the ball, which entered it. Lieut. Oaks, of the same regiment, had also a very narrow escape, being wounded in the head also. It rained very heavily that night, and the 13th had the full benefit of it, for they were out all night, having two alertes; one of the sentries was mortally wounded, being shot on his post. Exertions were made to discover the persons who fired on our sentries: three men were seized who had in their possession the soldier's belt, which was a tolerable evidence of criminality, but the envoy wrote to say that the people about the king said that those men were good men and true, and they were to be released without any punishment!

13th.—Two companies of the 37th N. I., and two guns under Mr. Waller, were sent to reenforce the 13th at Boodkhak, leaving only the remainder of the 37th in cantonments, and no guns. Should there be a rising in Cabul, we should be entirely without the means of defence. The shah's troops have moved from their camp behind to Siah Sung, for protection, as, from the force which has gone with Col. Oliver, they have not guards enough to protect their camp, or the stores left there: their sentries are fired on constantly. Lieut. Mayne, of the Shah's service, was reported to have been shot when going his rounds last night, but it was a mistake; the suwar who accompanied him was the sufferer.

A poor woman, a Mrs. Smith, the wife of a conductor, was travelling up the Bolan pass to Kandahar, with a few suwars as a guard. She was attacked by the Belooches; the suwars fled, Mrs. Smith got out of her palkee and ran a short distance, but was soon overtaken and killed; the body was not plundered, and her rings were found on her fingers, and her earrings in her ears; not that they committed the act from hatred to the Feringhees and disdain of plunder, but that, according to the superstition of these tribes, it is a most unlucky circumstance to kill a woman; and finding their victim of the gentle sex, they fled and left her as she fell.

17th.—Col. Oliver's force returned; Capt. Abbott's guns have had their carriages much damaged; the spokes of sundry wheels are absent, thanks to the acclivities and declivities of the Al-Timor pass, so that he requires a few days to put all to rights before he can go to join Sale with the 37th; when they do so, the brigade will move on Tézeen.

18th.—The enemy came down (a chupao or night attack), 400 strong, on Khoord Cabul, where an action was fought with great loss on both sides; Lieut. Jenkins of the 35th was mortally wounded, and lingered in great agony, having been shot through the spine. Col. Monteath sent to Sale for re-enforcements, who despatched to him the two companies of the 37th that had lately arrived at Bhookhak.

19th.—The remainder of the 37th marched from Cabul to Bhoodkhak; also Capt. Abbott and his guns, and the Shah's sappers and miners under Capt. Broadfoot. Sale and Sturt have agreed that I am to remain with him and my daughter at Cabul, and to come on with the envoy, who is anxious to go to his government at Bombay, and Gen. Elphinstone, who returns to the provinces in consequence of ill health.

Sale's brigade is to move on to Khoord Cabul to-morrow. Seventy-seven of the wounded men from thence and Bhoodkhak have come in to cantonments, as also Lieut. Mein, of the 13th.

It appears that the Hazir Bash, the escort sent by the king with Capt. Trevor to Capt. Macgregor (political agent), were the people who let the Ghilzyes into the 35th's camp; they were partly of the same tribe, and while the rest were fighting, these ever-ready gentlemen did a little work of their own, cutting down surwans and hamstringing camels.

While they were thus employed Capt. Wyndham came up with a company of the 35th, and fired into the midst, putting them to rout. Col. Monteath turned these people out of his camp as unsafe to be trusted; the envoy has ordered them to be sent back to Cabul, and to be kindly treated, and will not believe them to be in fault. The Hazir Bash, as their name imports, are "aye ready for the field," but I fear that just now,

> "At a word it may be understood,
> They are ready for evil and not for good,"

like Walter Scott's goblin page.

20*th*.—Lieut. Jenkins's body was brought to Capt. Sturt's house; he died just after he was placed in the dhooley, and was thus saved the additional pain of the journey.

21*st*.—Lieut. Jenkins's funeral took place. As the 35th lost ninety camels, and fifty more were sent in with the sick and wounded, the force is detained until more camels can reach them from Cabul.

23*d*.—Much firing has been heard, and great anxiety prevails. All the forts about Cabul are empty, and the Juwans have gone (it is said) to aid in the fight against us at Tézeen: Sale writes that the report is, that the people at Tézeen say they are unable to cope with us in battle, but that they intend to plunder and annoy the force on its way down.

24*th*.—Sturt sent me a note before I was dressed this morning to inform me, that at Tézeen one small fort had been evacuated, and that Lieut. E. King, of the 13th light infantry, was killed. In the course of the morning I heard that the 13th, having expended their ammunition, were obliged to retrêat; that poor King, being the last man to do so, was shot dead on the spot. The men could not stop to take up his body then, but they returned shortly after, and obtained it before the enemy had time to do more than take off his jacket. He was a gallant, high-spirited young man, universally beloved, and consequently is much lamented. He was interred under a tent at night, lest the Affghans should recognise the grave and disinter the body. We afterward were informed that the attack was made on the rear guard before they quitted their ground; that the enemy cut in, in rear of the baggage, took ninety camels, with all the treasure of the 13th, a large quantity of ammunition and other stores.

Gen. Elphinstone told me that Sale had been very imprudent in using his leg, and had consequently been suffering a great deal of pain, but that the remedies applied had given him relief; he expressed great regret that he had not communicated any information to me, taking it for granted that the envoy had done so, if I had not a letter from Sale himself; but he was wounded, and with plenty of military occupation, could not always find time to write me many particulars, as he had to send his despatches off as quickly as possible to the general.

A letter from a friend with the force that was sent from Kandahar mentions, that the force had arrived at the extreme point of their tour (Dahwarah) on the 15th of October, and that they were to set out on their return the following day. Captain Leeson, of the 22d, in temporary command of the Shah's 1st cavalry regiment, was to march twenty-five miles, and over a pass (the Kotilla Meercha), to be out of the way of the others, on account of the scarcity of water. The troops had not had anything to do, nor was there even a chance of their having a foe to contend with, for the people of that part of the country got such a lesson in the fight of Secunderabad, that the chiefs could not have collected 200 men; the forts were mere shells, their walls of no thickness.

The fort against which the eighteen-pounder guns were sent out, has been an utter ruin for years, not only indefensible, but uninhabitable. The troops have been terribly distressed bringing the guns over and through the passes, which are more difficult than can be imagined by those that have not seen them; the last, the Dana Thunghee, is described as resembling what the Khyber would be about Ali Musjid, if it had a deep and very rapid river flowing through it, the said river having to be crossed thirteen times.

The Kotilla Taj-i (crown of the mountains) is very steep, and as nearly impracticable as it can be, without being actually so. To avoid these passes, the troops are to go through the Kotilla Murdee (dead men's pass), which Capt. Leeson reports, from what he has seen of it, as practicable, but difficult. He writes to me that it will take a great deal of labour to get the guns over it. From thence they steer for Kurtoot (the donkey's mulberry), but it was not known whether the route by that place was practicable; if not, they must face the Kotilla Taj-i, bad as it is. Major Rawlinson, the political agent, had obtained the blessings of the force for leading them such a wild-goose chase; he seems to have received information that Akram Khan had a fort there, but not to have known what that fort was like. It is a pity the army were harassed unnecessarily; but in Major's R.'s defence it is but justice to say, that information is difficult to procure and that it all comes from our enemies.

25*th*.—I received a letter from Sale, in which he informs me, that the conduct of the troops employed in the affair at Tézeen was good beyond all praise; but, concluding that I had heard all the particulars, he did not enter into detail. He wrote me that he was to halt that day (the 24th), as Macgregor was in treaty with the chiefs, who, he says, are willing to refrain from all farther opposition, and say that they are convinced they have no chance against us. Sturt has seen a letter from Lieut. Cunningham, of the Shah's sappers and miners, by which it appears, that no enemy showing themselves, Capt. Paton, Qr.-Mr. genl., was on the point of pitching the camp, when some of the advance guard were fired on, upon which two companies were sent from each corps, with the sappers, who all behaved gallantly; they went up the hills, and down again, chased the enemy into their fort, and the sappers, commanded by Capt. Broadfoot, drove them through it, and followed them

through the wicket they escaped by. The 13th having expended their ammunition, were obliged to retreat, and it was then that Lieut. E. King fell.

Lady Macnaghten called on me, and told me that Captain Macgregor, Political Agent, wrote that the chiefs received him with great politeness, and were pleased at the confidence reposed in them by his going to meet them attended only by one suwar. They appeared to be unanimous, and many in number, mustering 700 followers, who were daily increasing. They agreed to all the conditions but one; whatever that is, it appears to be the main point to be conceded, and we suppose that it relates to the 40,000 rupees. One day has been allowed to the chiefs to deliberate. The Envoy was some time since warned by three Affghans not to ride so early in the morning or so late in the evening as was his wont; but, whether from policy or natural fearlessness, he has not attended to their advice. The Akhoonzadah has also told him that three men have sworn on the Koran to take his life. The people of Tagow and Lughman are leagued with those of Tézeen. Capt. Macgregor writes that a great quantity of ammunition was left on the road for want of camels to carry it on, which must have proved a great prize to the enemy, who were much in want of it.

26*th*. — There being a report that all was peaceably settled at Tézeen, I became very anxious for intelligence. Two letters were brought to me, but, alas! neither of them was to my address; one being from Capt. Havelock to Gen. Elphinstone, the other from Capt. Paton to Major Thain. After giving them a reasonable time to ruminate over their news, I wrote to Major Thain, requesting him to give me any information in his power, and informing him that I had no letter. I got the provoking reply that the Sahib was gone out. Some time afterward Major Thain called. He owned he was puzzled as to what was going on, but hoped that affairs would remain quiet until we got out of the country. He said it was the present intention that the sick should move out on Saturday next, and the Envoy and the General should leave Cabul on Monday the 1st. Shortly after he left me, he sent me the two letters to read; he had expressed his surprise that they had not arrived sooner, both being dated the 24th; and my letter of the same date from Sale had arrived the day before! Capt. Havelock mentions that all is settled and hostages given; but remarks that, since the pacification, the camels have been fired on, as also our outposts; but says, the one may be attributable to the arrival of a chief who was in ignorance of the treaty, and the other, to their people not being well in hand; a pretty-sounding phrase! but are we to understand that our men are so well in hand as not to resent it? Capt. Paton writes mysteriously, that he has much to communicate, "better spoken than written," and says the enemy have consented regarding the obnoxious chief (some person who they did not wish should participate in the benefits of the treaty). He adds that a force to be of any use in that country must not be hampered with camels, tents, or baggage, and that the ammunition should be carried only on mules or yaboos. If all remained quiet, Paton and Havelock were to return, and the force to go on to Kutta Lung. Paton hints that something had gone wrong which would not have done so, had Gen. Sale not been confined to his dhooley. Thain tells me that there is no mention in Sale's despatch of the gallant conduct of the sappers and miners, as related by Cunningham; he, being wounded, probably did not observe all that passed, and did not have the circumstances brought to his notice in time to write them; but, had he done so, it would have been very immaterial, for, excepting from private letters, no intelligence transpires.

Last year, when Sir Willoughby Cotton commanded, and during the disturbances in the Kohistan, every despatch from Sale, who commanded the troops there, was promulgated in orders, and the present system of keeping information close is disgusting; there can be no secrets regarding what passes in action in the field. The general impression is that the Envoy is trying to deceive himself into an assurance that the country is in a quiescent state. He has a difficult part to play, without sufficient moral courage to stem the current singly. About two months since Sir William wrote to Lord Auckland, explaining to him the present state of Affghanistan, and requesting that five additional regiments should be sent to this country, two of them to be European. To these statements a written war succeeded, between the Envoy and the Supreme Government of Bengal. Letter after letter came, calling for retrenchment. Sir William had been appointed from home Governor of Bombay, and was particularly chosen for the office from his being a moderator, and a man unlikely to push any violent measures; he hoped affairs might take a turn for the better, and was evidently anxious to leave Cabul and assume his new appointment. In an evil hour he acceded to the entreaties of Sir Alexander Burnes (who appears to have been blinded on the subject), and wrote to Lord Auckland to nullify his former request for additional troops, and to say that part of those now in the country might be withdrawn. The 1st brigade, under Sale, was accordingly ordered to be in readiness to move down; and it was generally understood that all would be withdrawn as soon as the Shah had raised five more regiments of his own. The letter of recall, as we may term Sir William's, was sent off only two days before the breaking out of the Zoormut affair.

Great stress has been laid upon the chiefs having given us hostages, but this is no certain proof of their sincerity; we have been long enough among them, for them to know the British character; they also know that the Dost's family were safely and honourably treated under our protection, while he and his son were in arms against us, and they naturally consider their safety as a proof of that of any hostages they leave with us.

The dâks, which have not arrived since the 2d (nor have been despatched since the 4th), are confidently asserted to be now on their way, and are expected in to-morrow at the farthest. No one appears to have been made acquainted with the terms of the treaty, which have been kept close by the Envoy, who, however, observed that Macgregor had given them better terms than he

himself would have done. They are to get the 40,000 rupees the quarrel began about, and they promise to return us any property they can find of ours: so that we leave off where we set out, barring our killed and wounded, expense, loss of ammunition and baggage, and annoyance of the detention, if not loss, of our dâks, bhanghys, &c.

27*th*.—I hear that Macgregor writes to the Envoy that the country about Tézeen never was in so tranquil a state as it is at present! Now, with a little variation in the wording, he might have cautiously written to the Envoy, so as to be understood by him alone, and have intimated that the country was now as quiet as it ever was; which, to those who know the wild tribes thereabout located, indicates anything but a state of pacification.

The sick are again ordered to be off to-morrow, with a wing of the 54th, to Tézeen, where the 37th awaits their arrival; and at present it is supposed that the Envoy and General will follow on the 1st.

28*th*.—Sale has written me that he arrived at Seh Baba on the 26th at 1 P.M.; that the rear-guard was fired on a mile from camp, and three men wounded. They were in a snug post for the night. His leg was doing well, and all inflammation had subsided. They had grain and bhoosa in plenty. Captain Grant tells me that a chief goes on daily in advance, to keep the country quiet, and bring in grain.

29*th*.—We hear that since the force left Khoord Cabul, they have never pitched a tent. The rear-guard has been attacked daily, and the bivouac fired on every night. The camels are dying forty of a night from cold and starvation. Lieut. Jennings (13th) has been wounded severely in the arm, the bone broken, and the ball went through into his side. Lieut. Rattray (13th) wounded, and a sergeant killed and 3 men wounded; 4 or 5 Sipahees* of the 35th wounded.

30*th*.—A small dâk has come in for the Envoy and General only, and that only newspapers; the Envoy sent orders to have the dâk sent by a private path, which succeeded.

It seems that the terms made with the chiefs of Tézeen were, the remission of the money which gave rise to the dispute. They were required to call out the *Ooloos*, which they represented would be attended with considerable expense, so they received 10,000 rupees to enable them to do so, when they pocketed the money, but omitted calling out the militia! Macgregor writes that he suspects the chiefs are at the bottom of all the plundering and attacks on our force, though they profess to have nothing to do with it, and that the depredators are the robber-tribes.

Last night, as the cavalry videttes went their rounds of Siah Sung, a party of men rushed out of a cave and fired at them; some were taken prisoners; part of them were Affghans, but four were Hindostanees, and one of them was a Chuprassy of Capt. Bygrave, who endeavoured to excuse himself by saying, he fired at the party supposing them to be Affghans, but could give no reason for being there himself.

Mr. Melville was attacked last evening, but set spurs to his horse and galloped off, on which the Affghans set up a shout; this is the fourth attempt on the part of the Affghans to assassinate British officers within a short time. I before mentioned Mr. Mayne's escape; Dr. Metcalfe was also nearly cut down; and Lieut. Waller, of the Artillery, was wounded on the head while riding close to the Siah Sung camp.

31*st*.—The invalids, whose march had been countermanded, are again under orders to go out to Siah Sung on Tuesday, to be in readiness to march on Wednesday the 3d of next month. When the barracks for the men and the officers' quarters were erected in the Cabul cantonment, a committee assembled to value them and fix the house rent, both for them and for the two houses to be occupied by the commander of the forces and the second in command. It was fixed at ten per cent. on the actual outlay as specified by the engineers' department. We paid ours monthly, as did the 13th, through the regimental paymaster. The 35th also paid their rent monthly. There was some dispute regarding it with some others, in consequence of the rooms not being all quite finished; but as Captain Sturt was not ordered to collect the money, but only to pay over whatever he received, the business remained in abeyance. An inquiry is now making about the house rent that has not been paid by the officers who have gone away, so I feel quite delighted that Sale and I are out of the scrape. Brigadier Shelton has written officially to the general, to say that it is very hard that he is kept at Siah Sung, when there is a good house in cantonments to which he has a right, and applies officially to the general to give him up either his own house or ours. Now, as long as Brigadier Shelton's duty keeps him at Siah Sung, he has no business in cantonments. This is Sunday: both the general and I expect to march on Wednesday, so, *par complaisance*, we neither of us expected to be turned out; however, if we do not go, we both intend vacating our habitations, when our house will be made over to Captain Sturt, to undergo repairs, so as to be ready for the reception of the next commander of the forces. General Nott has been written to, to come up immediately, and General Elphinstone is to give up the command to him from the 1st of November. The reason that our house is in future to be appropriated by the chief arises from its being the best and most commodious. Sir Willoughby Cotton gave his plan, and Sale his, when the houses were built; and Sir Willoughby living *en garçon*, had omitted many little comforts that we had considered indispensable. Added to which, Sale had a *shoke* for gardening, and had an excellent kitchen-garden; while I cultivated flowers that were the admiration of the Affghan gentlemen who came to see us. My sweet peas and geraniums were much admired, but they were all eager to obtain the seed of the edible pea, which flourished well; and by being sown as soon as the frost was over we had plenty of succession crops, and we still have peas growing which we hope, if not cut off by frost, will give a crop next month.

The potatoes thrive well, and will be a very valuable addition to the *cuisine*. The cauliflowers, artichokes, and turnip radishes are very fine, and peculiarly mild in their flavour; they are all from seed we brought with us from our gar-

* Commonly written Sepoys.

den at Kernaul. The Cabul lettuces are hairy, and inferior to those cultivated by us; but the Cabul cabbages are superior, being milder, and the red cabbage from English seed grows well.

Regarding the fruits of Affghanistan, I should not be believed were I to state the truth. Selected grapes off a bunch of those in the Kohistan have been known to weigh 200 grains; the largest I ever weighed myself was 127 grains. It was the kind denominated the Bull's Eye by the English; I believe the natives call it the Hoosseinee-Angoor; its form is nearly round, and the taste very luscious; it is of a kind not generally purchasable. At Kardunah they grow in great perfection. Those I ate were sent as a present from a native gentleman to Captain Sturt, as were also some very delicious pears from Turkistan. The largest peaches I have myself weighed turned the scale at fifteen rupees, and were fully equal in juiciness and flavour to those of the English hothouse. The finest sort are in the Kohistan, but are so delicate they will not bear carriage to Cabul. I have been assured by my friends who have been there in the peach season that the best fruit of the kind at my table was quite inferior to those above mentioned. The Orleans blue plum is excellent. There is a green one resembling in appearance a green gage, but very tasteless. There are also many other kinds, with a great variety of melons, Water, Musk, and Surda, which is accounted the best.

It is reported that Sale's brigade are very badly off for carriage and provisions, and we have here no camels to send to them. The 37th N. I. and the Shah's sappers and miners are ordered back to the Huft Kotul, to await the arrival of the invalids at that place. It is now said that, from the difficulty experienced in procuring carriage, the sick and wounded must be left here.

In the evening we heard that the envoy had received a hurried note from Captain Macgregor, by which it appears that between Jugdaluk and Soorkhab the troops were attacked by about 400 men; that ours were unable to force the hills. The enemy left the pass open, by which the brigade proceeded; but they came down in force on the rear-guard, who are stated to have been panic-struck. Our loss is stated at ninety killed and wounded. Capt. Wyndham of the 35th killed, and Lieut. Coombes severely wounded; Lieuts. Rattray and Halcombe of the 13th Light Infantry wounded. There has been great loss of baggage and camels; seventy of the latter carried off, which were returned to us on paying ten rupees each for the Hindostanees, and twenty each for the Affghan animals. This is instituting a premium for plunder, but it was caused by dire necessity.

There were no despatches for the general, nor letters for me, but we hope to receive farther accounts to-morrow.

1*st November*.—No letters from camp, which has caused both surprise and anxiety.

2*d*.—Last night a party of Kohistanees entered the city; a large body of horsemen were also seen proceeding towards the city from the road that leads by the shah's camp behind Siah Sung.

This morning, early, all was in commotion in Cabul; the shops were plundered, and the people were all fighting.

Our Affghan servant, Mohammed Ala, who used to sleep in the city, when he passed out to come to my house in the morning, was threatened, and reviled as the chuprassy of the Feringhee general, who, they asserted, had been beaten at Tézeen, and that all his troops had run away, and he with them!

The shah resides in the Bala Hissar, and his guns from that fortress were constantly firing; the Affghans in the city were doing the same from six in the morning. Captain Sturt hearing that Captain Johnson's (paymaster to the shah's force) house and treasury in the city were attacked, as also Sir Alexander Burnes's, went to General Elphinstone, who sent him with an important message, first to Brigadier Shelton at Siah Sung, and afterward to the king to concert with him measures for the defence of that fortress. Just as he entered the precincts of the palace, he was stabbed in three places by a young man well dressed, who escaped into a building close by, where he was protected by the gates being shut. Fortunately for my son-in-law, Captain Lawrence had been sent to the king by the envoy, and he kindly procured a palkee, and sent Sturt home with a strong guard of fifty lancers; but they were obliged to make a long detour by Siah Sung. In the mean time, Lawrence came to tell me all that had passed, and to break the bad news to my daughter, Mrs. Sturt.

Lawrence (military secretary to the envoy) had had a very narrow escape himself. An Affghan, grinding his teeth, and grinning with rage and hatred of the Feringhees, aimed a blow at him with a sword, which Lawrence parried, and putting spurs to his horse he escaped: one of his suwars received a cut in the leg, which was revenged by another horseman shooting the fellow.

It was Lawrence who came to tell me of Sale's wound; he is always kind and friendly, though he has now been twice the herald of ill news. It struck me as probable that the suwars would take Sturt to his own house; and as he and my daughter were staying with me, there would not even be a bed to place him on there. I therefore determined not to lose time by waiting till the bearers could get my palkee ready, but took my chuttah and walked off as fast as I could towards Sturt's house. I fortunately met Major Thain (aid-de-camp to General Elphinstone), for I soon saw a crowd of about fifty suwars in his compound. Thain ran on, and told the bearers to bring him on to my house. I cannot describe how shocked I felt when I saw poor Sturt; for Lawrence, fearing to alarm us, had said he was only slightly wounded. He had been stabbed deeply in the shoulder and side, and on the face (the latter wound striking on the bone, just missed the temple): he was covered with blood issuing from his mouth, and was unable to articulate. From the wounds in the face and shoulder, the nerves were affected; the mouth would not open, the tongue was swollen and paralyzed, and he was ghastly and faint from loss of blood. He could not lie down, from the blood choking him, and had to sit up in the palkee as best he might, without a pillow to lean against. With some difficulty and great pain he was supported up stairs, and laid on his bed, when Dr. Harcourt dressed his wounds, which having been inflicted about ten o'clock, now at

one were cold and stiff with clotted blood. The tongue was paralyzed, and the nerves of the throat affected, so that he could neither swallow nor articulate; and the choking sensation of the blood in his throat was most painful to witness. He was better towards evening; and by his wife's unremitting attention in assisting him to get rid of the clotted blood from his mouth by incessant applications of warm wet cloths, he was by eleven at night able to utter a tolerably articulate sound. With what joy did we hear him faintly utter *bet-ter;* and he really seemed to enjoy a teaspoonful of water, which we got into his mouth by a drop or two at a time, painful as it was to him to swallow it.

It was most gratifying to see the attention and kind feeling manifested on the occasion by the sergeants of the engineer department, and their anxiety (particularly Sergeant Deane's) to make themselves useful to Sturt.

Capt. Warburton, Capt. Johnson, and Capt. Troup were all fortunately in cantonments; for their houses in the city were plundered and burned. At Johnson's (the King's treasury) the guard of forty men was massacred, as also all his servants but one, who luckily was not at home. The insurgents looted a lakh and 70,000 rupees of public property, and Johnson lost above 10,000 rupees of his own proporty.

There were of course various reports. We first heard that, on the affair breaking out, Sir A. Burnes went over to the Wuzeer's to ascertain what could be done; and that he was safe there, excepting having been shot in the leg. The King, from the Bala Hissar, sent intelligence to the Envoy "that Burnes was all right;" but a few hours afterward the King acknowledged that he did not know anything of him, neither did the Envoy at seven in the evening, when Capt. Lawrence and Capt. John Conolly came to inquire after Stuart's health. Our only hopes of Burnes' safety rest on the possibility of his having obtained refuge in some harem. His brother's fate is as yet unknown. Capt. Broadfoot was shot in the breast, and killed. He was breakfasting with the two Burnes's: before he fell he had killed six men with his own hand. Capt. Drummond is protected by Osmar Khan, Kariez-i-Umeer, chief of a domain, the first stage from Cabul towards the Kohistan. Capt. Mackenzie, political assistant to Capt. Mackeson at Peshawer, came up to Cabul some time since; and when Lieut. Milne (in the Commissariat) was sent to Khelat-i-Gilzie, Mackenzie took his place in the Shah's commissariat. He was located in a fort divided into two by the range of Commissariat Godowns—one side inhabited by Brig. Anquetil, commanding the Shah's forces, the other by Mackenzie, who (the brigadier being in cantonments) held out in both, with some sappers and miners, a few of the Shah's 6th Regt., and 130 Juzailchees: the latter are good men, and mostly Usufzyes. In this fort were stored 8000 maunds of ottah and wheat. Capt. Trevor hopes to defend his tower as long as it is not fired. Another report states that Trevor, his wife, and one child, have escaped, while his six other children have been murdered. Another, that he has escaped, but that his wife and seven children are all murdered.

The Kuzzilbash quarter of the city is said to be all quiet. Naïb Shureef's son has been killed in some of the scuffles in the city. Abdoollah Khan, Amenoollah Khan, and a few other Dooranee chiefs, are said to be the instigators of the insurrection.

The King (who resides in the Baia Hissar) says if the rebellion is not all over to-morrow morning, he will burn the city—by no means an easy task: the houses are all flat-roofed and mud-roofed. It is true Cabul has been burned three times before, and therefore, what has been may occur again. By throwing shells into the houses you may fire them; and the individual house fired, being ceiled with wood, blazes fiercely until the roof falls in, and the mud and dust smother the fire without danger to the adjacent buildings. The King has also declared that if the Meer Akor (who protected the man that stabbed Sturt) does not give the assassin up, he will hang the Meer Akor himself. It appears a very strange circumstance that troops were not immediately sent into the city to quell the affair in the commencement; but we seem to sit quietly with our hands folded, and look on. On the breaking out of the insurrection the King sent Campbell's Hindostanee regiment into the city, with some guns, who maintained an arduous conflict for some time against the rebels; but being wholly unsupported, were obliged eventually to give way, when the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and several of their guns were captured.

The state of supineness and fancied security of those in power in cantonments is the result of deference to the opinions of Lord Auckland, whose sovereign will and pleasure it is that tranquillity do reign in Affghanistan; in fact, it is reported at Government House, Calcutta, that the lawless Affghans are as peaceable as London citizens; and this being decided by the powers that be, why should we be on the alert?

Most dutifully do we appear to shut our eyes on our probable fate. The Shah is, however, to be protected, whatever may be the fate of the English in the city; and Brig. Shelton is sent with the Shah's 6th, some of the 44th Queen's, and three horse artillery guns, under Capt. Nicholl, to the Bala Hissar. The king, as he well may be, is in great consternation. At about 9 A.M. Capt. Sturt arrived at Siah Sung from the cantonments, bearing orders from Major-Gen. Elphinstone for the 54th N. I., Capt. Nicholl's three horse artillery guns, and a company of the 44th, accompanied by the Shah's 6th regiment, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to the Bala Hissar. As they had all been on the *qui vive* since daybreak, they were ready in an instant, and eagerly expecting orders to march, when a note from Capt. Lawrence (the envoy's military and private secretary), dated Bala Hissar, 10 A.M., telling them, "Stay where you are—all is quiet—you need not come." This caused great surprise, as the firing was brisk in the city. After waiting another hour under arms, the brigadier ordered Sturt to go in and see what was going on: this he gladly did, and, accompanied by eight suwars of the Shah's 2d cavalry, went to the Bala Hissar. In half an hour a suwar returned, saying, he had been badly wounded entering the palace gates, and bearing an order for an immediate advance of the troops. "Forward," was the word; and, anticipating an attack on the city,

the troops gladly set out, and arrived unopposed in presence of the king, when, to their sorrow, instead of receiving *hookm* to enter the city, the shah almost rudely inquired why they had come! After standing under arms another hour, firing being heard towards the Shôr Bazar, the brigadier sent Lieut. Melville of the 54th to inquire what was going on. On going down to the gate towards the city, he found the fugitives from Campbell's regiment flying in, and reporting that their regiment was entirely cut up: this he reported to the brigadier, who ordered him to take the light company down to the city gate, and while taking charge of that position to protect as best he could the retreating regiment. On arriving there, Lieut. Melville placed a section as a guard, and took the remaining three to the entrance of the Shôr Bazar, and formed them up facing the street: he had not been there more than five minutes, when he observed a disorderly rabble retreating at a quick pace towards him, pursued by a large body of Affghans, while others from the tops and windows of the houses kept up a brisk fire upon them.

Immediately after the colours had gained the rear of his detachment, Lieut. Melville retreated slowly, facing the enemy, towards the gate, pouring in volley on volley; but, owing to the protection afforded the rebels by the walls, it is to be feared with but little effect. On reaching the fosse he formed his men up again, to allow the two guns to pass to his rear; but the Affghans made a rush, and the golundaz of the shah took to a disorderly flight. As the idea of rescuing them with three sections was entirely out of the question, and the fire was becoming very hot, Melville sent Lieut. Macartney (of the shah's service), who in the mean time had come to his assistance, with one company of the shah's 6th to man the walls over where the guns were left, and prevent the enemy carrying them off: this being done, Melville got a few of the golundaz to go back and spike one of the guns, after which he retired inside, having lost one subadar and three men wounded, and one man killed. On arriving inside he placed the men on the ramparts; and being accidentally bayoneted in the thigh, he was released from duty, making over charge of the men to Macartney.

It being found impracticable to bring in the guns, from the carriages being broken, the European horse artillery, who had been sent out for that purpose, came back; and some guns having in the mean time been mounted on the wall and brought to bear on them, they were so broken by the shot as to be perfectly useless: and it may here be remarked, that to the day the troops left the Bala Hissar, notwithstanding frequent attempts were made by the enemy, they never succeeded in gaining possession of them.

The King, who had been in a great state of excitement during the day, on hearing of the loss of his guns, and that 200 of Campbell's regiment had been killed or wounded, was excessively agitated; the more so that, immediately on the rebellion breaking out, almost all the Pesh Khedmuts and Shah Guzees had deserted him. He ordered a dinner for the officers in the evening; as, to their extreme disgust, they were obliged to stay the night in the fort, neither men nor officers having an article of any sort or kind besides what they wore. The 5th cavalry, who had accompanied the detachment to the Bala Hissar, had, after taking all the baggage from Siah Sung to cantonments, remained in the latter place.

The King, sitting with the British officers around him, was anxious to obtain their advice in the present crisis, and particularly asked that of ——; whose conduct was represented on the emergency as pitiful and childish in the extreme, not having a word to say, nor an opinion to offer.

In cantonments all was confusion and indecision. The Envoy mounted his horse and rode to the gateway, and then rode back again—the best thing he could do; for had the Affghans either killed him or taken him prisoner, it would have given them a decided advantage on their part. Sir William and Lady Macnaghten had vacated the residency before 11 o'clock, A.M., and came into cantonments; a circumstance which no doubt was soon known to the insurgents, and must have given them an idea that we greatly dreaded an attack from them, which was threatened at night. The guns were placed in battery, and the walls manned with double sentries. The Kohistanees are reported to have 500 men assembled at Deh Hadji in the Kohistan. The villages about the Lake are all in a state of insurrection. The whole force from the Siah Sung cantonments are come in: the Shah's 6th, the 5th cavalry, Anderson's horse, and Skinner's are in the Mission Compounds; the escort in cantonment. Lawrence has kindly promised in case of an attack to come over to us; but we are so anxious about Sturt that we do not think much of danger.

Two Sipahees were cut down near the gate of Commissariat Fort to-day; another was killed who only attempted to cross the road. We have good news to-day from Sale at Gundamuk, dated the 1st. They were all quite well, and supplied with all that they required. Bukhtar Khan, the new governor there, had sent 500 of his tribe to Jugdaluk; 250 of Ferris's corps and 300 of Burns's Khyberries were to follow quickly, to secure the passes, and open the road to Seh Baba. The Tagow chief who attacked Sale's force on the road is said to have withdrawn his men; and now that all seems clear for our march down, this insurrection has risen up here. It was only two days ago Lady Macnaghten told Mrs. Sturt that the country was all quiet, except the little outbreak near Tézeen!

3*d*.—At three in the morning the drums in cantonments beat to arms, in consequence of a large body of men coming over the Siah Sung hill; they proved to be the 37th from Khoord Cabul, who, about half past 2 P.M., yesterday, received an order to march on its receipt to Cabul. Poshteens arrived about an hour afterward in safety, with no other guard than a couple of suwars; however, before the regiment was ready to move off its ground, the Ghilzyes had taken possession of the mouth of the pass, and were with some difficulty dislodged by two companies of the 37th, and two guns of the Shah's mountain train; the latter under Lieut. Green. The order received by Major Griffiths to march the detachment under his command on receipt of the order was accompanied by a note from Capt. Paton, Assistant Quartermaster-General

telling Major G. that all Cabul was in insurrection, &c. The Laird of Pughman (who had held the pass from the time Sale left Bhoodkhak), with all his followers, joined our force as soon as they reached his post, and marched into Cabul with them. The rear-guard of three companies and one Mountain T. were hard pushed, as they had to fight all the time the regiment was getting ready, and also kept up a skirmishing fight all the way in, in which all the corps joined; they had four men killed and thirty wounded. The Mountain T. gun they had in the rear eventually broke down, but was brought into cantonments. One officer, Lieut. Gordon, was wounded. Notwithstanding this, they came in with all their baggage in as perfect order as if it had been a mere parade movement; and great praise is due to Major Griffiths on this occasion. I observe I have mentioned the Laird of Pughman—a sobriquet applied to a good man, and a true one to the Shah and us. His proper name was the Syud Mahomed Khan; and for the good service he did in the Kohistan with Sale's force he obtained the honorary title of Jan Fishan Khan, or the nobleman who is the exterminator of his sovereign's enemies. It is a difficult sentence to render into English.

Jan means life; *Fishan*, heedless of the life of your enemies; *Khan*, a lord or nobleman. I am no linguist myself, but friends who understand Persian well give the above as the best translation. The common one is, "The khan or noble who throws away his life upon his enemies."

This day there was a great talk of the Kohistanees being expected to arrive to attack us. The double sentries are loaded to-day, as also the sentries placed round the ammunition and stores.

In the evening the rebels appeared in considerable numbers near Mahommed Khan's Fort, and between that and the Commissariat Fort, situated 300 yards from cantonments. We have only three days' provisions in cantonments: should the Commissariat Fort be captured, we shall not only lose all our provisions, but our communication with the city will be cut off.

This fort (an old crazy one, undermined by rats) contains the whole of the Bengal commissariat stores, valued at four lakhs of rupees, including about 12,000 maunds of ottah, wheat, and barley, and all the medical stores, &c.

No military steps have been taken to suppress the insurrection, nor even to protect our only means of subsistence (the Godowns), in the event of a siege. The King, Envoy, and General appear perfectly paralyzed by this sudden outbreak: the former is deserted by all his courtiers, and by even his most confidential servants, except the Wuzeer, who is strongly suspected of having instigated the conspiracy; and suspicion attaches to his Majesty again. It is here necessary to observe, that several months ago letters, calling on all true Mussulmans to rise against the Kaffirs (English unbelievers), were widely disseminated: they bore the King's signature; but Sir William Macnaghten always insisted that they were forgeries of a very peculiar description; that papers bearing the veracious signature had had their contents washed out, and these seditious writings inserted. The Shah of course said, "An enemy has done this;" and, as dead men tell no tales, much of the obloquy was allowed to rest on Moollah Shekoor, who had paid the penalty of other state crimes.

In Affghanistan the English act as they do in all other countries they visit—keep to themselves, and even (generally) employ only servants brought with them. The Envoy kept but few Affghans in his employ: he had a news reporter, at 150 rupees a month, who had the credit of concocting splendid untruths; an old moollah picked up at Kandahar, who, I believe, receives 200—a man greatly in Sir William's confidence; there is also an old cossid. These people adhere to the Envoy, and flatter him into the belief that the tumult is *bash* (nothing), and will shortly subside.

This day there was a grand bustle, getting guns into all the bastions. Capt. and Mrs. Trevor, and their seven children, came into cantonments. Trevor's Hazir Bashes brought them in safe; but they had to walk through the river, and to carry the children, saving only the clothes they had on. As they escaped at one gate, their tower was taken possession of by the rebels from another.

That the insurrection could have been easily crushed at its commencement, is evident from the circumstance that on the 2d of November a considerable number of chiefs went to Capt. Trevor's house to lend him assistance; among them were Osman Khan, Abdool Rahim Khan, Khan Shireen Khan, Taj Mahommed, Gholam Moyenoodeen, &c. The Nawaub Zeman Khan sent one of his younger children to Trevor, and desired him to keep him as a hostage; but finding that no assistance came from cantonments, Trevor declined keeping the boy, and, accompanied by some of the above-mentioned persons and their followers, he made his way into cantonments on the 3d.

It is farther worthy of remark, that Taj Mahommed Khan went to Sir Alexander Burnes the very day before the insurrection broke out, and told him what was going on. Burnes, incredulous, heaped abuse on this gentleman's head; and the only reply he gave him was, "Shuma beseeah shytan ust!" on which Taj Mahommed left him. This anecdote was told us by himself.

Two of the Shah's mountain train guns, under Lieut. Green, and 400 of the 54th N. I., were sent, escorted by cavalry, to take ammunition and carcases to the Bala Hissar, as also bedding for the men.

There is a report that the city is about to be fired.

A large party bearing the religious flag (green) came towards the rear gate: they fought with much *jee;* but one of our guns played on them, and then the cavalry dashed out and cut them up. Lieut. Le Geyt, of the Shah's service, with a small party of Anderson's horse, feigned to fly, and drew a party after them, on whom they turned and dealt destruction.

At the Balar Hissar the troops were allotted to their different stations; though, in consequence of a great portion of the 54th N. I. being in cantonments, as yet no permanent division of the troops could take place.

One of the most important posts was the tower on the summit of the hill, which was held by 100 men of the 54th, the same number of

the King's Juzailchees, one gun of the mountain train, with two officers. The centre post, being a commanding position over the town, was occupied by four companies of the Shah's 6th, two of Nicholl's H. A. guns, and some large guns of the King's. The rest of the troops were scattered in different parts of the fort, two companies being at each of the gates.

During this day many projects were entered into for the purpose of putting down the rebellion, but none were put into practice. The Wuzeer went into the town, accompanied by some troops; but soon returned, having made no impression. The King wrote to Sir William Macnaghten, proposing that a free pardon should be offered to all offenders, and that all should be forgiven and forgotten if the leaders of the insurrection would come to his durbar, and, acknowledging their faults, return to their allegiance. This, of course, was never carried into execution. Five companies of the 54th, commanded by Capt. Corry, accompanied by some cavalry, arrived; having lost on the way, between cantonments and the Bala Hissar, the baggage and clothing of the grenadier and light companies, who, consequently, were exposed to the rigorous nights without a single article of clothing. Although fired on the whole way, they had only three men wounded. The cavalry returned, but the 54th remained with the headquarters of their regiment.

4th.—At two in the morning firing recommenced at the city. Khan Shireen Khan and some others are conjectured to have driven the fighting party out of the city; but we do not hear of the heads of the faction (Abdoollah Khan, the proprietor of the Pisheen Valley, Ameenoolah Khan of Logur, and Sekunder Khan) being seized. The insurgents in great numbers took possession of Mahmood Khan's, fort, the Shah bagh, Mahommed Shureef's fort, and the garden between the Godown fort and the fort called the Bazar of the European regiment.

Our guns from the south bastion opened early, and played almost all day on Mahmood Khan's fort, and on any body of Affghans that showed themselves. Lieut. Warren, who held the Commissariat fort with fifty men, wrote to the General to say, that, unless re-enforced, he could not hold out; that he was surrounded by the enemy, who he feared were mining the walls, and they were preparing ladders for the escalade; adding also that some of his men had already left him.

In the evening a party of cavalry and infantry were sent to aid him in evacuating his position! Capt. Boyd, the Bengal Commissariat officer, on hearing the object of this force from Capt. Grant (Assist. Adjt. Gen.), proceeded in person to Gen. Elphinstone, accompanied by Capt. Johnson (the Shah's Commissariat officer). They urgently entreated him to recall them, and, instead, to send such re-enforcements as were required to hold a position of such vital importance; pointing out the certain destruction of the whole force in cantonments, in the event of the capture of all our supplies. The general acquiesced in their views, and promised to issue the orders for re-enforcements. The above detachment was very shortly obliged to return to cantonments, having suffered most severely in men and horses, who were fired upon from behind every face and from every loophole of Mohammed Shureef's fort, without their being able even to see an enemy. Previous to this detachment going out, a party of Europeans, under Capt. Robinson, went down the Kohinstan road to effect the same object. Capt. Robinson (H. M. 44th) being killed, this small party was obliged to retire, having suffered severely. Two horse artillery guns accompanied the party. Lieut. Waller, H. A., and Lieut. Fortye, 44th, were wounded. The whole of this occurred within 250 paces of the south bastion. In the evening no re-enforcements had been sent to Warren, and the two heads of the commissariats, Johnson and Boyd, again went to the general, to entreat he would not lose any more time in sending aid to that officer, and informed him there were but two days' provisions left in cantonments; pointed out the great fears entertained that we could not procure supplies from the surrounding country, with the enemy in force in the neighbouring forts, and the consequent destruction of our force from famine, unless the Godown fort were taken possession of at all hazards. The general conceded to these opinions. As Mahommed Shureef's fort commanded the only gate of the Commissariat fort, it would be requisite first to take possession of that fort. The political authorities had no persons from whom they could obtain information? For a reward of fifty rupees one of Johnson's servants proceeded to the fort, and brought back intelligence (in about half an hour) that he saw twenty or thirty men with lighted matchlocks sitting on either side of the wicket: he judged, from the silence that prevailed, there were but few then within, and affirmed there were none on the road. Johnson subsequently sent another man, who confirmed the reports, but did not see any lights near the wicket. All this was made known to Gen. Elphinstone, who determined on taking possession of the fort, and Capt. Boyd volunteered to carry the powder to blow in the gate. The general, however, afterward listened to other advice from other of his staff officers, who were averse to the proceeding, as involving too much risk! During this time another letter was received from Lieut. Warren by the adjutant of his regiment, stating that unless he was immediately re-enforced, he must abandon his position, as many of his guard had gone over the wall to cantonments, by which his force was much weakened. Capt. Boyd and Johnson left the general about midnight under the impression that Mohammed Shureef's fort would be immediately attacked and the Commissariat one re-enforced.

A letter was written by order (by Capt. Bellew) to assure Lieut. Warren that he should receive re-enforcements by two o'clock in the morning. Capt. Mackenzie held his (the king's Commissariat) fort until his ammunition was entirely expended, and then cut his way through the town; but in so doing was wounded in three places. Strange to say, this officer owed his life to beating a woman! He told his people to abandon their property and save their lives. A woman put down her child to save her pots and pans; and expostulation being of little effect, and time most precious, Mackenzie drew his sword to strike her with the flat of it, by which means he had it in his hand when he was attacked immediately afterward.

Trevor's tower has been burned. Had re-enforcements and ammunition been sent to Trevor's tower and Mackenzie's fort, they might have held out forever against any force the rebels could have brought against them. The Hazir Bashes refused to stay to defend them, because they saw they must be sacrificed, and that no re-enforcements were sent. Had they arrived, the Kuzzilbashes would have declared openly in our favour, with Khan Shireen Khan at their head; but unless supported by us, they dreaded giving offence to the insurgents.

Another party has been sent out with guns; it is said they are to fire the city, but most likely it will be a mere demonstration. Such it has proved. The guns were sent to take possession of the Lahore Gate; they got not quite to Mahmood Khan's fort, and had to come back again.

The enemy have now possession of the Commissariat fort, the fort opposite the Bazar fort, or Mohammed Shureef's, and the Shah bagh: the two latter posts appear to have been left unoccupied for the enemy's special advantage.

The only mortar we have being a five and a half inch one, has little more effect than a popgun of large calibre.

A gun has been sent to attempt to blow open the gate of the Shah bagh, which Sturt says will be a work of time with a gun; and they cannot use a powder-bag, as the gate is not *get-at-able* for the crowds of people fighting all the way from the Bazar fort to the Shah bagh, and thence to the city.

A large party of horsemen have shown themselves coming down the Siah Sung hill: the cavalry are sent to look after them. Mahmood Khan's fort is occupied by the enemy, who are to be shelled out, it is said; but we have been throwing shells into the small fort opposite the Bazar (Mohammed Shureef's) since 12 o'clock, and now at 4 they are still at it, and seem to have done nothing.

A Kulassy of Capt. Maule's has just come in from the Kohistan half naked: he reports, that the Kohistanees are all up; that Maule and Wheeler were killed at Kar Durrah, and that they were overpowered.

This day Lieut. Gordon, the 37th, was killed; Capt. Swayne, 44th, ditto; Lieut. Walsh, of the Shah's service, wounded in the thigh; Hallahan, 44th, in the shoulder; Warren, 54th, wounded; Capt. Robinson and four men, 44th, killed, and sixteen wounded.

The cavalry had brought in six wounded, and had thirty-one missing at 5 o'clock. The 5th cavalry went up to the gate of the Shah bagh in gallant style; but it was shut too quickly for them to get in. Hamilton's horse shot under him in the ditch under the gate.

At tea-time we had an alarm, and very smart firing like a *feu de joie*; but it was a false alarm. I believe no enemy was seen: it occurred on the rampart near to Sale's bastion.

After we had, as we thought, settled poor Sturt for the night, between 8 and 9 o'clock Capt. Lawrence came to see him and ask his advice. Sturt had wished to have communicated with the general on the defence of the cantonments, and, ill as he was, he had written a letter to him; but thinking that advice from so young an officer might not be relished, he, notwithstanding my remonstrances on the subject, tore it up. About 10 o'clock, Lieut. Eyre, Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, and Capt. Warburton, the Shah's Topshee Bashee, came; and as they had received information that there are men posted outside the gate of the captured fort, with matchlocks all ready, the plan in agitation of blowing open the gate with a bag of powder would not answer; they, therefore, with Sturt, decided on getting the two nine-pounders into the bastion, and on setting to work forthwith to cut the embrasures to fit them; and between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning was fixed upon as the time to commence playing on the fort to breach it, and at the same time to throw in a proportion of shells to create confusion. The place to be taken by assault. If this does not succeed, we shall probably have to retreat to Jellalabad. Sturt strongly advises the troops being all thrown into the Bala Hissar, and the cantonments being abandoned until we get up re-enforcements; but the cry is, how can we abandon the cantonments that have cost us so much money?

The enemy's force is estimated at from 1500 to 2000. Brig. Shelton is expected ni from the Bala Hissar, where they are said to be short of provisions. Here we got six seers of ottah for the rupee yesterday, but to-day none is procurable. The servants are to get half rations from the commissariat to-morrow.

At the Bala Hissar two companies!!! were warned for service under Capt. Corri, 54th, for the purpose of entering the town to cause a diversion during the expected attack which it was understood there was about to be made from cantonments. However, it was, as usual, only one of the theoretical plans so often talked of, and so little practised. Conolly, Troup, and Hay had gone there for the purpose of assisting with counsel; but there was "great cry and little wool," and nothing was done.

The supplies are become very limited, and it becomes a question how the troops and Horse Artillery horses are to be fed: to-day there were only three days' provisions left; but, owing to the great exertions of Capt. Kirby, Acting Assistant Commissary-General, a very large quantity was laid in, Damel Khan and Timor Khan, two Armenian merchants, being very instrumental in procuring them. Immediately in the neighbourhood of the Bala Hissar were fields of wheat stretching out for many acres; the wheat being the second crops, and some half a foot high, was found to be excellent food for the cattle: the groves, also, in the vicinity were all cut down for firewood, which, as long as it lasted, was very liberally distributed to the troops by the king.

5th.—At five o'clock A.M., no re-enforcement having gone to the assistance of Lieut. Warren, although promised by two, that officer vacated the Commissariat fort. No blame can attach to him, but much to those who withheld aid. The enemy took possession, depriving us of our only means of subsistence. Nor was this all the mischief: it gave both confidence and much plunder to the enemy, and created great disgust among the Europeans, who lost all their rum; a worse loss was all the medical stores, sago, arrow-root, wine, &c., for the sick.

The men in cantonments were employed all

day, the guns and mortars throwing shot and shell at the Mahommed Shureef's fort; Major Swayne being ordered with a very insufficient force to attack it, only two companies with two Horse Artillery guns, under Lieut. Eyre. The latter were ordered to be placed on the Kohistan road, outside the gate of cantonments, and to keep up a heavy fire on the fort; while Major Swayne was to advance rapidly on the fort, and blow open the gate with a bag of powder. Lieut. Eyre obeyed his orders; but his ammunition was all expended before the arrival of Major Swayne's party, who, instead of advancing, had, on a fire of matchlocks being opened from the fort, taken cover under some walls from the heavy fire of the enemy; and having expended all their ammunition ineffectually, the whole had to retire with some loss of men and horses. This was the only opportunity that offered of retrieving our loss. The enemy were busied in hundreds all day in carrying off our stores, all which we plainly saw from cantonments. The troops retired by order of Gen. Elphinstone, to my no small surprise, for the enemy had begun to run out from a broken bastion; but when they found our people retreating, they took courage, and no more left the fort, on which shot and shell kept playing all day. After stating this, it is unnecessary to add that Sturt's suggestions had not been acted on.

When the 44th retreated from Mahommed Shureef's fort, all were in amazement; the 37th asked leave to go and take it, but were not permitted to do so. The Sipahees are grumbling at short allowance, and not being allowed to do anything. The 37th were anxious to be employed in recovering the Commissariat fort, though no actual proposition to that effect was officially made to the general.

On this day a report was carried to the king and Conolly that the rebels had mined from the Shôr Bazaar to immediately under H. M.'s palace, which said mine was to be sprung the same evening. The king instantly left the palace, and took up his abode at the Gate of the Haram Sorai, where he remained during the rest of the siege; and all day, seated at a window commanding a fine view of cantonments, telescope in hand, watched anxiously the course of passing events in that place. He was at this time quite sunk into a state of despondency, and would gladly seize any opportunity of asking the opinion of any of the officers as to what was likely to be the issue of the struggle. He put off for the time all the insignia of royalty, made the officers sit by him on chairs, and seemed quite *gobrowed* (an expressive Eastern term, to be rendered something between dumbfounded and at one's wits' end). The shah's conduct in the particular of the chairs is the more worthy of remark, as he had been in the habit of keeping the officers for hours standing with folded hands silently in his presence, and then ungraciously dismissing them without even a passing remark. He now sent to each Sahib a warm silk resaiz and a pillow, which were very acceptable, as they were all starving with cold.

6th.—Major Kershaw, Lieut. Hobhouse, and eleven soldiers of the 13th Lt. In. (who had been left at Cabul in consequence of illness) this day volunteered their services.

Sturt, having fretted himself half mad at everything going wrong, determined, weak and ill as he was, to go out and do his duty. He is the only engineer officer at Cabul. He was unable to dress, but went out in his shirt and pyjania to the works. Although he was out himself a little after six o'clock, he could not get things or people into their places until 10. General Elphinstone gave him permission to make any arrangements he considered as safe from chance of failure for taking the small fort; but when he had with great exertion got three nine-pounders and two twenty-four pound howitzers at work (the latter across the road), Major Thain was sent to him to desire he would be careful not to expend ammunition, as powder was scarce! there being at the time a sufficiency for a twelvemonths' siege! However, Sturt made no alteration in his proceedings, and by 12 o'clock an excellent breach was made, the bastion being thrown down and great part of the curtain, so that ladders were not required: the gate was blown in at the same time by Capt. Bellew, Assist.-Adjt.-Gen. There was a small crack in the rampart near Sale's bastion, of which I used to take advantage, as a stepping-stone to enable me to see what was going on; and from my position I saw the storming party ascend the breach, under a heavy fire, with a commendable steadiness and great alacrity: they quickly drove the enemy from their stations, who then escaped through the wicket into the shah's garden. The storming party was commanded by Major Griffith, of the 37th N. I., consisting of the light company of the queen's 44th, Lieut. Hobhouse and ten men of H. M. 13th Lt. Inf., one company of 5th N. I., one company 37th N. I.; in all about 150 men. Lieut. Raban, 44th, killed while waving his sword on the highest point of the breach; Mr. Deas, 5th, wounded. I believe we had nineteen killed, and several wounded; among the latter, one of the 13th. The flag taken from the enemy was waved on the crest of the breach by a Sipahee of the 37th, who captured it, and who was promoted for the act. He and a havildar of the same corps, though belonging to the rear company, were, with Lieut. Raban, the first into the fort. But few of the enemy were found killed; but it is difficult to estimate the numbers of their slain, as they are so particular regarding Moslem burial that they always, when practicable, drag the bodies away. Great numbers escaped to the hills behind, which were quickly covered with horsemen, from 2000 to 3000 men. A party of Anderson's horse charged straight up the hill (just to the left of the gorge leading to the lake) in most gallant style, and drove the enemy along the ridge to the extreme left. Meantime, the 5th cavalry rode along the foot of the hill to the left, and charged up at that end; by which manœuvre the enemy were hemmed in, in the centre of the two cavalry corps, when a very severe encounter took place. From the top of our house we saw everything distinctly; the gleaming of their swords in the sun, and the fire of their pistols and matchlocks: fresh horsemen came pouring on to the assistance of the enemy from the back of the hill; they buried our cavalry and Anderson's horse, who, overpowered by numbers and a most galling fire, were forced along the ridge to the spot whence the first charge took place

The Affghans have many advantages over our troops: one consists in dropping their men fresh for combat; each horseman takes a foot soldier up behind him, and drops him when he is arrived at the spot he is required to fire from. Their horsemen are either gentlemen or yeomen (as we should denominate them), all well mounted, and their baggage ponies can manage the hills much better than our cavalry horses; in fact, the Affghan horses seem to me to climb about with as much unconcern as goats do. As regards pistols, we are on a par, as most of theirs have been presents from the Posha Khana; but their juzails carry much farther than our muskets, and, while they are out of range of our fire, theirs tells murderously on us.

A standard-bearer with a white flag was killed; he was evidently a person of some consequence, from the great anxiety evinced to obtain possession of his body. There were two red flags in another division.

Capt. Anderson distinguished himself, killing four men with his own hand; he rode up the gorge to challenge the enemy again, but they had the advantage of position, and would not come down.

The enemy continued to crown the heights: our guns were out of range, and the shot fell short. We had infantry out in skirmishing order, but the whole was little more than a very exciting and provoking spectacle; for we made little impression, although the whole of our cavalry was out: so cavalry, infantry, guns, and all, came back again, and soon after the enemy came down the hill, some evidently returning to the Shah bagh, and others dispersing more to the left, and probably returning to the city.

Lady Macnaghten told me to-day that Sir William had written to inform Sale that we had been in siege since the 2d, and to request his return with the force under his command; to leave the sick and wounded in safety at Gundamuk, under charge of the troops there. To this the general assented, and signed the letter; but afterward he said it would be abandoning the sick and baggage, and refused to recall Sale's brigade.

I was asked if I could send a letter from Sir William to Sale, through Sturt's influence with the natives; but if, with secret service money at his command, the envoy cannot bribe a messenger, how are poor people like us to do so?

Sir William has given one of the Kuzzilbash chiefs 50,000 rupees to raise a diversion in our favour, and has promised him two lakhs more if he succeeds.

The insurgent chiefs have set up a king, and a wuzeer; they went to the mosque, and read the fatcha, or prayer for the reigning monarch. Several of the Mollahs refused to recognise the name of Shah Zeman: they said they would allow that of Shah Shoojah as a legitimate monarch. There was a long and wordy dispute, but Shah Mahommed Zeman seems at present to possess most power in Cabul. This is not the blind Shah Zeman, Shah Shoojah's brother, but a relation of the Ameer Dost Mahommed. He is an old man, and said to be the son of an elder brother of Dost Mahommed's, and used to be called the Nawaub. He has struck coin in his own name.

Abdoollah Khan has sent a messenger to treat with the king, who replied that he would receive no such low person, and that some person of respectability must be sent. The king is also said to have seized the man who stabbed Sturt, and to have declared his intent to put him to death; but just now I believe he dares not do so.

This day there was a report that Sir Alexander Burnes and his brother were still living, but that the people, in whose power they were, were treating for a very large ransom.

Capt. Warburton left two guns in the city at his house; the Affghans have taken possession of them (six-pounders), and use them against us either with their own balls, or ours returned to us in that manner. They hammer our nine-pound shot into an egg shape. One of them that fell in Sturt's compound attracted attention, as we all supposed that they could not be hammered to fit other guns.

Paton and Bellew meet in council with Sturt at nine most evenings at our house. To-day arrangements were made for carrying the Shah's garden and the Commissariat fort at daybreak, everything being so clearly explained that even I understood it as well as hemming the handkerchief I was making. The captured fort, as it is called, is now held by three companies. It is proposed to be blown up; they are quietly to cut embrasures in the wall for three guns, to cover the attack on the garden. There is to be a simultaneous attack on the Commissariat fort; and the signal for escalading the breach with a company of Europeans, and one of natives, will be the explosion in blowing up the gate. Plans were sketched, and all the minutiæ written out, so that the general might have no questions to ask. It is now midnight, and no reply has been sent from him, though an answer was to have come to say whether the work should be done or not.

This day Gen. Elphinstone wrote to the envoy to state that we were in want of ammunition, requesting him to endeavour to make arrangements with the enemy!

Capt. Bellew told me that the general has at length agreed that Sale's brigade shall be recalled. Had we more men, a brigade might be sent out on the hill, to punish the enemy who defy us there.

The men are greatly harassed; their duty is very heavy, and they have no cover night or day, all being on the ramparts. The weather is cold, particularly at night.

There was a good store of grain in the captured fort, but very little of it was brought into cantonments by the Commissariat, though a great deal found its way into the Bunneahs' shops, or was carried off by the Sipahees and camp-followers.

A great quantity of wheat has been brought in to-day and yesterday from the villages, and we are promised farther supplies.

A note from Thain mentions that Sale has been sent for, but, from the very cautious wording of the order, it appears doubtful whether he can take such responsibility upon himself, as it implies. He is, if he can leave his sick, wounded, and baggage in perfect safety, to return to Cabul, if he can do so without endangering the force under his command. Now, in obeying an order of this kind, if Sale succeeds, and all is right, he will doubtless be a very fine fellow;

but if he meets with a reverse, he will be told, "You were not to come up unless you could do so safely!"

There has been much talk of bringing Brig. Shelton from the Bala Hissar into cantonments, to aid with counsel and prowess; the plan is, however, for the present abandoned.

The troops in the Bala Hissar are better off than we are, as there are yet some supplies in the shops there, though at an exorbitant rate.

Despatches have been sent for re-enforcements from Kandahar. If Gen. Nott's brigade had not proceeded on their way to the provinces farther than the Kojuk pass, they are to return.

Accounts have been received that Codrington's corps at Charikar is surrounded. Capt. Rattray, the political agent there, and Lieut. Salisbury, killed. Capt. Codrington and the other officers wounded, as also Major Pottinger, political agent.

There has been a great talk of withdrawing the troops from the Bala Hissar into cantonments; but if this were done, the king, with his 800 ladies (wives, daughters, &c., and their attendants), would follow, and we should soon be starved out. If we make an inglorious retreat to Hindostan, he will still accompany us; and as we brought him to the country, we must stand by him.

When there was first an intention of building for the army at the Company's expense, Capt. Sturt gave it as his decided opinion (which opinion is on record in the letter book of his office, in a letter to Sir A. Burnes), that the garrison should be placed in the Upper Bala Hissar, from whence (with plenty of ammunition and food, which might always be procured from the city, either purchased from friends, or taken zubberdust from the enemy) we never could be dislodged. A large outlay (I write from memory, and therefore do not name a sum) was expended in commencing barracks, bomb-proofs, &c.; and last, not least, a new wing was added to a palace for the envoy, and another, to make all square, was laid out, when the king sent to say he would neither have the envoy nor the troops in the Bala Hissar: so all the money spent was thrown away, and the king had the new wing and the whole palace thrown down because it was originally erected by the Dost.

The camp was pitched at Siah Sung; but that site would not answer for a cantonment for many reasons detailed by Sturt in his public letter, which I propose appending to my Journal.* I shall therefore only notice two of them—the distance from good water, and the whole spot being commanded by the heights that surround it, except on one side, which is a morass, and from that cause not particularly healthy at some seasons.

There was ground on the farther side of the city, but that would not answer, as, should an insurrection occur in Cabul, it would cut off our communication with Jellalabad.

Eventually the King gave up in a garden or orchard, the present site of cantonments, with water at hand, good and plentiful, and always procurable by digging two feet for it in any direction.

Sturt urges the absolute necessity of our now withdrawing our forces from the cantonments into the Bala Hissar, but is still met by the cry of, "How can we abandon the good buildings and property?"

The ammunition might be buried and concealed, the guns spiked, &c.; but a great deal of the former might be sent into the Bala Hissar by the cavalry carrying each man a proportion on his horse nightly, and many of the latter might be taken to the citadel.

To Sergt. Deane, of the engineers' department, the army are very greatly indebted for his great personal exertions in getting in grain. He is a particularly intelligent man, and very superior to his present station in life; and the fluency with which he speaks Persian enables him to pick up information, and also to go about at times in disguise for the same purpose.

If we can only continue to obtain provisions as we have done for the last two days, we shall be able to hold out on half rations, and in another month, it is said, the Kohistanees cannot touch us for the snow, which fell heavily on the hills last night.

We had rain here late in the evening, and at night; and this morning I saw a great increase in the snow on the hills.

In the Bala Hissar, Lieut. Melville having recovered from his wound sufficiently to do his duty, was sent down to take charge of the Lahore gate of the fort, which was now the only opening into the Bala Hissar, the others having been built up with almost solid masonry.

The troops there were isolated in a fort closely besieged, actually without a single case of amputating or other surgical instruments among them, and hardly a grain of medicine! —most culpable negligence, as they might easily have been sent from the cantonments, though a little foresight would have suggested their being taken there with the troops; and they might easily have been got ready during the time they were under arms—more than an hour—before they marched.

There has been constant firing for the last day or two on the city side of the fort, and the enemy have made several unsuccessful attempts to carry off the two guns that are lying beneath the walls. Food is already scarce in the bazar; and although plenty is stored up in the private houses of the natives, yet in the shops the price of two seers of wheat or two and a half is a rupee.

The Sipahees complain bitterly of the severity of the weather, particularly at night, and above sixty men are in hospital at the Bala Hissar already, besides the wounded: they are attacked with pneumonia, which carries them off in the course of a couple of days. The King sent strict orders to Melville at the gate, to allow no one to pass either in or out without a pass from either the wuzeer or Conolly, except the surwans in charge of the grazing cattle which go out at 8 A. M. and return at 2, protected by a resallah of the King's Sikh regt.: in case of an alarm from without, a flag is ordered to be waved from the ramparts, on which signal all the cattle are immediately to come in. The above-mentioned resallah are, without any exception, the worst set-up and most disorderly body of troops calling themselves a regiment

* This letter was lost, together with all the rest of the documents of the army. (See p. 1.)

that can be imagined: their horses are ill-conditioned, their arms and accoutrements nominal, as each man dresses as he pleases, a stick with a bayonet on the top being the sole offensive weapon of many of them. And this is the imperial guard of the monarch of Affghanistan! Besides this regt., his majesty has with him in the fort, of his own troops (not reckoning those of the subsidiarized force), his orderly regiment (Campbell's), 400 Juzailchees, and 500 of another Hindostanee regt. The orderly regiment are certainly better men of the sort (not being the Company's soldiers) than are usually met with, although they did run away in the city on the 2d, but it was not until they had lost 200 men and fought gallantly. Campbell himself is the King's right-hand man.

Associated with Melville at the gate was Raja Jeenial Sing, a man whose father was prince of an extensive territory lying near Cashmere, and who, when Shah Shoojah in 1818 was a fugitive and an exile flying from Runjeet Sing, received him most kindly, gave him all he asked for; refusing every offer or command of Runjeet to surrender him up, he transported him safely to the Company's territories. For this Runjeet deprived him of his Raj, valued at four lakhs yearly, and all his property, imprisoning both him and his sons: the latter on their father's death made their escape and arrived at the court of Shah Shoojah, for whose sake they had lost everything. His gratitude was shown in the regal donation of two rupees eight anas daily!! Verily they had their reward, and well may they exclaim, "Put not your trust in princes!"

From an idea of an insurrection being about to take place among the Arabs (who compose a large portion of the inhabitants), a proposal was set on foot for turning all the Affghans, &c., out of the Bala Hissar, and taking all provisions found for the use of the troops both there and in cantonments. This, as well as every other energetic measure proposed, was knocked on the head either by the King or the politicals, and, instead of turning out all useless hands, an order was issued to allow no woman to pass the gate unless supplied with a pass, as an idea had got afloat that they were about to turn out their wives and children ere a general massacre of the troops took place. However, in lieu of an insurrection, food becoming very scarce, all the natives became clamorous for permission to leave the fort, and go into the city with their wives and children—"a consummation devoutly to be wished," and to ensure which it had been good policy to have paid them a high price for their houses and grain, &c. This the King positively refused to allow, but ordered a Shah-Gazee to join Melville at the gate, and, having examined them one by one to see that they carried out no arms, to allow females to pass; but no man to go on any account. In this way, in three days were passed out 750 women with their children, which was at least a good riddance!

7th.—I did not go to bed till after Mr. Eyre went away this morning: he came at a little after midnight in consequence of some frivolous objections of the General's, based, I believe, mostly on Capt. Bellew's doubts as to whether the trees in the garden next the Commissariat fort were planted in lines parallel to the wall or not. Now Bellew always has an "observation" to throw in, or "begs to suggest" something. He had acknowledged he had never been in this garden, though Sturt had; neither could he be made to understand that it was the custom of the country to plant the trees in lines parallel with the outer walls; neither could he comprehend, that if even a tree intervened, a shot would destroy it from the heavy nine-pounders. These trees were not gigantic English oaks, the growth of a century; but fruit trees.

The heavy iron nines would now have proved their utility against the fort, but the old objection of the difficulty of transporting them over bad roads still exists; an iron nine cannot be as portable as a brass six-pounder, but the eighteen-pounders would not have given much more trouble than the nines did on the march up, and would have done us good service had we them here. Capt. Abbott wrote for 3 eighteen-pounders; the military board made it a case of arithmetic, and sent 6 nines; and as they had to be taken up the hills by hand, a little more manual labour would have transported the others also over the Affghanee Mountains.

I often hear the Affghans designated as cowards: they are a fine, manly-looking set, and I can only suppose it arises from the British idea, among civilized people, that assassination is a cowardly act. The Affghans never scruple to use their long knives for that purpose, ergo, they are cowards; but they show no cowardice in standing as they do against guns without using any themselves, and in escalading and taking forts which we cannot retake. The Affghans of the capital are a little more civilized; but the country gentlemen and their retainers are, I fancy, much the same kind of people as those Alexander encountered.

The Juzailchees were sent out to skirmish: they attacked the Shah bagh, and cleared the west end of it. They then joined Major Thain, who, with a squadron of horse, and two companies of infantry, attacked a garden beyond it, drove the enemy out with great slaughter, and burned the garden house. Lieut. Eyre, at the same time, through a small opening in the wall of the Shah bagh immediately under the captured fort, played with a six-pounder upon the gate of the garden. Not being supported, however, these advantages were lost, and the enemy being re-enforced in great numbers, the above troops were forced to retreat, having lost a considerable number of men; *par exemple*, fifteen of the Juzailchees out of ninety-five were left on the field. I have not the actual numbers of the Europeans and Sipahees who were slain.

The gun was saved with great difficulty; and here a great fault was committed in sending one gun only. In the Marquis of Hasting's time an order was published prohibiting a single gun being sent out, in consequence of the disastrous consequences attending its being unsupported during the Nepalese war. But all seems confusion here. Those who, at the head of affairs, ought to have been directing everything, appear to be in consternation. General Elphinstone from his first arrival in the country was in ill health, which gradually increased on him, till his mind became nearly as much enervated as

his body; and so conscious was he of his own state, that he had written to Government to give up the command, and also to Gen. Nott, at Kandahar, to come up and take his place until a new commander of the forces was appointed.

We are now in circumstances which require a man of energy to cope with them. Major Thain is said to be a good adviser, but, unfortunately, it is not always in the multitude of counsellors that there is wisdom; and so many proffered their advice and crossed his, that Thain withdrew his own, and only now answers such questions as are put to him.

8th.—At four in the morning a sharp firing was heard, for which, at the time, we could not account, but afterward found that it proceeded from the captured fort, which the enemy had attempted to mine and re-capture. They had succeeded in making a large hole, but being repulsed, they set the fort on fire. At daybreak, finding Sturt's servant still in the verandah, and knowing that his master was to have been up at half past four, I went to the door to inquire, and found that the General, or rather his advisers, had decided that nothing was to be done.

The enemy are using our guns against us, throwing shot into cantonments from Mahmood Khan's fort.

Our men are so over-worked that it is intended to give them rest to-day.

Sturt went out early this morning and found the garden next the Commissariat fort unoccupied; he immediately took the sappers, under Lieut. Laing, with fifty of the Juzailchees, under Mackenzie, to cover them, and sent for two companies of Sipahees as a covering party while they pulled down the wall, which was quickly accomplished.

There is a report that we are to be attacked in cantonments to-night. Sturt went to Gen. Elphinstone and Brigadier Anquetil, who both gave him *carte blanche*, and desired that all his instructions should be obeyed. He has, accordingly, placed 15 guns in position. We have only two artillery officers in cantonments that are available, now Waller is wounded; they are Eyre and Warburton. We have no laboratory men—no other engineer officer than Sturt, who, weak as he is, has to do everything.

When we came into cantonments, last November, Sir Willoughby Cotton commanded the forces in Affghanistan; and Sale, as the second here, and commandant in cantonments, had the troops paraded, and their posts assigned, in case of any sudden attack. These troops (the 1st brigade), who knew their posts, are now far from us, and no arrangement of a similar kind has been made since their departure; so Sturt has had the officers told off to their several stations, has paraded them at them, and goes his rounds before he goes to bed, to see that they are all at their posts.

It is said that Mohun Lull has named the man who killed poor Sir Alexander Burnes; he also writes that there are only 500 Kohistanees in the city, and that otherwise all is going on well in the Kuzzilbash quarter of the city, where he resides.

It was reported to-day that the city was on fire, but it proved to be a village fired by the Kohistanees.

Conolly writes from the Bala Hissar, accounting for the firing we heard this morning. An attack was made on the Bala Hissar, which was repulsed: the enemy were seized with a panic, fancied they were attacked from the rear, and began to fight among themselves; cries of *Aman* were heard in cantonments by several persons besides myself. Conolly also writes that he has not only heard that we are to be attacked to-night, but that the enemy are making up bhoosa bags with which to fill up the ditch.

Sturt is gone to lie down to recruit his strength, knowing that I never dose now till daylight, but sit up to watch passing events, and give the alarm if need be, and have kept my nightly watch ever since the insurrection commenced. Our troops as yet are stanch; and if we are attacked, and succeed in repelling the enemy, we shall be able to keep our own until Sale's brigade arrives.

The enemy showed to-day on the heights, in force about 3000; but we cannot cope with them, so content ourselves by throwing shrapnell at them. Eyre threw some with great precision; the distance was, however, very great, and we consequently did little execution. We also greatly feel the want of laboratory men to cut fuzees, &c.

Sturt asked for a party to occupy the village of Behmaru, but it was not given. The Envoy was anxious to secure this place, but all was in vain; and, as we neglected our advantages, the enemy availed themselves of them, and Meer Musjudee threw himself and 1000 followers into it. We have thereby lost 900 maunds of ottah, which was paid for.

Two forts near the village are in our possession.

An attack expected at about 3 o'clock this afternoon.

Brig. Shelton came in from the Bala Hissar with six companies of the Shah's 6th, one horse artillery-gun, and one of the mountain-train.

The people in cantonments expect wonders from his prowess and military judgement. I am of a different opinion, knowing that he is not a favourite with either his officers or men, and is most anxious to get back to Hindostan. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I believe he possesses much personal bravery; but, notwithstanding, I consider his arrival as a dark cloud overshadowing us. Most glad shall I be to find that, by his energy, the general is roused up to active measures. It is, perhaps, a part of his complaint (but, nevertheless, equally unfortunate for us), that Gen. Elphinstone vacillates on every point. His own judgment appears to be good, but he is swayed by the last speaker; and Capt. Grant's cold cautiousness, and Capt. Bellew' doubts on every subject, induce our chief to alter his opinions and plans every moment.

At the Bala Hissar they began to be much cramped in their correspondence with cantonments, which became very limited; a hurkaru stealing out at night, and returning with an answer early in the morning, being now the only means of communication; and the same man never went for more than five days without being either killed or confined.

The Affghans, having persons who can read English, French, and Latin, were aware of all our secrets.

Mohun Lull and the Naïb Shureef were our newsgivers from the city, and always gave intelligence of the arrival of any new chief or body of troops; also doing, or saying they were doing, all in their power to enter into some sort of terms. The King is gradually getting worse and worse,

and has quite lost all his self-possession. He has warned the females of his zenana (amounting in number to 860) that in the event of the cantonments falling into the hands of the rebels, he should administer poison to them all! At least these are the reports gathered from his few immediate attendants; how far they may be relied on as true, or whether they are merely set afloat to blind us to his own share in the insurrection, it is difficult to say.

Brig. Shelton made over the command to Major Ewart, 54th N. I., and left the Bala Hissar at 4 A.M., and arrived in cantonments before daybreak, without meeting with any opposition on the road.

The troops were left in position as follows:

At the city gate of the fort were 2 companies of the 54th, 1 gun horse artillery, 1 of the mountain-train. At the centre square above the palace 2 companies 54th, 2 guns horse artillery, 1 eighteen-pounder, and just under it a nine-pounder. The Sikh horse encamped in the square.

At the Lahore gate, 100 men of the 54th, under Lieut. Melville, with 50 of the Shah's Juzailchees. On a bastion to the left of the Haram Khana, 1 company of the 54th. On the upper tower of the fort, commanding the whole, 100 of the 54th, 100 Juzailchees, and 1 gun of the mountain-train. The remainder were in reserve at the palace square, with their different parts allotted to them in case of an alarm.

On this day the men at the Bala Hissar were put on half rations in consequence of the large supplies of ottah required to be sent to cantonments, and which Capt. Kirby is getting stored as fast as he can.

Ammunition, by the directions of the Major-Gen., is now beginning to be thrown into the Bala Hissar, under charge of Capt. Walker, commanding detachment of 4th local horse, who has orders to bring back all the ottah he can collect in time to return before daylight; but, owing to the men (who are half starved in cantonments) always, immediately on depositing their loads, leaving their ranks to forage for themselves, not more than half the loads usually arrived.

We now began to bombard the city in earnest from Nicholl's battery, beginning at eight o'clock every evening, and continuing until eleven, firing at intervals of about ten minutes from the 5½ inch mortar, and the nine-pounder. The effect was beautiful to us in the cantonments; but it is to be feared that was almost the only effect it had, as, from all we could learn, four or five were the usual average of victims, being a very small number for so great an expenditure of ammunition. Amenoolah Khan's house was the principal object of attack, and one or two shells went completely through it; but as, immediately on the shelling commencing, he and all his family left it for some other residence, the loss of a few of his horses was the utmost injury he suffered.

Regarding Brig. Shelton's view of affairs, it may be remarked that, from the first of his arrival in the country, he appears to have greatly disliked it, and his disgust has now considerably increased. His mind is set on getting back to Hindostan; and it is worthy of remark that from the first, on going into the Bala Hissar, he desired Capt. Nicholl to fill all the ammunition boxes, as fast as it was expended, with flour (ottah), to be ready for provision in case of retreat.

9th.—The enemy showed themselves again on the hills, and were permitted to remain unmolested.

The envoy wished troops to be sent out; but deference was paid to Shelton's opinion, who would not attack them, being all for a retreat to Hindostan.

10th.—Having bullied us with impunity yesterday, the enemy again showed themselves on the hills, and rushed with a shout into the village of Behmaru, which they occupy and vacate as the whim takes them. They also lined the Siah Sung hills, came down to the river, and kept up such a heavy fire, that we could not keep our gun outside the rear gate, and we had to bring it in.

The enemy are in possession of several forts near us. The 44th and part of every corps were out under Shelton, but considerable delay took place, and it was only on the envoy assuring the general that he would take the responsibility of the act on himself that the troops were sent out.

They attacked the Rikabashees' fort. By some blunder, Bellew did not go at the gate, but blew in the wicket. Lieut. Bird, of the Shah's 6th, and a few others, got in, when the enemy's cavalry charged, and the 44th turned—"sauve qui peut." Here Shelton proved a trump. Cool and brave, he with much difficulty succeeded in rallying the men, to save those inside, and when they did return they fought like lions. It was a very fearful affair, as witnessed by nearly all in cantonments; and the men, both Europeans and natives, in the second attack, behaved with undaunted courage. Capt. Westmacott (37th) had been skirmishing in front, and commanded the advance, No. 2 and 3 companies of the 37th. On the retreat of the troops, Lieut. Hawtrey (37th), Capt. MacCrea (44th), Lieut. Cadett (44th), Lieut. Bird (6th), Lieut.-Col. Mackrell (44th), and two or three soldiers (44th), and a havildar and four or five of the 37th, were left in the fort, having rushed in at the kirkee (wicket). Lieuts. Hawtrey and Cadett returned to endeavour to get more of the men up. Bird's account of the affair is, that when they got in they experienced a most decided opposition, but the enemy rushing out at the opposite gate, they took advantage of it, when abandoned by their comrades, to close the entrance, securing the chain with a bayonet. The enemy, seeing the success of their own charge outside, rallied, and cutting a hole in the door with their long knives, they got out the bayonet, and opened the gate again. Bird and one Sipahee (37th), and one or two others, retreated to a room, in which there were two horses, and, through a small opening, kept up a sharp fire, luckily killing the few who saw them enter, and afterward picking off all who passed in their way. Above thirty were thus killed, fifteen of whom fell to Bird's share, and six to that of the Sipahee of the 37th, for which the Sipahee was afterward promoted, by Bird's especial request to Major Griffith. Col. Mackrell went to the door, to look if relief was coming, disregarding Bird's advice to remain with him coolly and steadily till they got re-enforcements. The colonel was wounded and fell, and the cavalry cut him up dreadfully. He was wounded in both legs, one below the knee, the other on the thigh; he had three cuts in the back, two toes cut off, and three or four cuts on the arm, which was taken off immediately after he was brought in. Poor man! He said, "This is not battle, it is murder!" He still lives, but is not likely to survive; better had he been shot at once. To persons accustomed to civilized warfare, these details must be revolting. Even a dead enemy is never pass-

ed without a cut at the body. They cry "Aman" themselves, but never show mercy to Kaffirs.

Capt. MacCrea was in the fort all but one arm, by which they seized him and dragged him out; his was a very similar fate, but his sufferings were less protracted, for he was dead when found, with, I believe, his scull cloven.

Poor Westacott of the 37th was cut to pieces near the kirkee. We must have killed a great number of the enemy. Mr. Bird says he himself saw above 100 killed, but that as fast as a man fell, others came and dragged him away. Major Scott in vain tried to rally the 44th: excited to tears, he called for volunteers to follow him, when a private, named Stuart, was the only man who offered to go, and for which, on its reaching the envoy's notice, he was, by Sir William's earnest entreaty to Shelton, promoted sergeant.

When the storming party came up the second time under Shelton, a cruel scene took place. The enemy could not have had less than 150 killed or wounded. We had ourselves fully that number. There were twenty-six killed and twenty-eight wounded of the 44th; above fifty killed and wounded of the 37th. I did not hear the number of the Shah's 6th, and have not access to records; not that they are kept very correctly, for Sturt was never returned as a wounded officer.

The conduct of the 37th is highly spoken of: they drove the enemy (who had got on the top of a bastion) with their bayonets clean over the side, where they were received on the bayonets of the 44th.

The dreadful slaughter of our men is attributable to a desperate rush of Affghan cavalry. It is supposed that some very influential person was in the fort, and has been killed. A body richly dressed was found, but the head was carried away. This they do when they cannot take the body, as the head then receives Mussulman burial, which the Affghans are very particular in observing. A horse was taken, and a sword that was much bent; both are said to have been recognised as having lately been in possession of Moollah Mobend of Zoormut. Four other forts were taken, from which the enemy ran on the capture of the Rikabashees'.

Shelton led the troops out towards the Siah Sung hill, where the enemy was in force, and where Eyre did great execution with two horse artillery guns. The troops remained out till dark, when, having completely overawed the enemy, they returned. Three times the sappers were ordered (and as often countermanded) for the purpose of blowing up these forts and firing them. At length it was decided to keep the Rikabashees' fort, and to occupy it. There is known to be a large store of boussa and lucerne there; and we hope also to find grain. Zulfar Khan's fort was also occupied by us. These forts were not above 400 yards from cantonments. The farthest fort is memorable as the spot where a murder was committed not long ago, and was perhaps 1000 yards distant; of this the four bastions were blown up and the place itself fired. As Brigadier Shelton has always been supposed to be greatly disliked by his men, it has excited much astonishment that the men of the 44th were all inquiring after the "little brig.," as they call him. They say they are ready to be led to any work there may be for them to do.

This event has already produced its effect. Khojeh Meer of Behmaru has sent his salaam to know our pleasure. The envoy's reply was, "If you wish to keep your two forts, sell us grain."

The events of to-day must have astonished the enemy after our supineness, and shown them that, when we have a mind to do so, we can punish them.

Our spirits are raised and depressed by the barometer of public events. Could anything have roused us at first to action, the insurrection had been crushed in the bud. When the 44th turned and fled to-day, the general asked the envoy if he was prepared to retreat to Jellalabad to-night; but Sir William replied that he would do his duty, and never desert the king; and, if the army left him, would die at his post!

Now we are uppermost we hold up our heads, and hope not to have to sculk into the Bala Hissar without baggage. Were Sturt's advice taken, we should nightly send ammunition there, and, when a sufficiency is conveyed, all make one bold night march in very light marching order, just what we can carry on our horses. In there, we can be lodged (not comfortably, I grant) in the houses of the inhabitants, who would be well paid for vacating them. They have laid in their stores for the winter, which would be bought at any price; and then we might defy all Affghanistan for any time. However, it seems hopeless to think on such subjects, for those who with a great end in view might be brought to abandon public works and property for a time, will not consent to part with their own! A horse, with handsome silver-mounted saddle, &c., has been brought in by Lieut. Vanrenen, who sold it for 120 rupees to some one who fancied it because it was supposed to have belonged to a chief.

Sturt's recovery and energy appear little short of miraculous; he nearly possesses the power of ubiquity. He cannot yet mount his own tall horses, and must astonish my little Cape horse, for he gallops him the whole day from bastion to gate, and gate to bastion, laying guns, and off like a shot; his aim being to show the enemy that all our batteries and gates had guns in position, which we could fire nearly simultaneously, for they know how weak we are in artillery officers.

The enemy kept up a smart fire for some hours; the bullets flew about briskly, and fell plentifully in the verandahs of Capt. Boyd's house.

An artilleryman was killed while sponging his gun; also two bheestees in the Mission Compound.

Sir William told Sturt this morning that if we beat the enemy to-day, he felt convinced that in five days they would all be off; and the circumstance of Khojeh Meers salaam is a favourable sign.

To-morrow early we are to endeavour to get grain from Khojeh Meer at Behmaru.

The grain in the Commissariat fort is still burning, and the fort itself still in the possession of the enemy, who annoy us from thence and from the Shah bagh and Mahmood Khan's fort. The latter place we are not strong enough to take unless Sale's brigade or Nott's arrives; this is much to be regretted, for in all disturbances in Cabul whichever party kept possession of that fort was always the conqueror in the end.

Gen. Nott may be here with his brigade in three weeks: we have plenty of ammunition, and if we can get grain we may hold out till they arrive.

11*th*.—Yesterday's lesson has made the enemy shy, and very few showed themselves on the hill,

and those were all horsemen: none were seen on the Siah Sung hills.

Two regiments were sent to cover the foraging party collecting grain from the captured forts. 600 maunds of wheat have been brought in, boussa, &c.; this gives us three and a half days' provisions.

Ottah is ready for us at the Bala Hissar, and the chief of Behmaru has tendered his civilities again, now that Meer Musjudee's people have retired from the village; but our 900 maunds of grain that were paid for are gone.

A large grave, or rather pit, full of bodies has been found outside the Rikabashees' fort, which the enemy had not time to cover over before they retreated.

Bad news from Candahar. A party of the Shah's troops under Lieut. Crawford, who were escorting state prisoners, are said to have been attacked and cut to pieces, and it is feared that Capt. Sanders (Engineers) was with them. Capt. Skinner is reported to have been killed in endeavouring to escape out of the city in women's clothes. A dog of Col. Dennie's, and another of Major Kershaw's, having come into cantonments, has caused much excitement: as we have not heard from Sale's camp for some time, we think it may be a proof that they are on their way back.

To-day we have been throwing shells into Mahmood Khan's fort, both from the cantonments and also from the Bala Hissar. We hear that to-morrow night the enemy intend to take the cantonments, and that they have fifteen ladders to escalade with, and bags filled with boussa to cross by filling up the ditch. Our men are all in high spirits.

Meer Musjudee has sent to Sir William to say he will come in to treat; his vakeel was in cantonments yesterday. The Ghilzyes have been (it is said) brought off by the envoy. It was a reenforcement of 1000 Ghazees that joined the enemy yesterday at the Rikabashees' fort; it is supposed that they suffered very severely in the action.

12th.—Arrangements have been made by Sir William with Meer Musjudee, who is to receive 60,000 rupees if he brings in Codrington's regiment: he, poor man, has died of his wounds. The expected attack on the cantonments has not taken place, but there was a good deal of firing all night, and shells were thrown from one o'clock at Mahmood Khan's fort.

13th.—The Ghilzye chiefs expressed a wish to treat: however that may be, the enemy showed themselves on their favourite heights (Behmaru); they are supposed to be reenforcements from Zoormut. They took two guns up with them, which they played upon cantonments. On this Brig. Shelton was sent with a force against them. It was with great difficulty the envoy persuaded the general and brigadier to consent to a force going out; and it was late before the troops were ready, consisting of—

A squadron of Anderson's horse, 120 men, under himself:

The Envoy's cavalry escort, about 60 men, under Le Geyt:

The 5th cavalry, all but their usual guards, about 250, under Col. Chambers, being two squadrons, the rest being with Sale:

A troop of the 1st and another of the 4th locals, or Skinner's and Alexander's horse, under Capt. Walker:

6 companies of the 44th, under Major Scott; 4 weak companies of 40 or 160 men, of the 37th; the Shah's 6th, the 5th, I believe six companies each.

There were three columns; two companies of the 37th led the left column under Thain, with the 44th in the centre and Shah's 6th in rear. The right column was under Scott, the reserve under Major Swayne.

Civilians and women are fond of honour and glory, and perhaps do not sufficiently temper valour with discretion.

It appears that the Affghans attribute our forbearance, whatever may be its motive, to fear, which gives them courage to beard us lions in our den.

The General again (as in the late attack on the Rikabashee fort) asked the Envoy if he would take the responsibility of sending out the troops on himself; and, on his conceding, the force was sent. The Envoy had also much angry discussion on this point with Brig. Shelton.

But all these delays of conference lost much time, and it was between four and five P.M. before operations commenced.

The Affghan cavalry charged furiously down the hill upon our troops in close column. The 37th N. I. were leading, the 44th in the centre, and the Shah's 6th in the rear. No square or balls were formed to receive them. All was a regular confusion: my heart felt as if it leaped to my teeth when I saw the Affghans ride clean through them. The onset was fearful. They looked like a great cluster of bees, but we beat them and drove them up again.

The 5th cavalry and Anderson's horse charged them up the hill again, and drove them along the ridge.

Lieut. Eyre quickly got the horse-artillery gun into the gorge between the Behmaru hills and that to the left (the gorge leading to the plain towards the lake): from this position he soon cleared that plain, which was covered with horsemen. There was another stand made at the extreme left; but we were successful on all points, captured both guns, brought one of them in, for which we had spare horses in the field; and having no means of bringing the other away, it was spiked, upset, and tumbled down the hill.

The enemy had taken these guns up the hill with the king's elephants; but, unfortunately, they had sent the animals back, or they would have been fine prizes for us.

Brigadier Shelton, perhaps not considering the lateness of the hour, deferred his return to cantonments until the shades of evening had closed over the troops; and it being impossible to distinguish friend from foe, we could not assist with our guns from cantonments, which in daylight would have swept the plain, and have prevented the enemy from following up our return to cantonments.

The enemy cut in between cantonments and our men, and their horsemen came up close to Sale's bastion. Our anxiety was very great, for all this time our front was attacked (it is said by 400 men); the firing was sharp and long continued. The brigadier did not get back till 8 o'clock; and it was some time after that before all was quiet. When the men of the 37th were upbraided for turning, they replied, "We only retreated when we saw the Europeans run, and knew we should not be supported."

We moved into Sturt's house this evening, as Brigadier Shelton was grumbling about the cold in a tent.

The enemy saluted our house with six-pound shot, which rattled about and passed us, and several struck the house; one was imbedded in the wall under Mrs. Sturt's window. At night we

threw shell as usual into Mahmood Khan's fort, and could plainly distinguish the sound of "Ullah ul Alla," as they bursted.

Major Thain and Captain Paton were wounded; the latter had to suffer amputation of the arm; the former had a deep flesh wound in the shoulder, twelve inches long, and one deep.

Sturt, going his rounds at night, narrowly escaped being shot in the back.

14*th*.—We had a quiet night; which was a great blessing, as Sturt was suffering very much from the wound in his face.

The chiefs complained that we broke faith with them yesterday in attacking them when they had expressed a wish to treat: however, we were not the aggressors, for we did not do so till they had fired at us. To-day they have requested we will not fire on the hill, which has been agreed to: they are (they say) busy searching for their dead. They had lights on the hill all night, burying their slain, and are now searching for swords and anything they can find, picking up balls of all kinds.

A number of swords have been taken.

The two sons of Abdoollah Khan are said to be wounded. We could hear Abdoollah Khan's nagura beating on the hill quite distinctly.

Had Sale's brigade been here, it is probable we should not be so peaceable; but our men are so hard worked that they require a day's rest.

The Affghan cavalry yesterday were not inclined to try a second charge: Colonel Chambers invited an attack, which they declined. Their infantry seem to be contemptible in the plain, but they fight hard when cooped up in forts. They fire from rests, and then take excellent aim; and are capital riflemen, hiding behind any stone sufficiently large to cover their head, and quietly watching their opportunities to snipe off our people. There is also a peculiarity in the Affghan mode of fighting—that of every horseman carrying a foot soldier behind him to the scene of action, where he is dropped without the fatigue of walking to his post. The horsemen have two and three matchlocks or juzails each, slung at their backs, and are very expert in firing at the gallop. These juzails carry much farther than our muskets.

The envoy went out to meet some chiefs in Zulficar Khan's fort: they kept him waiting a long time, and then said they could not come. Meer Jaffier Khan, the son of Naib Shureef, has returned from collecting the revenue, with 300 Hazir Bashes: being all Kuzzilbashes, we presume he will not be against us. The old Naib has been fined 1000 rupees for having associated with, and eaten with, us infidels.

Meer Musjudee is said to be sick even unto death, in the city. A cossid has arrived from Macgregor, and a letter from Sale of the 9th from Gundamuk. The enemy are evidently spreading false information, through persons professing to be travellers. No travellers are on the roads now. Cossids are scarcely procurable; the few that have been sent to recall the brigade have not succeeded in their attempt. The man who went on the 6th, was stopped and his letter read by a man who was educated at Loodianah. The enemy have another sçavant, who imbibed literature at the College of Delhi. There is also a prisoner, a Mr. Tierney, in the city; whether he assists them or not we do not know.

The day has passed off quietly, and we look forward to a good night's rest, which is most desirable for Sturt.

15*th*.—After a quiet night, we have had a quiet day.

Our camels are dying fast: we see several dragged away daily; and as they are only just thrown without the gate, the air is tainted by their carcasses.

Major Pottinger and Mr. Haughton have made their escape from the Kohistan; the former has a ball in his leg; the latter has lost his hand, and is severely wounded in the back and neck. During the time they were beleaguered in Charikar, they were, in common with the Sipahees of the Shah's 4th regiment (Ghoorkas), subjected to great misery from the want of water; the allowance for the last four days being one wine-glass full per diem for each man: the horses they rode on had not had a drop to drink for ten days, nor food for five.

The site of the cantonments was badly chosen. In addition to there being no water, which of itself rendered the site unfit for a military post, their position was completely commanded on two sides by the enemy; who, having cut off their supply of water from above, gave the few defenders no rest by night or day. Added to these trying circumstances, the garrison were encumbered with their wives and children, who had been encouraged to come up from Hindostan in great numbers. It is affirmed that they did so by permission of Lord Auckland; it being supposed that they would have no wish to quit the country with their families settled along with them.

The not being allowed to bring up their families, even at their own expense, was always considered as a heavy grievance by the Europeans; but, in their instance, the wisdom of the refusal has been proved. But to return to the Ghoorkas; harassed by the enemy, and encumbered by their families, they sank into a state of perfect apathy; not so the Punjabee artillerymen who served the guns. Part of these deserted to the enemy; and, on the following day, had the insolence to return for the purpose of seducing away their comrades. It was in trying to arrest some of these that poor Haughton was so dreadfully wounded: perceiving his intentions, the Jemadar of artillery (a Punjabee) snatched Lieutenant Rose's sword from him, and with it cut off Haughton's hand. It was with great difficulty that Pottinger and Haughton effected their escape. Somewhere between Akterae and Istalif, during the night, they strayed from the other officers. Finding themselves separated from the rest, they determined to make the best of their way, secreting themselves in a hollow during the day, and traveling all night; but Haughton's wounds, particularly those in the neck and back, prevented his urging his horse beyond a walk. On arriving at Cabul, they decided on going straight through the city in the night; they were challenged, and Pottinger gave a Persian reply, which the guard evidently judged a doubtful one, as it was followed by a volley being fired at them, but fortunately without effect, and they pursued their way to cantonments, arriving at the gate in such a state of exhaustion that had they had a mile farther to go they never could have sat on their horses. From them I heard the particulars of Maule's, Rattray's, and Wheeler's deaths. They were sitting together, I believe at breakfast, when some of their own men attacked them: they are said to have set their backs against the wall and defended themselves until they were deliberately shot.

The report to-day is that Abdoollah Khan's

sons are killed; that Amenoolah's two sons are killed, and Shumsoodeen's two brothers wounded; the latter are nephews of the Ameer, Dost Mahommed.

It is also reported that the enemy say they cannot meet us in the field, but they will starve us out of the country.

The Envoy has information that we are to be attacked to-night on three faces of the cantonments; this is the first night of the moon: Sturt's Affghan's servants say that, if an attack is made, it will not be for three nights to come, as at present they are all feasting.

There is a native report that a Fouj has been seen at Seh Baba, which has been magnified into Sale's brigade on the way up; but from letters of the 9th, received yesterday, it is evident that at the time they were written none of our letters had reached them; and they were misled by false reports industriously spread by the enemy, in the guise of travellers.

16*th*.—There was some quick firing heard about one in the morning. The news we gather from people who have come in from the city is, that Nawaub Zeman Khan has paid his troops three lakhs of rupees, at the rate of ten rupees for each suwar, and six for each foot-soldier; that they are in high glee, and say they will attack the Chaoney.

The 25,000 men that were to do so last night did not make their promise good.

Some Goorkhas that came in to-day say that they have no information regarding Dr. Grant, but that they saw Lt. Rose at Karabagh.

A report has come in from the Bala Hissar that Sale has gone on to Jellalabad, which Brig. Shelton told me he believed, on the principle of "Being out of a scrape, keep so." Most people believe the report to be a ruse of the enemy, to shut out hope of relief coming to us. We, however, doubt Sale's having ever received the order to return.

The city seems to be much quieter, and some ottah and grapes were brought very early this morning to the gate to sell. The king has written to say he wishes to offer terms to the rebels; but Sir William says that they must first be sent for his approbation, lest his majesty should offer too much.

A quiet night, as far as regarded hostilities, with plenty of rain.

17*th*.—We had a gloomy day, with rain at intervals.

Another report that the 1st brigade is gone on to Jellalabad; coupled, however, with its being only to deposite their sick in safety, and that a force of 10,000 men have arrived there to our assistance from Peshawer.

Jubbar Khan (a brother of the Dost's) has been appointed Wuzeer to Zeman Shah Khan, who has coined rupees in his own name.

This has been a good grain day: at 12 o'clock we had got in 400 maunds at two Cabul seers the rupee, and ottah at one. The Cabul seer is equal to six Hindostanee seers. The Affghans continued bringing in grain and ottah all the day.

18*th*.—This morning, at 2 o'clock, an attempt was made to throw in ammunition into the Bala Hissar, but it failed; and Capt. Walker and Lieut. Webb reported that the bridge, which was to have been repaired by the Wuzeer, had not been touched.

Accounts received from Jellalabad, by a cossid, who brought a letter to Sir William, which he had torn in three pieces for the better concealment of its contents; on seeing the enemy he swallowed another small one; he was searched, but brought in the torn letter without discovery. He reports that, after Macgregor gave him the letter, he delayed his departure a little; that there was a grand *Larye* at Jellalabad; that Sale had thrown his force into the fort there; that the enemy had come down with 40,000 men, and Sale had sallied out and beat them, pursuing the enemy eight or ten miles to Futteabad.

Another report stated that Sale had been obliged to spike three of his guns. A few hours afterward another courier arrived with a letter from Sale, by which it appears that the enemy surrounded the fort, in number about 5000, and that he ordered a sally under Col. Monteath, of 600 infantry, all his cavalry, and three guns. The cavalry maintained their character, and behaved nobly, and the enemy got severely handled.

My letter, containing a précis of goings-on here from the 2d to the 8th inclusive, had reached Sale, and was the only detail of events that had been received; it was sent on to the commander-in-chief, and a copy of it to Lord Auckland. Sale had written to Capt. Mackeson at Peshawer for provisions, ammunition, and troops.

It had been wished that this blow below should be followed up by another here; but the council at the general's was, as usual, both divided and wild. One plan was to sally out, sword in hand, and attack the town—a measure that must have been attended with great loss on our side, even if victorious; with the pleasing certainty of all who were left in cantonments having their throats cut during the absence of the troops.

The next proposition was the taking of Killa Mahmood Khan. But nearly the same objection existed there. With a large force, and much probable loss, we might take it; but we could not destroy it quickly, and could not afford troops to garrison it. It is rather fortunate that the last-mentioned attack was not made; for a few hours afterward we had certain information that, instead of 200 men, the enemy have nearly all their infantry there.

A report was this day brought to the king that the Jemadar of Juzailchees, who commanded at the Upper Town, above the Bala Hissar, had deserted his post during the night, accompanied by two non-commissioned officers of his guard. His majesty was extremely wroth, and ordered all the men to be relieved, and another party, consisting of Rohillas from the Peshawer territory, to be sent in their place. Most fortunate was the discovery and the prompt measures taken on the occasion; as it was discovered, from secret information sent in by Mohun Lull during the day, that the traitor had sold the tower to the rebel Sirdars for a hundred gold mohurs. This man had the effrontery to return in the evening, and declare, with the greatest *sang froid*, that he had only been away on his own business into the city; and angrily demanded why he was deprived of his command. He was, however, put in irons, and confined in the fort prison.

Mohun Lull's account stated that arrangements had been made to give up the tower that same night to a party who were to come round by the back of the hill. Had this plot succeeded, the Bala Hissar might have been taken, as the tower commands it.

19*th*.—At two in the morning an alarm; which soon died away. Shortly after this the ammu-

nition was sent off to the Bala Hissar, under charge of Colonel Oliver; who sent back to report that in consequence of the bridge being out of repair, and there being water in the Nullah, he could not proceed, and desired instructions how to act. The reply from the general was, if he could not proceed, he was to return: when this arrived, Oliver had got over with the ammunition; but I suppose he misunderstood the order, for he recrossed and came back again. With very few exceptions, the 5th N. I. may be said to be inefficient from the commanding officers to the lowest rank.

In the course of the day we got in a good deal of grain; but the general appears to be kept in a deplorable state of ignorance. Although reports are sent in daily, he scarcely knows what supplies are in store, or what is our real daily consumption. Affairs are curiously carried on: for instance, the Shah's 6th indent for six maunds daily; the 37th, a much weaker corps, for about twenty! These indents are all signed by authority! The quantity required is easily calculated, as each fighting man gets a half seer of wheat, and each camp follower six chattahs per diem. There is much roguery going on in the regimental bazars, where the Chowdrys make money in connexion with Bunneahs.

They say the 6th have a full bazar from Loot at the forts taken lately, and do not require to draw for their followers: the 37th have 5000 registered camp followers, and other corps much in the same proportions.

The Affghans are highly indignant at Pottinger and Haughton having ridden through the town. It certainly appears to us very wonderful that they did so in safety.

There was some firing in the city about sunset, both guns and volleys of musketry. The rebel chiefs are supposed to have attacked the Kuzzilbashes in the vicinity of Morad Khana.

The enemy have sent to the Kohistan for the guns that are at Charikar, and on their arrival propose giving us battle. A plan was laid to sally out from the Bala Hissar towards the city, and destroy a Hamaum exactly in front of the Ghuznee gate. In this place reside a barber and a blacksmith, two of the best shots in Cabul, who have picked off many of our men. They completely commanded the loopholes with their long rifles; and although the distance is probably 300 yards, yet they seldom fail to put a ball through the clothes or into the body of any one passing them. It was sufficient for the loophole to be darkened, for it to be fired at; and it became an amusement to place a cap on the end of a pole above the walls, which was sure to be quickly perforated by many balls.

I believe this plan was never put in execution, and only, like many others, proved a source of speculation and conversation.

20*th*.—The firing in the city yesterday was consequent upon some persons having taken refuge with the Kuzzilbashes, who refused to give them up, as being contrary to the Affghan rules of hospitality. There has been more fighting among themselves to day.

The latest report is that the Ghilzyes, and Kohistanees, and all the people who come from a distance, are anxious to return to their own homes, finding that there is no more plunder to be had, and sundry hard knocks being all that they are likely to obtain. However, they have been requested to stay for a few days, just to see how the Chaoney is taken when the guns arrive from the Kohistan. These same guns cannot be very formidable, for they are said to have been spiked at Charikar; and, moreover, the carriages are broken down—all split at the elevating screw.

The enemy are now talking of pitching camps on the other side of the hills towards the lake, and also on the Siah Sung encamping ground.

There was a report to day that a large force was coming in with the guns, for which the rebels have sent the king's elephants. In consequence of this report, and another that the enemy had taken possession of a fort in our rear, six companies of infantry and two troops of horse were sent out, but only a few stragglers were to be seen; and the forts were all peaceably occupied by women and children as usual.

Camels and tattoos are dying fast, and the air is most unpleasantly scented at times.

It is now rumoured that the reason Sale's brigade does not come up is, that the two regiments refuse to do so. This I do not believe; they may have been annoyed at the thoughts of returning; but I will never believe they refuse to aid us in our extremity, if they have the power to do so: and I consider the report to be of a piece with Brigadier Shelton's expression that Sale's brigade was safe and would keep so.

Nooreddin Khan (the chief of the Jan Baz, who so nimbly have found their way to Cabul) was the son of an old servant of Shah Shoojah's. In consequence of the father having been faithful to him through his misfortunes, the king was anxious to provide for the son, and gave him the command of the Jan Baz. On Nooreddin's arrival, Conolly sent him a message reproaching him for the ingratitude of his conduct, to which the young scamp replied, that all he could promise in our favour was a safe retreat from the country!

The Ghoorka corps is said to be entirely cut up, and we have no longer any hopes of Rose's or Grant's escape. The men are said to have been disgusted at having persons placed over them as native officers, who were raised at the same time as themselves, and who were not of higher caste.

We have as yet no news from Candahar, from whence we expect to hear of a similar rising to that here.

Walker succeeded in throwing ammunition into the Bala Hissar early this morning, as also 30,000 rupees, each horseman carrying a small bag of coin.

To-day part of the ammunition was removed into Westmacott's house; some put under sheds, and the rest was left in the square: it seems there was fear of its being blown up by the enemy!

21*st*.—The enemy uncommonly quiet; said to be employed in manufacturing powder and shot, and hammering such of our shot as they pick up to fit their guns.

Some servants of Skinner's have gone to the Bala Hissar to Conolly; they report that their master is still safe in the city. Captain Drummond is under Zeman Shah Khan's protection.

Shumsuddeon Khan is said to be dying of his wounds.

At dinner-time Brigadier Shelton sent to Mr. Eyre, stating that the envoy had information that 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse were coming to set fire to our magazines with red-hot balls! How these balls were to be conveyed here red-hot is a mystery, as the enemy have no battery

to erect furnaces in: but nothing is too ridiculous to be believed; and really any horrible story would be sure to be credited by our panic-struck garrison.

It is more than shocking, it is shameful, to hear the way that officers go on croaking before the men: it is sufficient to dispirit them, and prevent their fighting for us.

There is said to be a kind of republican council in the city, composed of twelve chiefs, to whom the people at present pay obedience. I wonder what the new King, Zeman Shah Khan, and his Wuzeer thinks of this new power.

A man of Warburton's artillery has deserted, as also a havildar of Hoskins's regiment; the latter was received by Zeman Shah Khan with great honour, and told that all good Mussulmans were welcome. A house and shawls were given to him.

Our useless expenditure of ammunition is ridiculous. At the captured fort last night the garrison popped away 350 rounds at shadows, probably of themselves: however, we have plenty of it: 13 lakhs made up, and 900 barrels of powder, shot, bullets, &c., in store in profusion.

Shelton croaks about a retreat; and so much is openly said of our extremity, that were we obliged to fall back on Jellalabad, it is more than probable that there would be much desertion among the Mussulmans.

It is difficult to ascribe the just cause to the inactivity of the enemy: if they feared us, they would disperse; and if they mean to starve us, why do they allow us to get in supplies in the quantities they do? That something is in agitation there can be no doubt; and the most plausible idea is, that the enemy think that by keeping us on the alert so long for nothing, that we shall all relax in our vigilance, and give them an opportunity to attack the cantonments with success.

Sturt has in vain suggested that a picket of infantry and cavalry, with a couple of guns, be sent at daybreak up the hill towards Siah Sung, to cut off the supplies we see daily going into the town.

By purchasing them, we might induce the people to supply us largely, and at all events prevent the enemy obtaining them. I have no patience with those who say, "Oh, it is not ottah, it is only charcoal." Now our foes require charcoal as much as we do food, for they cannot make their gunpowder without it; and wood is very scarce in the city, for the poor people who used to bring it on donkeys have ceased to do so, lest it should be taken for nothing.

22*d*.—At two o'clock this morning Walker took the bedding for the artillery to the Bala Hissar.

This being considered a propitious day, the enemy lined the heights towards the lake. A party was sent to occupy the friendly village of Behmaru; but, as usual, delay was the order of the day, and it was deferred until the enemy had taken possession, though not in great force.

On the troops arriving there under Major Swayne, of the 5th, the enemy evacuated it: he, instead of allowing the men (as they themselves wished) to enter the village, kept them under hedges firing pot shots, on which the enemy re-occupied the position. The force sent out was one horse artillery gun, one mountain train ditto, one ressalah of Anderson's horse, one ditto Walker's, one ditto 5th cavalry, 400 5th N. I.; the whole under Major Swayne, 5th N. I. In the evening a re-enforcement was sent of the remainder of the 5th, under Col. Oliver. Lieut. Eyre wounded severely in the hand. The troops returned, having done nothing.

The Ghilzye chiefs say they have sworn on the Koran to fight against us; and so they must fight, but that they will not fight hard. This is what they have told Sir William through their emissaries. He is trying to treat with all parties: but the sanctity of an oath is evidently but little regarded; and what faith can we put in their assertions?

We have just heard that Capt. Woodburn, with 130 men, returning to India, was enticed into a fort at Shekoabad, a few marches on this side of Ghuznee, where they swore on the Koran to be our friends, and where the whole party were massacred. Poor Woodburn was represented as a strong man, who took four or five Golees to kill him! There is a report to-day that two regiments coming from Candahar have been cut up.

Grand dissensions in military councils. High and very plain language has been this day used by Brig. Shelton to Gen. Elphinstone; and people do not hesitate to say that our chief should be set aside: a mode of proceeding recommended a fortnight ago by Mr. Baness, the merchant.

The poor general's mind is distracted by the diversity of opinions offered; and the great bodily ailments he sustains are daily enfeebling the powers of his mind. He has lost two of his best advisers in Paton and Thain; the former confined by his wound, the latter declining to offer advice, from disgust at its being generally overruled, by the counsel of the last speaker being acted on.

There is much reprehensible croaking going on; talk of retreat, and consequent desertion of our Mussulman troops, and the confusion likely to take place consequent thereon. All this makes a bad impression on the men. Our soldiery like to see the officers bear their part in privation; it makes them more cheerful; but in going the rounds at night, officers are seldom found with the men. There are those that always stay at their posts on the ramparts, and the men appreciate them as they deserve. To particularize them would be too openly marking the rest; but their names will, I trust, be remembered to their honour and advantage hereafter. Among these, Capt. Bygrave, the paymaster-general, was conspicuous: he never slept away from his post (the battery near his house) for a single night, and took his full share of fatigue, without adverting to his staff appointment.

Col. Oliver is one of the great croakers. On being told by some men of his corps, with great *jee*, that a certain quantity of grain had been brought in, he replied, "It was needless, for they would never live to eat it." Whatever we think ourselves, it is best to put a good face on the matter.

The enemy are erecting sungahs on the heights above Behmaru.

23*d*.—We had firing of one sort or other all night. From the Bala Hissar they were shelling the city, and there was much firing from our ramparts.

At about two in the morning, in consequence of a resolution arrived at the preceding evening to submit no longer to the insults of the enemy (who, by occupying Behmaru, greatly annoyed

our foraging parties, and almost precluded our attempting to drive them off the hill immediately above that village, whither they were accustomed to resort in great numbers for the purpose of bravado, and also probably to prove our strength or weakness), Brig. Shelton marched out of cantonments with seventeen weak companies: I believe many of them did not muster above forty men. Those from the 44th were under the command of Major Swayne of the 5th N. I.; those from the 37th and Shah's 6th, under Major Kershaw of the 13th. All the 5th were employed under their own colonel (Oliver). One squadron of regular cavalry, and two detachments of irregular horse; one six-pound gun under Sergt. Mulhall, and 100 sappers and miners under Lieut. Laing.

This force ascended the hill immediately above Behmaru, dragging the gun with them with great difficulty, and thence up on the knoll overhanging the village. From hence they perceived that the village was in the possession of the enemy, who were discernible as they slept around their watch fires. A few rounds of grape from the gun quickly aroused them; and they sought cover in the houses and towers, from which they replied to our cannonade and musketry by a sharp and pretty well-sustained fire of juzails. Both officers and men were most anxious to be led against the village, to take it by storm, but the brigadier would not hear of it; and our men were helplessly exposed to the fire from behind the walls, which the enemy quickly loopholed for that purpose. After waiting until day dawned, and losing the opportunity of taking the enemy by surprise, a party was ordered under Major Swayne of the 5th, who, instead of at once leading his men through the principal entrance into the village, went to a small kirkee, which he reported himself unable to force, though this was afterward done by a few men pulling it down with their hands and kicking at it; and, after remaining there a considerable time, came back, having lost several of his men killed and wounded.

The enemy (as daylight dawned) were seen leaving the village in small parties: to cut these off, Walker was sent down to the plain, on the northwest side of the hill leading to the lake, with his irregular horse. At this time large bodies of the enemy were descried ascending the hill, near the road by which they used to issue from the city, and separated from that occupied by our troops only by a narrow gorge leading to the plain and lake beyond. To meet and oppose these, Brig. Shelton, leaving three companies of the 37th, under Major Kershaw, to maintain their original position, marched the remainder of the force along the ridge towards the gorge, taking with him also his solitary gun!

I had taken up my post of observation, as usual, on the top of the house, whence I had a fine view of the field of action, and where, by keeping behind the chimneys, I escaped the bullets that continually whizzed past me. Brig. Shelton having brought forward skirmishers to the brow of the hill, formed the remainder of his infantry into two squares, the one about 200 yards in rear of the other, the intervening space being crammed with our cavalry, who, from the nature of the ground, were exposed to the full fire of the enemy without being able to act themselves.

The number of the enemy's footmen must have been upward of 10,000 (some say 15,000), and the plain, on the N.W. of the hills, was swept by not less than 3000 or 4000 Affghan cavalry, whose rapid advance obliged Lieut. Walker to retreat up the hill, by which the enemy were enabled to throw fresh re-enforcements and ammunition into the village of Behmaru; a circumstance which rendered it difficult for him to hold his ground.

The fight continued till about 10 o'clock, by which time our killed and wounded became very numerous. In spite of the execution done by our shrapnell, the fire of the enemy told considerably more than ours did, from the superiority of their juzails and jingals over our muskets.

They also fought from behind sungahs and hillocks, while our men were perfectly exposed; our troops also labouring under the disadvantage of being drawn up in square, from an apprehension of an attack from the Affghan cavalry.

The vent of the gun became too hot for the artillerymen to serve it.

At this time, that is at about half past 9 or 10, a party of Ghazeeas ascended the brow of the hill, by the gorge, where they planted three standards close to each other, a red, a yellow, and a green one. It is possible that the brigadier might not have seen their advance; but when they had nearly attained the summit, they had an evident advantage over us, as their shots generally told in firing up at our men, whose persons were wholly exposed, while only a few of their heads were visible to our troops, and the old fault of firing too high most probably sent all our shots harmlessly over their heads, for to hit them it was requisite to fire on the ground. When they fairly appeared above ground, it was very evident that our men were not inclined to meet them. Every field-glass was now pointed to the hill with intense anxiety by us in cantonments, and we saw the officers urging their men to advance on the enemy. Most conspicuous were Mackintosh, Laing, Troup, Mackenzie, and Layton; who, to encourage the men, pelted the Ghazeeas with stones as they climbed the hill; and, to do the fanatics justice, they returned the assault with the same weapons. Nothing would do—our men would not advance, though this party did not appear to be 150 in number. At length one of the Ghazeeas rushed forward, waving his sword over his head: a Sipahee of the 37th darted forth and met him with his bayonet; but instead of a straight charge he gave him a kind of side stroke with it, and they both fell, and both rose again. Both were killed eventually; the Ghazeea was shot by another man. It was very like the scenes depicted in the battles of the Crusaders. The enemy rushed on: drove our men before them very like a flock of sheep with a wolf at their heels. They captured our gun. The artillerymen fought like heroes; two were killed at the gun; Sergeant Mulhall received three wounds; poor Laing was shot while waving his sword over the gun and cheering the men. It was an anxious sight, and made our hearts beat: it lasted but for a few minutes.

(Brig. Shelton says, that when our men ran, he ordered the halt to be sounded, at which the troops mechanically arrested their flight, and fell into their places!)

They ran till they gained the second square, which had not broken; and the men finding a stand, turned about, gave a shout, and then the Ghazeeas were, in their turn, panic-struck, abandoned the gun, but made off with the limber and horses.

On this we retook the gun without resistance. One of the artillerymen had a wonderful escape; he had clung on to, and under the wheels, and never quitted it. Once more in our possession, the gun was instantly re-opened on the enemy; but our men had an antipathy to the brow of the hill, and would not advance as quickly as they might have done, until some successful shots from the gun, and three splendid ones which were made by Sergeant Wade from the Kohistan Gate; one of which struck Abdoollah Khan's horse, and caused him to fall off, on which the people surrounded their chief, and were occupied in carrying him off; they fled to the other hill, and I believe never stopped until they got into the city. All appearing to be over, I hastened home to get breakfast ready for Sturt, every one supposing that the enemy were routed, and that Brig. Shelton was coming back with the troops.

At this time I was standing on the ramparts, and heard the envoy, in my presence, ask the general to pursue the flying troops into the city, which he refused, saying it was a wild scheme, and not feasible.

Had Shelton returned to cantonments, or thrown his force into Behmaru, all had gone well, and we had remained masters of the field.

The enemy had, as I before mentioned, a large body of cavalry on the other side of the hill, on whom our men kept firing.

At about half past twelve, just as we had finished our breakfast, the enemy gradually came up the hill; and their fire was so severe that our men in square could scarcely fill up the gaps as their comrades fell, and our whole force, both horse and foot, were driven down the hill, and our gun captured— a regular case of *sauve qui peut.*

All would have been sacrificed but for four circumstances; first, a well-directed fire kept up from the Mission Compound by part of the Shah's 6th. A charge made by Lieut. Hardyman, with a fresh troop of the 5th cavalry, being joined in it by Walker, who had collected about twenty of his irregulars. It was in going too far across the plain, in driving the Affghan horse back towards the hills, that poor Walker received his mortal wound in the abdomen. Major Swayne was wounded in the neck while in the square. A party of about fifty of Mackenzie's Juzailchees, under Capt. Trevor, lined some low walls on the plain in front of and to the left of the old Musjeed, whence they kept up a steady discharge. Two of these men, seeing a wounded Sipahee wave his arm for help, gallantly dashed into the midst of the enemy, and brought him off.

Perhaps the greatest safeguard of our troops was the conduct of Osman Khan, who suddenly stopped the pursuit and led his men back.

Perceiving our defeat on the hill, the troops at the captured fort, and those at the Musjeed, deserted their posts, and were with difficulty persuaded to go back to them. The troops all scuttled back as hard as they could. The General went outside the gate (and took great credit to himself for doing so) to rally them, as he called it; but there was little chance of doing that while they were under our walls. I was amused at hearing him say to Sir William, "Why, Lord, sir, when I said to them 'Eyes right,' they all looked the other way."

Our friends in the Bala Hissar did not tamely look on. Conolly got the King to order eight of his suwars to go and give information to Sir William of their having observed a body of 5000 men passing round to the back of Behmaru; and afterward his Majesty ordered the whole of the Ressallahs and 100 Juzailchees to go on to the Siah Sung hill, and try and create a diversion in our favour, by drawing away some of the troops who were engaged with ours on the Behmaru hill. It certainly had some effect; for, immediately on their forming on the summit, a large body of men, under Mahommed Shah Khan, a principal Ghilzye chief, sallied out from Mahmood Khan's fort, and advanced to the attack, which now, however, they were not imprudent enough to await, but immediately took to flight. By desire of the Wuzeer, Lieut. Melville was then sent out with a party of Juzailchees, and five sections of N. I., to keep a body of them in check who had boldly advanced within gunshot of the Bala Hissar: but, after a little skirmishing, the enemy retired to the Siah Sung hill.

The Affghans appear to have but one plan of attack. They go up the farther hill to the extreme left near the city, and spread along the ridge, and the horsemen conduct the infantry to the gorge. The horsemen then, some of them, come up with the infantry to the brow of the right hill, the larger body of horse going behind it; this they did the second time in one day.

Shelton, in taking up his position, as before described, had both his flanks exposed, as also his rear. The men were formed in two large squares when attacked by infantry, and in these squares were men of different regiments all mixed up together: they had never been practised to it: no man knew his place.

While in this square, a reward of ten rupees was offered by the Brigadier to the first man who volunteered to go with him to take the enemy's flag in the gorge; Captain Mackenzie shouted 100 for the flag. After some hesitation, a havildar of the 37th came forward; but, as no other followed him, he was told to return to his place. The enemy then came on, and the whole square rose simultaneously and ran. The 44th had, I believe, fifty-eight wounded; the loss of the 5th I did not ascertain; the 37th had eighty killed and ten wounded. Of officers, Col. Oliver, Capt. Mackintosh, and Lieut. Long, were killed; Walker mortally wounded; Swinton, Evans, Major Swayne, Hawtrey, Bott, and Mackenzie wounded.

The three companies of the 37th, that were out under Major Kershaw, suffered severely: they were among the last to leave the hill. The grenadier company returned with only a Naick and two men.

The misfortunes of the day are mainly attributable to Shelton's bad generalship in taking up so unfavourable a position, after his first fault in neglecting to surprise the village, and occupy it, which was the ostensible object of the force going out.

Had he remained above Behmaru, he might have retreated into and occupied that place, in which the enemy had but few men at first, and who might have been easily dislodged. Shelton tries to lay all the blame on the Sipahees. He says they are timid, and that makes the Europeans timid also; but he has been told some home truths. On asking Capt. Troup if he did not think that the 44th had behaved nobly, that officer plainly told him, he considered that all had behaved shamefully.

The troops certainly were wearied out; and,

having been out since two in the morning, it appears wonderful to me that at half past twelve they were not too weary to run; however, they had one great inducement to do so. Osman Khan was heard by our Sipahees to order his men not to fire on those who ran, but to spare them. A chief, probably the same, rode round Kershaw three times, when he was compelled to run with his men; he waved his sword over his head, but never attempted to kill him; and Capt. Trevor says, his life was several times in the power of the enemy, but he also was spared.

Another great fault committed was in taking only one gun; a second would have supported the first: with only one, as soon as it was fired the enemy could rush upon it; as they did.

The enemy assembled on the Siah Sung hill, and attacked eighty horsemen sent in with letters by the King; they proved to be from Jellalabad. Our people at first fired on the sikhs, but fortunately did no harm. The enemy's cavalry then came down the Siah Sung hill, and escorted their infantry into the forts beyond the river, which we had dismantled a few days since. Our troops were in by two o'clock; before five, not an enemy was to be seen, and our people were out searching for the dead. The magazine, being dropped within range of our guns, was safe, and has been brought in. Abdoollah Khan is supposed to have been killed. No particular news from Jellalabad, where all was going on well. There was no letter for me; but Lawrence came to tell me that Sale was well, and busy getting in provisions.

24*th*.—A letter has come in, supposed to be a forged seal, from Zeman Shah Khan: it has been cautiously and courteously replied to.

A person has come in from Osman Khan (who is a nephew of the Ameer Dost Mahommed) and Shumshir deen Khan, offering us terms: they propose that we should leave the country, giving hostages that we will send the Dost back to them. They say that they do not wish to harm us, if we will only go away; but that go we must, and give them back the Dost; that Mahommed Akbar Khan (his son) will be here to-morrow with 6000 men; and that, if we do not come to terms, they will carry the cantonment; and that they are ready to sacrifice 6000 men to do so.

What Sir William and the General's council of war (Shelton, Anquetil, and Chambers) mean to do we know not; but our situation is far from pleasant.

Gen. Elphinstone has written to the Envoy to-day, requesting him to negotiate with the enemy, in consequence of the impossibility of our going to the Bala Hissar, and Shelton concurs in opinion, that we cannot fight our way in: also stating we have upward of 700 sick, and the scarcity of provisions.

Last night, an attempt was made to dismantle the bridge leading towards Siah Sung, which succeeded partly: it is now made a flying-bridge.

Sturt proposed to destroy the Rikabashees' fort, and throw a party that was in it into the small fort near the bridge; but it was disapproved by the Envoy, who said he would place a moollah he had confidence in, in it, as the General said he could not afford twenty men to garrison it.

A boy of the Syce order, who had been a prisoner twenty days, has made his escape from the city. He tells us, that Amcenoollah Khan of Logur is the chief who was killed by a grape-shot in the head yesterday.

Mahommed Akbar Khan has directed, that when the cantonments are taken, the officers, their wives, and families, are to be made prisoners, as hostages for his father. If once in his power, we might be safe; but these Ghazeeas are fanatics, and would cut us into mince-meat.

Poor Oliver's head and one hand were cut off when his body was found: the latter was probably done to obtain a diamond ring which he always wore. The heads of all the Europeans were taken away, and will no doubt be exhibited as trophies!

25*th*.—The Big-wigs are angry at anything having transpired regarding the letters that have come in from the chiefs; and say it is all a mistake. Be that as it may, a guard of honour was turned out, on the arrival of two men who refused to parley with Lawrence and Trevor, and said they must see the envoy and the general. At first they were said to be Zeman Shah Khan and Osman Khan; then Jubhar Khan; and at last it proved to be Sultan Khan and his private meerza. They held their conference with the envoy in the officer's guard-room of the rear gateway.

The new king, Zeman Shah Khan, has written to the envoy to say that he has accepted the throne, not from his own wish, but to prevent greater ills arising.

There was a very long and unsatisfactory conference with the ambassador. He and his secretary rode sorry yaboos, and were only attended by their saces. If their array was thus humble, their demands were sufficiently exorbitant; and the terms they offered such as could not be accepted, even by persons in our condition. They require that Shah Shoojah be given up to them, with his family; demand all our guns and ammunition; and that Gen. Sale's force should move to Peshawer before we march from this place.

Mahommed Akbar Khan has arrived: we heard the firing in honour of his arrival in the city. He is reported to have brought in an accession of 6000 men to the force, which was before estimated at 10,000 horse and 15,000 foot. The new arrivals are probably Uzbeks, and not far from rabble; but even a mob may from numbers succeed against us.

The subadar of the native artillery has gone off, as also three of Skinner's horse: these men are said to have families in the city.

In the evening there was a great crowd of Affghans; some hundreds of them, all armed to the teeth, round the cantonments. They came in the most friendly manner, saying all was settled, *jung-i-kalūs*. The men of the 44th went out of cantonments among them unarmed, were shaking hands with them, and receiving cabbages from them, unchecked by Lieut. Cadett, the officer on duty on that face, who seemed to think this friendly meeting a very fine affair: however, the circumstance got reported, and the adjutant got the men in.

This appears very like a ruse on the part of the enemy, to throw us off our guard, and surprise us. It was suggested to the adjutant to examine the cabbages; as it was possible that outer leaves might cover bladders of spirits; and that, having intoxicated the men, they would when they were drugged make an attack on us: however, nothing suspicious was discovered.

We saw a fire on the hill this evening, supposed to be a party watching our movements, towards the Bala Hissar.

There can be no doubt that the enemy have spies in cantonments; and there are so many Affghan servants, that it is perhaps difficult to prevent their passing in and out.

Two men of suspicious appearance were prowling about the Envoy's tent, and Lawrence desired a chuprassy not to molest them, but quietly to dodge them, and to report progress. This he did, and stated that the men walked all over the cantonment, looked at everything, and then walked out at the gate! So much for surveillance.

It is now said that Abdoollah Khan was wounded by a grape-shot on the 23d, and that there is no truth in the report of Aminoollah Khan, of Logur, having been stabbed in a dispute the council regarding terms to the Feringhees.

Poor Walker was buried to-day. He died of his wound last night He is greatly regretted from his amiability; and, as a right gallant soldier, his loss is doubly felt in the present crisis.

The Shah Razee (Moyen oo deen's father) commanded the troops in Behmaru. He says, had we taken possession of the village in the outset, the day would have been ours on the 23d. We have also heard that so great was the alarm in Cabul, when the Affghans fled on Abdoollah Khan's being wounded, that the women were sent away out of the city in great numbers; and many in such haste, that they did not even wait to mount them on yaboos, but sent them away on foot, expecting to see our troops in the city immediately.

Great care is taken of the firewood in store in cantonments, and much discontent prevails because fires are not allowed. The Hindostanees feel the severity of the weather, to which they are exposed night and day; and the want of fuel adds much misery to their privations in being put on short allowance of food. There is at this time a complete winter stock of firing laid in; added to which, on emergency, the trees of the orchard might be cut down.

Capt. Sturt was urgent, both with Gen. Elphinstone and Brig. Shelton, that the men might have fires at night to enable them to warm themselves and dry their frosted clothes when coming off duty: but no order was given in consequence of his suggestions.

26*th*.—Negotiations with the enemy broken off.

Accounts received from Sale up to the 21st; from Macgregor to the 23d. The Khyberries up. Capt. Fenis and his family had fled, and got safe to Peshawer. Lieut. Mackeson was still in Alimusjid in rather a critical position. To-day the Affghans lined the hills; some thousands of them, with many horsemen. They afterward came down to the plain, and we expected an attack upon the cantonments. On their nearer approach, they were found to be mostly unarmed; some had sticks, some sticks with a knife tied on the end of them: they were merely the shopkeepers, come out to look at us. The Affghan knife is a very formidable weapon, about two feet long, and thicker, stronger, and broader than a sword, and as sharp as possible.

Some of these men went up to the breach of the captured fort, and asked, as the *jung* was over, if they might not return, and live there. And on being told, "No," they said "Very well; we will go away to-day, and come again to-morrow, and see if we may come then."

One well-dressed man inquired if the volunteer regiment (37th) was there; and being replied to in the affirmative, said, "I want my horse back that I lost the other day; have I any chance of getting it?"

All this coming close to our works, and spying, ought to have been stopped.

Sturt called out to them in Persian, and warned them off, or he would open the guns upon them. Some respectable people begged, for God's sake, he would not do so; for they were not warriors, but had come out to see sights and amuse themselves.

Sturt saw a man meanly dressed on foot stealing up close to the walls, and called out "*Pish Burrō*;" on which he raised his hand, telescope fashion, to his eye, and showed the end of a note. He was passed on to the gate, and admitted into cantonments; and was said to be the bearer of a letter from Mahommed Akbar Khan. However, this is denied, or even that any letter came.

Whenever the political horizon clears a little, mystery becomes the order of the day. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;" and when overwhelmed with perplexity, the directors of events here are not so close. However, events do transpire, and we know that treaties are on foot with the Ghilzye chiefs; though that too is denied to-day.

Meer Musjudee is dead. Some say he has been poisoned; others that he died in consequence of the wounds he received last year in the Kohistan. A number of this chief's followers have gone off with the body to the Kohistan, there to attend his funeral obsequies.

A report has come to us through the enemy, that three regiments, from Kandahar, have got beyond Ghuznee, somewhere about Shecoabad; that there has been an engagement; and that, though the Affghans could not conquer them, they still have been able to prevent their progress.

Sleet in the morning; and in the afternoon snow, which soon froze.

27*th*.—We had a quiet night; and it continued tranquil till the middle of this day; when the horsemen again took post on the hills, and escorted infantry to the right, and down into the village of Behmaru, into which we threw some shells.

The negotiations are now come quite to a close. The enemy's demands were modest, considering that they were the first to treat, it is said. They require, in addition to giving up the King and his family into their hands, all our guns and ammunition, muskets, bayonets, pistols, and swords. The married men, women, and children, to be given as hostages; and then—we are to trust to their generosity! To this the Envoy sent a chivalrous reply—That death was preferable to dishonour—that we put our trust in the God of battles, and in His name bade them come on.

The King is in an awful state of alarm; for he has been told that we have been making terms for our free exit from the country, paying for the same five lakhs of rupees; and leaving him to his fate, poor man! He is certainly to be pitied (if not at the bottom of it all), fallen from his high estate, and believing us to have abandoned him.

Jan Fishan Khan is the only chief who stands by him; and he has had his forts and property destroyed: his wives and children, he hopes, may have been saved by some of his neighbours; but, as yet, he only knows the fate of one young

boy, who was burned alive. He had one wife with him in Cabul when the insurrection broke out, and urged her to fly to Pughman for safety; the old chief told me, her reply was worth a lakh of rupees, "I will not leave you; if you fall, we die together; and if you are victorious, we will rejoice together!"

Some say that Mahommed Akbar Khan is now King, and Zeman Shah Khan his Wuzeer: others state that the latter refuses to give up his lately acquired power.

Ishmatoolah (the Akhoonzada or old moollah from Kandahar, who was to have gone with Sir William to Bombay), has taken himself off, leaving a message for the Envoy to say that he was gone to the city. A messenger was sent to his son, Khojeh Meer, in Behmaru; who stated that two respectable persons came to fetch the hommed Akbar Khan, who required his immemoollah, reporting that they did so by order of Madiate attendance, as Lawrence and Trevor were both with him, and the Envoy coming. Whether the father and son are in league or not, remains to be proved; but this man's secession (who was much in Sir William's confidence) has caused us all to be on the alert, expecting an attack, or mischief of some kind.

There was an absurd report to-day, that the enemy had sent us back the gun they captured on the 23d, with the horses; and the gullibility of John Bull was proved by many persons leaving an auction of some of the deceased officers' property, to go to the Kohistan gate, and find it was all nonsense.

28*th*.—Shelled the village of Behmaru, whence the enemy annoyed us by firing on our yaboos sent out to endeavour to procure grain.

This day we had both rain and snow. Mahommed Shah Khan Ghilzye is come into Cabul, and therefore we think there must have been a fight below, in which he has had the worst.

A Hindu merchant has offered to bring grain, and lay it at the gate of Mahommed Shureef's fort in the night. We are not to speak to his people; and are eventually to pay him at the rate of one Cabul seer for the rupee, and we are bound to take 200 kurwars. Also on every hundred maunds being delivered, we are to lay down a bag of 1500 rupees as a present. He says many would assist us, but are afraid; that as he is the first in the market, he expects to make his fortune.

29*th*.—The enemy are not showing any cavalry to-day; and there is a rumour that they have gone to meet the corps coming in from Ghuznee —there was only infantry on the hill-side; however, some alarmists fancied that they were coming down, which they never do without horsemen: the bugles sounded, there was a great bustle, and all ended in nothing.

We shelled Behmaru and the hill above it; and also the two shops close to the village, one on either side of the road, where there is a little bridge, and the trees form an archway.

Ammunition was sent to the Bala Hissar.

The horses are hard up for grain: those for the artillery have not been much looked after since Lieut. Waller was wounded; and one of them is averred to have eaten his comrade's tail! That he bit it off there is no doubt.

30*th*. Abdoollah Khan's death has, it is said, created some confusion in the city. While still living, a report was spread of his decease; and, like Alexander, he mounted his horse and showed himself to his followers; but the exertion was too great for him, and he shortly after expired.

Among other political barometers, the manner in which persons are spoken of indicates whether affairs are going on well or ill: just now things are looking up again. A few days ago people spoke of "The Macnaghtens;" then they became again "Sir William and my Lady:" and to-day they have left their refuge in a tent in cantonments, and gone into the great house again, which they think will have a good effect, and tend to quiet people's minds.

The politicals are again very mysterious, and deny that any negotiations are going on, &c.; but letters come in constantly, and we know they are treating with the Ghilzyes.

A new arrangement is made with Khojeh Meer regarding grain: formerly he received fifty rupees daily as bukshees, whether grain was procured or not; now he is to have 500 rupees given him on delivery of every hundred khurwars.

Sturt proposes to hut the men on the ramparts, and give them plenty of firewood. As yet they are not allowed any fires, except for cooking their food. He also wishes to have the city shelled, both from the Bala Hissar and the cantonments, particularly to annoy the quarter where the gunpowder-makers reside.

Early this morning a party of horsemen left the city in the direction of Bhoodkhak, and another towards the Kohistan.

Treaty is certainly going on; and we think that the confederacy may be breaking up. Humza Khan of Tezeen is said to be sending his women away from Cabul, and many have been seen mounted on yaboos going away on the road leading to Bhoodkhak.

1*st December*.—Mohun Lull writes that the enemy will show in force to-day, and attack us to-morrow. The firing we heard in the night was an attack on the patrol, who got in safe.

A cossid reported yesterday that he had been with his letter to Kelat-i-Ghilzye, but he brought no letter back. He said that the force had left the place: and as he could not give any account of, or letters from Ghuznee, we suspect that he never went at all.

A report to-day that the Hindu merchant had commenced his supplies of grain is contradicted; but a small quantity was got in to-day.

We sent to get some barley for our horses; but the enemy were hovering about the villages, and prevented us.

It is reported that the garrison at Ghuznee have blown up the bastions, and joined General Nott's force.

More treaty going on. Firing at night, said to be an attempt to blow up the Bala Hissar gate, which was repulsed. A good deal of firing during the night, and also shelling into the town.

2*d*.—Last night's firing was an unsuccessful attempt of the enemy on the Bourj above the Bala Hissar.

I counted this morning 49 horsemen on the Siah Sung Hill, who were reported to the General at 300! We did not fire at them, as they were seen to come from Mahmood Khan's fort, where the Ghilzyes reside who are now treating with us.

Mohun Lull's information was incorrect; the enemy did not show in force yesterday, neither have they to-day made their intended attack on the captured fort and that of the magazine. The person who succeeds in taking the latter is prom-

ised 40,000 rupees, and the rents of the adjacent lands.

The enemy's confederacy is said to be breaking up: they are now quarrelling regarding the partition of power which as yet they have not. One says he will be chief of Cabul, another of Jellalabad, &c. The plan proposed for the capture of cantonments by the enemy is, to send 200 bildars in front to cut down the ramparts; next come the infantry, and then the horse. I suppose we are to stand still and look on.

Mahommed Akbar Khan is said to be very ill.

There is a report that a man has come in from Gen. Nott's camp at Urghundee, eighteen miles off; that the enemy had attacked him, placing two guns in position, both of which we are said to have captured. We fear this news is too good to be true. These reports are disseminated by the enemy; and the only motive to which I can attribute them is a wish to lull us into security by reports of aid coming to us, until starvation prompts acquiescence in their demands, be they what they may.

A man of the Ghoorka corps has come in. He says the men are wandering up and down the country, and that some have taken refuge in forts; that poor Rose, in a fit of despair, put an end to his existence by shooting himself; and that Dr. Grant, when he last saw him, was wounded in the leg.

Ishmatoolah is said to be imprisoned in the city.

The Parsee merchant is also in prison until he pays a ransom of 10,000 rupees: his property has all been taken away.

The people of the city are said to be discontented. They have no firewood; the people who used to bring it in are afraid to do so lest they should be plundered.

3d.—The attack intended for yesterday has been postponed to to-day, we hear; but there seems to be little likelihood of one.

Khojeh Meer says that he has no more grain; we only got 50 maunds in to-day. He also says that the moollahs have been to all the villages, and laid the people under ban not to assist the English, and that consequently the Mussulman population are as one man against us. He says he expects himself to have to run for his life to Peshawer whenever we go away. Khojeh Meer has a difficult part to play: his pecuniary gain in siding with us is great; but being the father-in-law of Musjudee, who married the Khojeh's daughter, he of course lets the enemy occupy the village whenever they please. As far as we are individually concerned, Khojeh Meer has been very civil to us: he sells us grain whenever we can manage to send an Affghan servant on a yaboo to purchase it. Sturt has been kind to the man; and he evinces his gratitude by writing to say that he will get us what supplies he can. Much more grain might have been procured, had we not foolishly tried to drive hard bargains with Khojeh Meer. It has been intimated to the Envoy that the enemy's troops, who lately got one rupee daily for each horseman, and eight anas for each foot-soldier, have not had any pay for four days, and that they are grumbling at it.

We saw a party leaving Cabul towards Bhoodkhak with two women on one horse riding with them.

A cossid came in from Jellalabad; no letter for me. He had been detained five days in the city, and his intelligence only reached to the 21st. Khojeh Meer says that the villages to our rear (from whence the grain was brought to Behmaru) are occupied; and that the only place which could have given us grain, and where we might have obtained six months' supply, was Khojeh Rewash, which is at present occupied by Secundu Khan with 500 men.

In the evening about seven o'clock there was firing on the southern face, and towards the Magazine fort, which continued until past ten o'clock. The enemy appeared to be trying to mine that fort, and Sturt saw about ten men close up under the walls of it.

The enemy seem to be on the alert; however, there was no firing at night of any consequence; we shelled the city from the Bala Hissar as usual.

Orders were this day issued, that the arms and accoutrements, discipline, &c., of the various corps, should be attended to! Consequent on this order, the 5th have been very busy cleaning their musket-barrels—a most unusual exertion. The arms used to be placed against the rampart, and of course the barrels were rusty and the powder damp.

A committee is ordered to assemble to-morrow to value all useless horses in the Bazar, which are to be destroyed; so there will be plenty of cheap meat, as tattoos and camels have for some time past been eaten: even some of the gentlemen ate camel's flesh, particularly the heart, which was esteemed equal to that of the bullock. I never was tempted by these choice viands; so cannot offer an opinion regarding them.

Brig. Shelton sent to tell Sturt that one of the bastions of the captured fort was on fire, and to request he would send bildars to dig the place and lay on fresh earth. He went accordingly to see what was the matter, and came back very angry, as the guard had been burning the defences he had put up.

4th.—Two chiefs have been treating with the King: they propose that he throws off the Feringhees, on which they will render their allegiance to him. His Majesty, however, thinks it unsafe to break with us. Gen. Nott's brigade is now supposed to be at Shekoapad, about six marches from Cabul. The enemy assembled in numbers on the heights, and planted two guns in the gorge; from which they discharged 144 shot at us (said to have been scored on the wall of the Mission Compound). They had three other guns out, which were placed on the road behind a trench they had dug, and a kind of breastwork they had thrown up across the road, near the Shah Bagh.

In front of this they had another for their men to fire from behind it. Another party took post in the Nullah, near the bridge going to Siah Sung. A man mounted on a gray horse came down, apparently to see if they were properly posted: he had a *foot* man with him. A shot was taken at the latter, who, being beyond its range, ran a few yards backward and forward, dancing, jumping, and cutting capers in derision.

Just as it was getting dark the fight commenced in earnest: the enemy made a rush at the captured fort. They had placed a bag of powder at the wicket, and must have been greatly astonished at finding it produced no effect in consequence of Sturt having filled the place up.

They were received with a sharp fire, which was kept up for a long time, both of musketry and guns. Lieut. Cumberland, of the 44th, was on duty there with 100 men. He sent for a re-enforcement, and Sturt took fifty men to him under a heavy fire. (Observe the wisdom of unneces-

sarily risking the life of our only engineer officer.)

Notwithstanding that the enemy opened five guns on us, our loss was very trifling: as yet I have heard only of one man, an artilleryman, killed; and a sergeant of Sturt's (Williams) was wounded while digging with the sappers. A few horses and camels were killed, as also one or two camp followers in the Mission Compound.

Some of the cannon shot went clean over the cantonments (those fired from the gorge): one fell between the legs of Mr. Mein's mule in Sturt's compound, near the rear gate, without doing any damage.

To-day Sturt came home with his clothes singed, having been nearly blown up by an explosion of powder in one of the batteries, when a man got his pouch ignited by the port-fire; he was much hurt; at 10 o'clock the shots were dropping quickly.

I can scarcely believe that this is the grand attempt at capturing cantonments; and, therefore, am expecting another, and wish it may occur by daylight.

The enemy's idea of blowing open a gate is excellent. They filled the bag with powder, applied and lighted a slow match, and then threw it at the gate! so that, when it exploded, of course it did no harm.

5th.—The enemy assembled in small parties on the Siah Sung Hill; also, but not in great force, on the other hills.

In the morning they attacked a foraging party sent by the cavalry, and surrounded them in a fort. At length they took an oath on the Koran not to hurt them; and a trooper, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the rest, came out; he talked with them, shook hands with them, and they seemed very friendly. They then desired the camp followers to come out; but they distrusted them, and called to the trooper to return to them; as he was doing so they shot him. The grass-cutters had among them one old musket, with which they shot two of the enemy; farther operations were suspended by the arrival of a re-enforcement, when the enemy disappeared *instanter*.

Some ottah has been said to have been dropped at the Musjed; but this has been contradicted, and I believe no grain has been brought to-day.

The chief of Khojeh Rewash says that we must send a force, to make it appear that we force it from him; and then he will sell us grain.

The proprietor of Kella Bolund offers 1000 kurwars of grain if we will send for it, and has given the Envoy an order for its delivery; but the difficulty lies in getting at it.

Major Kershaw has sent to announce that the enemy are coming out of the city gate with their guns.

There has been firing all day, and I believe only a bheestee of Mr. Eyre's killed, just behind our compound.

In the evening, about five o'clock, there was very quick firing about the Bazar village.

The enemy have burned the bridge, and commenced mining one of the bastions of the captured fort.

A strong re-enforcement has been sent there; and Sturt is gone down again, at nine at night, to look to its defences.

Sturt has again to-day narrowly escaped being shot. The enemy seem to know and to lie in wait for him, and he never shows his head above the rampart without a ball whistling close to it. The Affghans are good shots when they fire from their rests; and as the ammunition is the property of each individual, they do not throw it away as we do ours. Their gunners appear to be inferior, as they fired at a captured fort at a distance of 300 yards, yet did not hit it.

6th.—Sturt was out till one o'clock this morning. Between twelve and one he crept round the fort and got into the enemy's mine: they had worked in about eight feet. He blew up the mine, which fell in and destroyed the covered way they had made, and shook down part of the garden wall.

News from the Bala Hissar that the enemy are evidently thinning their numbers; and a Ghilzye chief who has been wounded is gone home.

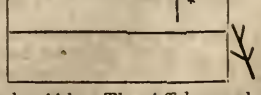
A cossid, who was sent by the King to Ghuznee, has returned. He says he was stopped half way and put in kyde; that during the time he was a prisoner another cossid arrived, sent to Ameeroollah Khan from the Kelat-i-Ghilzye chiefs with a letter. This man told him that he was the bearer of a request for troops and guns, without which they could not prevent the Feringhee King reaching Cabul; and that four regiments of infantry, 100 horse, and five guns were already at Karabagh, two marches from Ghuznee; that this occurred five days since (about the 1st). The cossid took his oath on the Koran, before four moollahs, to the truth of his statement; desired he might be put in prison (in which he was accommodated): and farther begged if the force did not arrive they would put him to death! So after all this asseveration he was, of course, implicitly believed.

At daybreak not a vestige remained of the bridge; which, however, the General is still very anxious to rebuild, and has sent to inquire if Sturt can do so. Without materials or workmen, and the enemy on the spot, it is as impossible as useless to attempt it.

The General refused to have a party stationed in the small fort to defend this same bridge, and now it is gone. He seems more bewildered than ever, and says if the force arrives there will only be more mouths to eat up our provisions; and we have only eight days', this inclusive; but we have not a man to send out to forage.

The enemy were out to-day, but not in great force. They have got a Russian seventeen-pounder of brass, which they have brought in from the Kohistan, and have planted it in the road, near and on this side of Mahmood Khan's fort. From this they have been firing at us all day, and the balls fall many of them in the gardens of Messrs. Eyre and Sturt's houses. We have picked up three cannon balls close to the door of the verandah.

Lieut. Hawtrey of the 37th N. I. was on duty at the captured fort to-day with 100 men—forty of these were of the 44th, and the rest from the 37th. Suppose this to be the fort: * a small room



up stairs, to which there was no outlet, the window being blocked up with mud. In this room were six of the 44th. The Affghans planted their crooked sticks, which served them for scaling ladders; got up by one; pulled out the mud, and got in. A child with a stick might have repulsed them. The Europeans had their belts and accoutrements

off, and the Sipahees the same. They all run away as fast as they could! The 44th say that the 37th ran first, and as they were too weak they went too. Hawtrey says there was not a pin to choose—all cowards alike. After he was deserted by the men, he himself threw six hand grenades before he followed them. One man of the 44th was an exception, and he was shot while assisting Hawtrey in throwing these missiles.

Lieut. Gray, 44th, was wounded in the arm earlier in the day, by a man who climbed up and fired through a loophole at him: he thoughtlessly left his post to return to cantonments and get his wound dressed; and the men endeavoured to excuse themselves by saying their own officer was not there to direct them. It was the most shameful of all the runaways that has occurred. The men (all agree) were not dressed when the enemy entered. The 37th had three men left dead in the breach, and two were wounded, which certainly looks as if they had defended themselves. We lost 6000 rounds of ammunition in this fort.

Brig. Shelton wished that the garrison who had evacuated the fort should retake it. For this purpose he got the men under arms as soon as they could be collected together, and kept them, regardless of the inclemency of the weather, with snow lying on the ground, until three or four o'clock in the morning; when they were eventually dismissed, nothing being attempted.

The least thing seems to-day to create alarm. The following note, accompanied by a six-pound shot, was sent by order of Brig. Shelton to Sturt:

"Dear Hogg—The enemy have planted a gun in a bastion of one of their forts, near the road leading to the Kohistan gate of the city, and have been firing it at the Magazine fort since one o'clock. Two or three shots struck the rear face. I send you one that fell in the room above the gateway, after passing through the wall.

"Yours, W. Grant."

Gen. Elphinstone wrote again to the Envoy to-day, urging him to treat for terms with the enemy.

At near 9 A. M. Sturt left us with an intention of blowing up the captured fort, which the men seem to have taken a dislike to, and to be determined not to defend it. He had not been gone more than a few minutes when quick firing commenced: the enemy had come down evidently in force along the southeastern face of cantonments. There was a blaze of light from Mahmood Khan's fort to our rear gate: it did not last long, but it was a very anxious time; for our northeastern portion of rampart is occupied by the 5th, and I distinctly heard Bygrave using no gentle language while he kicked the men up and out of their tents. Lieut. Mein (13th) was also active in assisting to do the same, but with very little success; though the drums beating to arms, and the hallooing and shouting for the General and the Brigadier, were noise enough to have aroused the dead. Lieut. Deas was on the rear gate guard; and had a rush been made at it by the enemy, there did not seem to be any one to oppose them.

Yesterday, when Sturt was talking to the General and the Brigadier about the captured fort, he mentioned that Capt. Layton commanded there that day, and that he wished he should remain and retain it as a permanent command, it being a place for which an officer should be selected, and he considered him as well fitted for the command. Shelton, with a sneer, asked if Layton would like to stay there. To which Sturt replied, "I do not know what he would like, but I know that I should wish him to do so." Capt. Layton's courage and steadiness were too unimpeachable for the sneer to affect his character as a soldier. The Brigadier's dislike to him arose from his not being a man of polished manners, and rather ungrammatical in his language.

After all had gone wrong, the Brigadier told Sturt that he had told him to order Capt. Layton to remain, and appealed to the General whether he did not; to which Elphinstone hesitatingly replied yes. On Sturt saying that he never understood such an order, and that their recollections of the conversation were different from his; that he would not give up his own reminiscence of the business; that he (Sturt) was wide awake at the time; the Brigadier lying on the floor rolled up in his bedding, and either really or affectedly half asleep. On this the general hedged off evasively by saying he did not think what was said amounted to an order!

Now when Sturt mentioned the circumstance to me yesterday, I asked him whether he thought they would select an officer as a permanent commandant, and his reply was, "God knows." Besides, if it was to be, it would have been notified in Orders, being a decided innovation on the daily relief of the fort.

"One example is as good as a million:" these circumstances show how affairs are carried on. The General, unsettled in his purposes, delegates his power to the Brigadier, and the Brigadier tries to throw off all responsibility on the General's or any body's shoulders except his own; and the General is, as in the present instance, too gentlemanlike to tell him that he deviates a little from the exact line, and thus takes on himself the evasion.

Sturt came home quite disgusted; vowing that if those dear to him were not in cantonments, they might blow them up for what he cared.

I heard a piece of private intelligence to-day—that three of the Envoy's Chuprassies and a Duffodar of the 4th Ressallah, with two other persons whose names have not transpired, are in connexion with the enemy; and this treasonable correspondence has been discovered by some intercepted letters. The men had been disposing of their property two days previous to the discovery. The three Chuprassies are in confinement, and the Envoy talks of asking the General for a court-martial on them. The chances are they will escape punishment: whereas were they hanged as traitors at once, it might be a useful lesson to others. We have a Fakir and some Affghans in confinement also, who are suspected of being spies.

The General peremptorily forbade the camp-followers trying to take away the piles of the bridge that remained; so the enemy, who are hard up for wood, came down in great numbers, and did it for us. To-day we have seven days' provisions left.

7th.—Sturt was anxious to take the *re*captured fort; and as it appears that the men are determined not to keep it, he proposed to blow it up, and to call for volunteers for that purpose.

The 44th say they wish to wipe out the stain on their name, as do the 37th. Hawtrey's company volunteer to go with him, and take it without the assistance of any other troops.

In sending the Sipahees to that fort, the sixty men were taken six from each company, so that

very few could have had their own officer, European or native, havildars, or even their own comrades. It was certainly a particularly bad arrangement.

The General wished to know from Sturt whether the fort was practicable and tenable; at least this was the message brought by Capt. Bellew: to which Sturt said but one reply could be made—"Practicable if the men will fight: tenable if they do not run away!"—but that he considered that the great object was to destroy it; as he more than doubted the willingness of the troops to garrison it, although daily relieved.

Objections were raised as to any other measures being taken than firing at it to batter it down, which was accordingly done all day. The enemy showed again; but their numbers are thinning: they fired at us all day; and the balls from the brass seventeen-pounder just opposite came whizzing over and about Sturt's house and garden.

Our chiefs are very anxious regarding three galleries that the enemy are said to be running from various points to the Bazar bastion. They are said to have mined 100 yards towards it from the captured fort. Hadjee Mahommed, the famous miner from the Kohistan, has twenty men with him; and the enemy have great confidence in his skill, and have given him 12,000 rupees.

I wonder if they paid the conquering hero of the captured fort their promised reward of 4000 rupees?

The report is, that the Affghans have sworn on the Koran to take the Bazar fort and the Magazine fort: for the latter they are to receive 10,000 rupees.

The Envoy is in hopes to get in five days' provisions from the Bala Hissar.

Mahommed Akbar Khan sent in, offering us terms to go out, bag and baggage: but this was before the fort was taken, and he will now probably rise in his demands, which have not transpired. No reply has yet been given, as hopes are entertained of the arrival of Gen. Nott's force before we are quite starved: besides, as Zeman Shah Khan has not given up the power to Mahommed Akbar Khan, he may not be able to guaranty our safety.

8th.—The first news of the day was, that the ammunition destined for the Bala Hissar during last night set out, eighty yaboos, escorted by some of Skinner's horse, under Capt. Hay: when they got to the camel sheds they found themselves between two fires, of which, however, but one shot hit a trooper. On the first shot being fired, many of the saces threw off their loads, and galloped as hard as they could. Only forty-four laden yaboos arrived: five were lost altogether, with many yaboos and loads of private baggage; for there was (now, when the enemy's suspicions were raised) an idea of trying to throw ammunition into the Bala Hissar, and of eventually endeavouring to force our way there; and a good deal of private property was attempted to be sent in with it. We did not send anything, expecting that our goods would never reach their destination.

Had Sturt's wish been complied with, long ago we should have been safe in the Bala Hissar, with plenty of provisions, and might have set all Affghanistan at defiance until an army could arrive from the provinces.

The orders given to the reserve last night were, to go to the rescue if the convoy was attacked on its return; but as there was no order to defend the animals laden with ammunition when going, they waited until Brig. Shelton should arrive, and when, of course, it was too late, and all was over.

Conolly and Jan Fishan Khan have come in, I believe to press the subject of our all going to the Bala Hissar.

The General now says that it was Sturt who objected to the attempt on the Captured fort: rather an odd assertion, as he was not likely to object to his own proposition!

There is a report that the Walleo of Khoolloom is coming to our assistance. To-day there has been much firing in the city; and Dr. Duff says he saw with a glass the people in the Kuzzilbash quarter fighting from the tops of the houses.

Yesterday the servants of Mr. Steer and of some other officers asserted that they heard distant firing of artillery across the gorge behind Cabul, but no one gave much credit to it. This morning both Sturt and Warburton heard the booming of very distant artillery, and several other persons did the same. Ghuznee is only about eighty miles from us; so that the firing might be from thence: but it is confidently asserted that the Kandahar force must be near; and three days are given as the period for their arrival.

Great anxiety, occasioned by a new mine reported to be commenced at the mill, which Kershaw has examined, as also Sturt and his sergeants, and there does not happen to be any such thing!

Two days since we saw a funeral procession, with about fifty followers, going away by the road leading towards the ground lately occupied by the Shah's camp.

To-day we saw a number of laden camels and yaboos, and sheep, and people, all going away: they were escorted off in safety by horsemen, who returned as soon as they were out of sight of cantonments. A number also went off towards the Kohistan; and we think the confederacy must be breaking up, as we see very few of the enemy now, either horse or foot; and the information from the Bala Hissar now rates their numbers at 2500 fighting men.

A letter was sent by the General to the Envoy, finding fault with the site of cantonments, adverting to our want of provisions, &c.; and also urgently pointing out the necessity of the Envoy's negotiating with the enemy for the best terms he could get from them. This letter was signed by the four members of the council of war—Maj. Gen. Elphinstone, Brig. Shelton, Brig. Anquetil, and Col. Chambers. Anquetil appended to his signature, "I concur in this opinion in a military point of view."

9th.—Another letter, much of the same tenour, from the General to the Envoy.

Letters received from Jellalabad, but not by me. I wrote to Sale by the return cossid, from the 18th inclusive. Mackeson had thrown provisions into Alimusjid; and 400 Usutzyes were raising for its defence. The Afreedee's allegiance was doubtful, and they were likely on any reverse to become our open enemies.

Sale had written to the Commander-in-chief to say that re-enforcements for this country must be much greater than those now on their way; that there must be a strong siege train, engineer officers, with all *materiel*—light infantry, British

infantry, and dragoons; and had stated that the whole country was in insurrection, and up against us. In a postscript he mentions that, on the day he wrote the first, they had sallied and entirely defeated the enemy.

Treating is still going on. We have only three days' provisions! The Ben-i-sheer is rich in grain. Conolly, at the Bala Hissar, offers to take it with the escort, but is not permitted; and to send a force from cantonments it would require a much larger one than we can afford; the same misfortune attaches to Killa Bolund and Khojeh Rewash.

The King wrote to say that John Conolly and Jan Fishan Khan, who came into cantonments, must not return to the Bala Hissar last night, as there were Juzailchees out for the purpose of cutting them off. They therefore went in at five this morning. They got in safe, though their escort was fired upon.

We had Sturt's yaboo paraded this morning, who did not seem to feel the smallest inconvenience, notwithstanding that he had been knocked down by a nine-pounder shot yesterday. The ball struck the rampart and rebounded on to his neck, which was protected by such a mane as would not be believed on description, being of the very shaggiest of those in this country.

At one this morning Sturt was roused up to examine a wall that Brig. Shelton wished to have pulled down, and was kept out, with Capt. Hawtrey and fifty men, for an hour. It proved to be a mare's nest, and the party were sent on a harassing duty for no purpose!

The 44th have asked for a court of inquiry, and it is to sit to-morrow: but there is but too much evidence to prove that the Europeans were the first to run away from the Captured fort. The artillerymen in the bastions all assert that they were so, and also the first into cantonments; and the rest of the regiment have *cut* that company; and men are generally good judges of their comrades' conduct.

Capt. Trevor was sent by Sir William to meet several Ghilzye chiefs who had volunteered to enter into terms with him, on payment of two lakhs of rupees, which sum was taken by Trevor that night; but only one person met him, who said that the others had seceded from the engagement, and they would not receive the money. They had declared that, although connected by marriage with Mahommed Akbar Khan, they had no regard for him, and would, if Sir William wished it, bring his head; but he replied, assassination was not our custom.

The alarm was sounded, and at the same time there was a signal flying from the Bala Hissar, of the enemy being in force in the Shah's garden. They were making a place to fire behind; from which we drove them. We had the usual firing all day, and dismounted one of their guns.

Early this morning I was awakened by firing, proceeding from a party under a Duffodar, in charge of twenty yaboos, with 100 sacks to be filled with grain at the Bala Hissar. They were fired on by the enemy; and came scampering back without their bags, and having lost six ponies.

Capt. Hay was this day sent with a message of consequence to the King, attended by an escort of fifty horse. He went out of cantonments at a brisk trot, and forded the river. The enemy kept an excellent look-out; they were immediately in pursuit, but our party got safe into the Bala Hissar. It was a beautiful sight to see Hay with his cap pulled down on his brows, his teeth set, neither looking right nor left, but leading his men with the air of a man ready and expecting to encounter the worst, and fully determined to do his *devoir*. We were all very anxious about him, and were delighted to hear that he had got back safe, for they were fired on in returning, and ten horses without riders were the heralds of their return. One man only is missing, and we hope he may yet find his way in, as it is very dark, and the enemy may miss him.

To avoid the enemy, they had to make a *détour* out of the road some miles, and the men got dismounted by their horses stumbling and falling into ditches, &c. There was much anxiety relative to the purport of the message. It was supposed to be an urgent entreaty from the Envoy to the King, that the latter would come into cantonments for the purpose of retreating with the army to India: whatever it was, it produced an order for the immediate evacuation of the Bala Hissar by our troops.

The enemy have been busy to-day making a platform (said to be 12 feet by 4) behind the Commissariat fort.

It is surmised that this is a contrivance to cross the ditch with; but, as that is 20 feet wide, it is not likely to succeed. They are said to have appeared to be trying its strength by walking over it.

This day orders have been issued to deprive all camp-followers that are not mustered of their grain rations; but those who will take meat are permitted to have it in lieu. We have commenced giving our servants two sheep a day. Between Sturt's servants, mine, and Mr. Mein's (who is staying with us), we muster forty.

Sturt was told yesterday that two of his sappers were going to desert, and he had the circumstance reported; but the General and Capt. Bellew would not put them into confinement, because their plan being overheard was not considered as a sufficient proof of their intentions; so they ordered them to be watched; and the end of the story is, that to-day they are not to be found. A second case of most excellent surveillance.

11*th*.—Early this morning, a convoy went to and returned from the Bala Hissar, having conveyed bags there to be filled with grain.

An armistice; and chiefs came to treat with the Envoy: they met on the plain; and while the negotiations (which were lengthy) were carrying on, the enemy were busy throwing up works and placing guns in position.

A letter was received last night from Ghuznee: that place was invested; and Colonel MacLaren was marching up with troops, who were somewhere between Candahar and that place.

As we have had only two days' provisions, terms have been accepted. As far as I can learn, four political hostages are to be given—Pottinger, Trevor, MacGregor, and Conolly—to ensure the return of the Dost.

Mahommed Akbar Khan is to go down with us. They said they will give us carriage, and we are to be off on Tuesday. The 54th from the Bala Hissar are to come in to-morrow morning.

12*th*.—The troops from the Bala Hissar have not come in, at the desire of their chiefs; who have now decided that they wish the Shah to remain, and only require us to go. They wish

the king to strengthen their allegiance by giving his daughters in marriage to the chiefs, and receiving ours in return.

They were anxious to have our ladies as hostages, but it was refused.

The Kuzzilbashes have everything to lose, should the Dost return, and the Barukzye power come in.

13*th*.—Another letter from Gen. Elphinstone, urging the Envoy to treat with the chiefs.

A report prevalent that it is wished the force should remain; which is, however, discredited.

The Kohistanees are in great numbers in Behmaru, the Shahbagh, &c.; and unless the chiefs take possession of the forts *near*, and probably have a party *in* cantonments, they will certainly get in, and loot immediately on our going out.

A curious scene occurred to-day. The men are to leave their old muskets, and take fresh ones out of the magazine. Without any order or arrangement, the Europeans, Sipahees, and camp-followers all got in the midst of the stores, and helped themselves to whatever came in their way; it was a regular scene of plunder.

14*th*.—The troops left the Bala Hissar last night, but it was considered unsafe for them to come on here, on account of the lateness of the hour. Immediately on their getting outside the gate, a rush was made by Mahommed Akbar Khan's men, that chief wishing to seize on the Bala Hissar, and the person of the King. His majesty had the gates shut, and in so doing shut in the quarter guard, with some prisoners of the 54th. Finding that the force could not come on, Conolly returned to the gate to ask to be readmitted, at which time he was saluted with a discharge of grape, had one horse shot under him, and another wounded. This was afterward explained away, as having been intended for the King's and our mutual foes: if so, they were not very particular as to which party they fired at. Our troops remained out all night; and this morning had to fight their way in, against a mixed rabble of Ghilzyes, Logurees, and Cabulees.

The bullock drivers ran away from the nine-pounder gun; of which the enemy took possession. They carried off the bullocks; but being near cantonments, fresh animals were sent out (it was on this side of the Siah Sung Hill), the gun was soon recaptured; but not till an unfortunate artilleryman, who, being sick, rode on it, had been cut to pieces.

Osman Khan sent to say that if one of the three lakhi promised to him was sent this evening, he would send in provisions, of which we are in great need, having only sufficient for to-day and to-morrow's consumption. In the evening three and a half lakhs were sent.

15*th*.—There is a very evident change in politics. "The good King," as Sir William used to call him, is now thrown over by us, as he refused to deviate from his accustomed hauteur towards his nobles, or to admit of his daughters marrying the chiefs as they proposed.

Shah Shoojah has also set his seal to a proclamation calling on all true Mussulmen to fight against the Feringhees.

A small quantity of ottah was brought in to-day.

Negotiations are still going on.

The chiefs are very anxious to have all the married men and their families as hostages for the Dost's safe return.

Two days since the king was to have come into cantonments, in rather light marching order, to accompany us to the provinces. At that time it was decided that Osman Khan (head of the Barukzyes now in the country, and at present Vizier) should remain at Cabul; and it being expected that the expulsion of our force would be a scene of bloodshed and disaster, a running fight all the way down, Sturt said, that if he could see Osman Khan himself, and make his own terms with him for our safety and protection in his own house, he would not object to being one of the hostages, and keeping his wife and mother with him: he authorized Capt. Lawrence to say as much to the Envoy. To his great astonishment, he heard that his name had been proposed to the chiefs without any farther communication with him, and with a state of politics wholly different from those under which he would have acquiesced in the proposition. In the first place, Shah Shoojah is not going with our army; but is doing all he can to raise a party against us, and sits at a window of his palace in the Bala Hissar, whence he distributes shawls, khelluts, and bhoodkhees to the Ghazeeas. In the second place, Osman Khan is one of the chiefs who it is now decided are to go down with the Envoy.

Sturt's having talked imprudently to a friend, and its being taken advantage of, prevents his interfering in the affair; but *I* am not so tied, and have represented (through friends) to the General in a military point of view that he ought to object to Sturt's being taken as a hostage, on the plea that, should there be anything to do on the way down, through the Khyber or in the Punjab, he is the only engineer officer we have: a circumstance which the General acknowledges escaped his recollection, but he quickly remedied the ill by writing to the Envoy on the subject; and time must show the result.

Determined not to put his wife and myself in the enemy's power, he wrote to the Envoy as follows:

"My dear Sir William,

"Within the last hour a report has reached me, that myself, Lady Sale, and Mrs. Sturt, had been proposed to the Cabul chiefs as hostages, in exchange for Capt. Trevor.

"I have a very distinct recollection of having told Lawrence to mention to you, that I had no objection to such an arrangement *under certain terms;* but not having been made acquainted with the fact of such a proposition having been made, or farther consulted on the subject, I write in much anxiety to inquire if there is any foundation for the report, and if there is, to be made acquainted with the arrangements proposed, under which I can be expected to acquiesce in them as far as regards Lady Sale and Mrs. Sturt; for myself, I am ready for any circumstances likely to benefit or aid in bringing negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. I trust you will ease my mind upon this point, for reports have reached me from several quarters, all of which are more vague than satisfactory.

"Very truly yours, J. L. D. STURT.

"15th December, 1841."

This elicited a reply from Sir William, stating that he was much hurried by business, and did not recollect whether Sturt's name had been mentioned to the chiefs or not; but it was of no consequence, as no ladies were to be sent as hostages, &c. The letter was evasive and dip-

lomatic; and did not inform us whether Sturt was to be sent from us or not. It was, I believe, unfortunately thrown among a heap of papers which Sturt was destroying, for I could not find it afterward.

16*th*.—The impudence of these Affghans is very great! Yesterday some men who were looting our people close to the gates were warned off, and they replied, that we might keep within our walls; all *without* belonged to them.

To-day a well-dressed man, one of Mahommed Akbar Khan's personal attendants, was attacked by them close to the walls, and stripped of his garments.

Mr. Baness, the merchant, was standing talking to some of the Affghans by the gate; a man snatched his watch from him, ran up to a suwar, knocked him off his horse, mounted it, and galloped off.

This day Sturt was fortunate in purchasing a bag of ottah sent in to him by Taj Mahommed; whose man brought another, which our servants were purchasing.

In a moment there was a cry of ottah! and the garden was filled with camp followers and Sipahees. I never saw such a scene: the joy of those who got a handful for a rupee, the sorrow evinced by those who were unsuccessful, and the struggles of all to get close to the man! The gentlemen had to stand with thick sticks to keep the people off. There was no weighing; at first the man gave two handsful for a rupee, but the quantity soon diminished, in consequence of the great demand for it.

To prove our good faith and belief in that of the chiefs, we are to-day placed entirely in their power.

They know that we are starving; that our horses and cattle have neither grain, bhoosa, nor grass. They have pretty well eaten up the bark of the trees and the tender branches; the horses gnaw the tent pegs. I was gravely told that the artillery horses had eaten the trunnion of a gun! This is difficult of belief; but I have seen my own riding-horse gnaw voraciously at a cart-wheel. Nothing is *satisfied* with food except the Pariah dogs, who are gorged with eating dead camels and horses.

This evening the Rikabashees fort, Zulfa Khan's fort, and the Magazine fort, were given up to the chiefs.

Misseer Aollah Khan, brother of Nawaub Zeman Shah Khan, came in as a hostage.

In the Magazine fort our allies are said to have placed 4000 men. The chiefs promised, as soon as they were in possession of our forts, to give us grain; and about half an hour after our garrisons were withdrawn 155 maunds of ottah and a small quantity of bhoosa was brought in.

They have also promised to procure us 2000 camels and 400 yaboos.

To show how strangely military matters are conducted at present; we were taking our evening walk on the ramparts, when a Sipahee quite out of breath came up, and asked for the Brigade Major, saying that he was sent from the Rikabashee's fort to ask for the order to give it up, as the men were waiting outside the gate ready to march off, and the Affghans were also waiting to march in; as we plainly saw, when we stood near Bygrave's bastion. I do not attach any blame to the General in this, but to those whose duty it was to issue the orders and see them executed.

At eleven P.M. heard some firing, and began to think there was going to be some treachery.

Our allies, as they are now called, will be very magnanimous if they let us escape, now that they have fairly got us in their net. It is said the Bala Hissar will be attacked to-morrow by those who are neither the King's nor our friends; though they are now termed allies instead of enemies.

17*th*.—There has been news from Jellalabad to-day up to the 7th. I hear that Sale and all are well there; but it came out by accident. The Sikhs have refused to assist us, which is breaking their treaty, and portends military movements in the Punjab—an additional reason why our only engineer should not remain in Cabul.

Accounts from Candahar and Khelat-i-Gilzie. All is right again, they say, at the former place; that prompt measures were taken; a chief seized and blown from a gun, which terrified the rest into subjection. No farther news from Ghuznee; which, by the last accounts, was invested.

Both ottah and bhoosa brought in to-day; but not more than for the day's consumption, and only for the commissariat. Camels were brought in, and some sold to the commissariat for 140 and 150 rupees each. We offered 1000 rupees for eight camels; but for so few they insisted on receiving 200 for each. The plunderers were, as usual, outside attacking all who passed, friend ur foe, and were fired on from the Magazine fort: the garrison there were also firing.

Sturt was standing at the rear gate, when a man inquired if he was and officer; and on his asking why he wished to know, and what he wanted with him, said, half drawing his sword, "to fight."

It is said that our departure depends on the King's reply, which was expected to be given to-day. He is either to go with us to Loodianah, to remain here, or to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

In the city Zeman Shah Khan now reigns.

The people say that, as soon as we go, there will be dreadful fighting; not such as they have had with us, but chupaos on each other's houses, sword in hand, and cutting each other's throats: that we shall be attacked all the way to Khoord Cabul, but not after that, as that part of the country belongs to Ameenoollah Khan, whose son goes with us.

Nothing decided regarding Sturt, but it is said he will have to remain.

18*th*.—When we rose this morning the ground was covered with snow; which continued falling all day.

A very strange circumstance occurred last night. Some persons were endeavouring to remove the barricade at the gate of the mission compound: on being discovered, two Europeans galloped away, who were not recognised. The third, ———, a writer in Capt. Johnson's office, was taken prisoner: he refuses to name his companions, and says they were going to Mahommed Akbar Khan to obtain provisions for the army. ——— is a man of bad character; he has lately got himself into bad repute by writing letters in the newspapers under the signature of "Sharp." He was also connected with a man of the name of O'Grady Gorman in a correspondence with the Russians; which was proved by letters found among the papers of the latter after he was murdered at Candahar.

Two men of the 54th have made their escape

out of the Bala Hissar; they passed a rope through one of the loopholes and let themselves down. They say the King has been tampering with them, offering to give them 15 rupees a month, and to promote all the non-commissioned officers; but that not one has accepted his offers.

This day we bought camels at 150 rupees each.

19*th*.—More strange things have occurred. Brig. Shelton wrote privately to Mahommed Akbar Khan for forage for his own use, and obtained ten loads of bhoosa. He made the man who brought it a present (writing to Sir William that he wished to have a pair of pistols or a chogah of small value from the Tosha Khana to present to a respectable native), and the present was sent with a bill attached to it for 30 rupees. On its arrival, Shelton left the room to receive it, and during his absence the Affghan appropriated to himself a sword which had been a gift to the Brigadier from Shah Shoojah. On this he applied to the Envoy for its restoration, which brought the whole story to light; and occasioned the Brigadier to receive an admonition for having, unknown to the Envoy, entered into correspondence with one of the chiefs. The General, having heard the former part of the above story, wrote to the Envoy to ascertain if he also could not obtain forage from Akbar direct; but Sir Wlliiam was extremely indignant at any attempt at correspondence being entered into with any of the chiefs by individuals, and peremptorily forbade it; having the courtesy to add, that he was in expectation of obtaining some for himself, of which he would permit Gen. Elphinstone to have a part.

The chiefs are evidently fearful that we are getting in supplies to a greater extent than they wish.

We had been fortunate enough to purchase some ottah and barley for our servants and cattle. A servant of Mahommed Akbar Khan's came into our verandah and wanted to take it away by force; but I saw what was going on, and called Sturt, who took him by the collar, and expedited his departure by a kick; to the great astonishment of sundry Affghans at such indignity being offered to the servant of a sirdar.

Snow fell again to-day.

In a letter from Gen. Elphinstone to the Envoy to-day, he observes, "that the force is not in a state to act in any way necessity might require; but he hoped that it would be better disposed to-morrow!"

20*th*.—Taj Mahommed Khan came again to see Sturt; and through his servants we got some new cheese. He told us that Shamsuddeen's brother died last night.

Taj Mahommed assures us of the intended treachery of Akbar; and says the force will be annihilated, and is most anxious that we should accept such protection as he is willing to afford us somewhere in the hills until the return of the English; for that a strong force will be sent to retake Cabul, and avenge the meditated destruction of our army, is a general opinion among the thinking Affghans, several of whom, as well as Taj Mahommed Khan, obtained written testimonials of their friendship towards the English, that they may hereafter produce them for their advantage. We can only thank him for his good intentions. It is difficult to make these people understand our ideas on military subjects; and how a proceeding, which was only intended to save a man's life, conjointly with that of his wife and mother, can in any way affect his honour. Certain it is that we have very little hope of saving our lives.

The Envoy seems to fear treachery on the part of the chiefs; and evidently wishes to break the treaty. If he does so, it must be by a simultaneous attack on the three forts we have given up to our "allies," and also on Mahommed Khan's fort. It would, if successful, give us a decided advantage, and perhaps alarm many into siding with us; but the plan is too late a one. Sturt was applied to for a sketch of operations, which he gave, for the attack on Mahommed Khan's fort, but was of opinion we were too weak, and our men too dispirited, to attempt it. On this subject he received a letter from the General, of which the following is a copy:

"My dear Sturt,

"I do not know whether Thain has written to you the substance of a conversation I had this day with the Envoy. He thinks it possible we may be driven to hostilities, and asked, with the view to the recapture of the magazine (fort omitted), whether we had ladders, or the means of making them. I hope they will not drive us to this, although things look very ill and very like treachery.

"Yours, W. K. E.

"20th Dec."

The Envoy had a meeting with the allies this evening: he says they have not broken their treaty, but are fearful we shall break ours. The chiefs rise daily in their demands; and to-day required that we should send the guns and ammunition that were to be left at once into Mahmood Khan's fort.

They now will not give up Trevor; because, as the Envoy wishes to get him back, they take it for granted he is a person of consequence. The affair of the sword has made the same impression regarding Brig. Shelton, whom the chiefs have demanded, with Captains Grant and Conolly. Trevor is with them, and Drummond and Skinner are still detained in the city.

Chiefs, or their deputies, daily come in to negotiate; but we have only Moussa Khan with us as an "honoured guest."

Sturt has proposed to the General that we break off all treaty, and openly retreat to Jellalabad; directing Sale to remain there, and the whole force to await the arrival of troops either at Jellalabad or Peshawer; not to leave our sick, as was intended, with Zeman Shah Khan, but to take all officers' and other private baggage for them, and the ammunition, allowing a small portion for women and children. The staff and sick officers to be allowed a riding-horse, the others to march with their men. This is a public-spirited proposition of his; for we had succeeded, at great expense, in obtaining carriage for his most valuable property, which, by this arrangement, must be abandoned, and for which it was possible he would not receive any recompence.

We hear that the inhabitants of the fortress of Ghuznee communicated with the enemy without; and by a coalition have driven our troops from all other parts than the citadel and the Cabul gateway. Now, had we retreated to the citadel in the Bala Hissar, as Sturt recommended before the Rikabashees' fort was taken, and often afterward, we should not now be in the humiliating situation that we are.

The troops sent to the relief of Ghuznee only

got two marches beyond Khelat-i-Ghilzie: their farther progress is said to have been prevented, not only by the overpowering numbers of the enemy, but also by the snow, which rendered the passes impracticable; they fell back upon Candahar, leaving re-enforcements in Khelat-i-Ghilzie.

Orders were despatched yesterday to Ghuznee, for the surrender of that place. The troops will have to march through the Zoormut country, and go down by Dera Ismael Khan.

Thursday is at present said to be the day for our departure.

21*st*.—The hostages are decided on—Airey, Pottinger, Warburton, and Conolly, who are to start immediately for the city.

The Envoy met Osman Khan and Mahommed Akbar Khan in conference.

22*d*.—The wagons, ammunition, &c., given up to our "allies."

Lady Macnaghten's carriage and horses given to Mahommed Akbar Khan.

The troops were kept under arms for two hours about nothing. Some cavalry horses were sent out to be shot: the Affghans wished to take them away, but the guard (37th) bayoneted one man, and shot another; on which they dispersed.

The Affghans say, that if, when we retook the gun on the hill, on the 23d of last month, we had pursued to the gates of Cabul, they would never have made head against us again. They say they cannot understand Shelton's conduct on the hill on that day; and that, if our generals can do no more, the Affghans have nothing to fear from them. This is nearly verbatim what has been remarked before, but I am not attempting to shine in rounded periods, but give everything that occurs as it comes to my knowledge; and this was the saying of an Affghan gentleman, and also of several of the lower classes, who came both to-day and often, to see Sturt, to give him warnings, which, alas! were by those in authority slighted.

A general opinion prevails among the Affghans that a force will be sent up against them; and many persons are getting letters to prove who are our friends.

Macgregor writes that, for reasons of the utmost consequence, it is impossible for Sale's brigade to leave Jellalabad. Yesterday there was a grand discussion in the chiefs' durbar. One party objected to the departure of the English, urging that, *coute qui coute*, they should be killed: the Nawaub Zeman Shah Khan said, "If that is your opinion, I shall go into cantonments; after that, do as you will: for me, I will never lend myself to any act that is contrary to good faith." Our friends in the city seem to think that this chief's character is not understood by our chiefs in cantonments. Zeman Shah Khan does not wish our departure; but he fears his followers, and dares not openly say what he thinks.

The Envoy, in taking the part of Mahommed Akbar Khan, and in giving him money, has given him the means of doing much harm. Before he received money from us he had no power, and was not a person of any consequence; now he is in force, with the disadvantage of possessing a very bad disposition; and until the Nawaub said, "if you put difficulties in their route to Jellalabad I shall go into cantonments," he did everything in his power to embarrass the council. At present, all appears *couleur de rose*.

It is said that yesterday Mahommed Akbar Khan went to Osman Khan's house, and swore on the Koran that he would do whatever the Nawaub desired. This act they say decided everything; and it was settled that the troops should march on Tuesdsy the 4th, Osman Khan to go with the army; he appears to be a good and an intelligent person. The son of the Nawaub also goes, but he is not considered a shining character, though a good person. It is believed that Shah Shoojah will have a strong party after the English depart; but the Nawaub's faction treat this opinion with ridicule.

23*d*.—Humza Khan is a Ghilzye chief, now in Mahmood Khan's fort. He was the governor of the Ghilzye country; and, when the insurrection broke out in the end of September at Bhoodkhak, he was sent by the King to suppress it: instead of which he organized the rebel force.

On the return of this chief to Cabul he was put in irons in prison, and was to have been sent to the fortress of Ghuznee; he obtained his release when the insurrection of the 2d of November took place. This said Humza Khan has proffered to the Envoy, for a large consideration, provisions, if we will hold out; but his reputed bad character for faith renders him perhaps unsafe to deal with: besides, it may be a more *ruse* to ascertain whether we are sincere or not in regard to the treaty we have made. There are said to be 2000 men in Mahmood Khan's fort at present.

Our sick men were placed in doolies to-day, preparatory to their removal to Zeman Shah Khan's house in the city; but their departure was delayed.

Some of our ammunition-wagons were taken away by the allies; as also shrapnell and eight-inch shells.

Captain Skinner came in at eleven last night with two Affghans; one, I believe, was a half brother of Mahommed Akbar's, by name Sultan Khan. At one this morning they returned to the city on important business. Moussa Khan was also sent into the city early this morning on some affair connected with negotiations.

The 54th, Shah's 6th, and some guns are ordered for a secret service; which the staff officer who gave the order said was to attack Mahmood Khan's fort, and from thence to bring away Amenaollah Khan, dead or alive. This force was ordered on an especial requisition of the Envoy's: I was present at midday, when Captain Lawrence told Captain Boyd that he was to purchase any quantity of grain or provision in his power, even to the extent of fifty days' supplies; and if it was not required, the loss would fall on the Government, should we go away and leave it behind. This conversation took place just previous to the Envoy going out to meet Akbar Khan, on the plain between the cantonments and the Siah Sung Hill.

I remarked that Lawrence styled the chiefs rebels instead of allies; which, coupled with the order to the commissariat officer to lay in provisions, looked very suspicious.

About two o'clock we suddenly heard firing, and all went to the rear gate to see what the matter was; when I met Mr. Waller, who informed me that the Envoy had been taken away by the chiefs.

The clearest account we have yet obtained was from Le Geyt, who accompanied the Envoy. It seems, when he arrived at the burned bridge, the Envoy sent back all his escort except ten men.

Brig. Shelton having expressed a wish to be present at the conference, and not having joined the party, Le Geyt was sent back to hasten his arrival. The Brigadier said he was occupied, and could not go; and when Le Geyt returned it was too late, and he met the escort, who said that Lawrence and Mackenzie had ordered them back.

Many shots were fired, and some of them came into cantonments. Le Geyt's saces, who had been desired to remain when his master returned to cantonments, now came up; and reported that on the Envoy's arrival he found the chiefs seated on a loonghee on the ground; that he sat there with them and discoursed, while Trevor, Mackenzie, and Lawrence remained on their horses; that after a time two sirdars came, and stood behind the Envoy, who rose, as did Akbar Khan; that the Ghazeeas came and cut in between them and the cantonments, and firing commenced; that one of them drew Lawrence's sword from his side; that Akbar Khan took the Envoy by the hand, and led him, and all the gentlemen dismounted, towards the Yaghi fort; but it is generally believed that they are all safe, but taken into the city; however, great anxiety prevails regarding their fate, and that of Skinner, Conolly, and Airey, who are in the city as hostages.

The regiments were got under arms, the walls manned, &c.; but nothing was done. Grant declared that it was impossible to say whether it was a piece of treachery on the part of the chiefs, or friendship to save the party from an attack by the Ghazeeas. The only certain thing is, that our chiefs are at a nonplus.

The Affghans are greatly alarmed at a letter they have intercepted from Major Leech, political agent: this letter was of an old date, in which he tells the Envoy to hold out, that re-enforcements are coming from Candahar, and that by hook or by crook he will obtain other aid from Hindostan.

There is also a native report, that four regiments are between this and Jellalabad. A cossid has come in from Macgregor; where he has been detained we know not; but the letters he brought were of the 16th of November. There is a general opinion in cantonments that faith has been broken on both sides, and that the Affghans have made the cleverest chupao.

Boyd has seven days' provisions; and says the bazar can furnish seven more.

The bridge is taken up at the rear gate, and the camels that came in with grain have not been allowed to go out again. Neither is egress permitted to any respectable-looking Affghan who is in cantonments. The Meerakhor (one of the hostages, and the general go-between in our negotiations) has promised to get a letter conveyed to Sir William in the morning, and to obtain a reply: he says there are too many Ghazeeas about to attempt it to-night.

The plain was at one time covered with people; but the horsemen seemed wending up and down trying to quiet them, and they gradually dispersed.

There was a great crowd about a body, which the Affghans were seen to strip: it was evidently that of a European; but, strange to say, no endeavour was made to recover it, which might easily have been done by sending out cavalry.

A red flag, said to be Amenoollah Khan's, went with about thirty men to re-enforce the Rikabashees fort; and subsequently a greater number.

The Magazine fort was crowded with men.

24th.—I received a note from Lawrence, enclosing one from Conolly (Sir William's nephew) to Lady Macnaghten, and had the sad office imposed on me of informing both her and Mrs. Trevor of their husbands' assassination: over such scenes I draw a veil. It was a most painful meeting to us all.

Numerous reports are current. That of to-day is, that Sir William was taken to the city, and arraigned before a tribunal there for want of faith; and that Trevor suffered from the assiduity with which he executed the Envoy's orders. All reports agree, that both the Envoy's and Trevor's bodies are hanging in the public chouk: the Envoy's decapitated, and a mere trunk; the limbs having been carried in triumph about the city.

A fallen man meets but little justice; and reports are rife that the Envoy was guilty of double-dealing, treating with Akbar Khan and Amenoollah Khan at the same time. In justice to a dead man, it should be remembered that the only person supposed to know the object of the Envoy's going out on the 23d was Skinner, who is now in the city. Sultan Khan was, I believe, the name of the person who came in with him, with a letter from Akbar Khan, on the night of the 22d. In that letter, which was read by a friend of mine, Akbar proposed that he should be made wuzeer to Shah Shoojah; he was to receive thirty lakhs of rupees down, and four lakhs per annum: our troops to remain eight months; and then only to go if the King wished them to do so. He urgently requested the Envoy to come and talk it over with him.

We must hold in mind that, although we had performed all promises made on our part, given up our wagons, ammunition, forts, &c., the treaty had never been signed by the chiefs; nor had they fulfilled a single condition which had been specified verbally, beyond giving us grain in small quantities. The sequitur is, that the Envoy was perfectly justified, as far as keeping good faith went, in entering into any arrangement by which the condition of the troops could be ameliorated, and the honour of our country be ensured. He only erred in supposing it possible that Akbar Khan, proverbially the most treacherous of all his countrymen, could be sincere.

It was a part of Akbar Khan's plan to have Amenoollah Khan seized and brought to cantonments as a hostage.

It was a most decided piece of treachery on the part of Akbar. They were seated on a bank together: Lawrence, a very spunky, active man, felt as if something was wrong; and when urged to sit, only knelt on one knee, that he might start up on occasion; but his pistol and sword were seized, and his arms secured instantaneously, which rendered him powerless, and he was hurried away behind a chief on horseback; as was Mackenzie.

At that time Mahommed Akbar Khan had seized the Envoy by his left wrist, and Sultan Jan held him by the right; they dragged him down the bank, he exclaiming, "Az burai Kodar!" (For the love of God)! At the moment he was laid hands on, Mackenzie, Trevor, and Lawrence were disarmed, and forced away *en croup* behind different chiefs. They saw no more of the Envoy alive. Sultan Jan, uttering an opprobrious epithet, calling him a dog, cut poor Trevor down, as did also Moollah Momind. Mackenzie would have shared the same fate,

had not Mahommed Shah Khan, behind whom he rode, received the cut on his own arm, which went through his postheen. Lawrence's life was saved by hard galloping: but he received some blows. This account I had from the surviving principals in the tragedy; so it may be depended on as the true account. The body we saw from the rear gate was that of the Envoy.

A letter has this day been received, signed by several Kohistanees, of no great consequence, setting forth that they do not care for either party; that they can muster 400 men, and are ready, for a handsome consideration, to escort us down safe to Jellalabad. No notice was taken of this letter, but the idea was laughed to scorn.

The original treaty between Sir William and the chiefs has been sent in again, with three additional clauses:

To leave all our treasure:

To leave all our guns excepting six:

To exchange the present hostages for all the married men and their families; and General Sale's name particularly mentioned. No doubt he was not forgotten by Mahommed Shah Khan the Ghilzye, whom he defeated at Jellalabad, and 500 of whose followers were killed.

General Elphinstone said he might give the officers as hostages; but that their wives and families were not public property; and, unless the husbands consented, he could not send them.

Major Thain was accordingly sent round to ask all the married officers if they would consent to their wives staying; offering those who did so a salary of 2000 rupees a month. Lieut. Eyre said if it was to be productive of great good, he would stay with his wife and child. The others all refused to risk the safety of their families. Capt. Anderson said he would rather put a pistol to his wife's head and shoot her; and Sturt, that his wife and mother should only be taken at the point of the bayonet: for himself, he was ready to perform any duty imposed on him.

There certainly appears to have been a fatality about the events of yesterday. I have mentioned that Sir William applied to Gen. Elphinstone for two regiments and two guns for a secret-service, which were in readiness, but never went out of cantonments: had they done so, it is more than probable that the surprise never would have occurred. Added to this, with his usual vacillation, Gen. E. wrote a note to the Envoy, which never reached him, as it arrived at his house after his departure, and was not even opened at the time. In this note he stated that we were too weak to send two regiments out of cantonments; particularly as the magazine fort was now garrisoned by 400 men instead of 40, the number the allies stipulated should be thrown into it: and that if two regiments and two guns were to go out, the safety of the cantonments would be endangered. The Envoy had only ordered ten of his escort to attend him. Lawrence had taken sixteen; but a part of these returned of their own accord, feigning orders from Lawrence and Mackenzie. They probably had some knowledge of what was in contemplation; for there can be no doubt that the Envoy was surrounded by spies and traitors. Persian notes, that have arrived, have on different occasions been offered for perusal by his chuprassies—who were unable to read themselves, and anxious to know the contents—to Capt. Trevor's elder boys, who could read the characters; but they, imagining it was pure curiosity, and having no turn of a diplomatic description, refused to read them; and the notes were probably taken to others who did so, and made bad use of what intelligence they contained.

As it appears extremely uncertain whether we shall get on with the treaty or not, we are busy making up hammocks to carry the sick. They are making up in Sturt's compound; so light that two men can carry a heavy man in one easily.

Reports are assiduously spread that the Envoy's and Trevor's deaths were the act of the Ghazeeas; and that Mahommed Akbar Khan greatly regrets all that has passed.

25th.—A dismal Christmas-day, and our situation far from cheering. A letter brought in from Conolly to say, that the Nawaub Zeman Khan had interested himself greatly in the cause; and had procured the two bodies to be stolen, and that they hoped to be able to send them in at night. Trevor's had not been mutilated. It appears probable that the Envoy's death was not contemplated. Akbar wished to seize him, in hopes, by making him a hostage, to obtain better terms: but he is a man of violent passions; and, being thwarted, the natural ferocity of his disposition was evinced.

At night there was some firing, and the bugles sounded: all went to their respective posts, but the party of about 200 Affghans went away.

There was evidently great commotion in the city at the same time.

A cossid came in from Jellalabad; but no news later than the 7th.

26th.—The bodies were not sent in. The city is in great excitement; the Affghans fearing we shall not make the treaty good and force our way down.

It seems that the original treaty ensured to the chiefs thirteen lakhs of rupees; and they insist on having it paid; not, as was stipulated, on our safe arrival at Peshawer, but to be given now in bills on government, which there are people here who will cash for them on the spot. We are to be allowed to keep six yaboo loads of treasure; and all the rest is to be given to them before we go; or else the chiefs fear they will not get it, as their people would *loot* it all.

However, we are informed that the chiefs do not mean to keep faith; and that it is their intention to get all our women into their possession; and to kill every man except one, who is to have his hands and legs cut off, and is to be placed with a letter *in terrorem* at the entrance of the Khyber passes, to deter all Feringhees from entering the country again. A Persian note, without signature or address, was brought by a common-looking man to the officer on duty at the rear gate; giving information that the cantonments are to be attacked to-night. We have also information that the road to Jellalabad is clear; as the Ghilzyes are all come into Cabul to exterminate us and *loot* the cantonments.

The chiefs wish to force us to go down by another route, where our people say we are sure to be opposed.

Letters received from Capt. Mackeson, P.A. at Peshawer, state that the advance with ammunition had reached Peshawer, and the 16th Lancers, the 9th, and 31st, were close behind: it is, however, impossible that they can arrive here in time to save us from either a disgraceful treaty, or a disastrous retreat.

27th.—The council—Elphinstone, Shelton, Anquetil, and Chambers, with Major Pottinger—have ratified the treaty. No one but them-

selves exactly knows what this same treaty is, farther than that it is most disgraceful! 14½ lakhs to be given for our safe conduct to Peshawer; all our guns to be given up save six; and six hostages to be given on our part; and when they are sent, Lawrence and Mackenzie are to return.

28*th*.—Lawrence has come in, looking haggard and ten years older from anxiety. It appears that the envoy, when Mohammed Akbar Khan took hold of him, grappled with him and threw him on the ground. Akbar fired his pistol at him, and wounded him; and afterward he was cut to pieces.

There has been great excitement in the city. Khan Shereen Khan refused to attend the Durbar; and Akbar's conduct has been generally condemned by the chiefs.

Naïb Shureef paid for the interment of Sir A. Burnes's body; but it was never buried; and part of it, cut into many pieces, is still hanging on the trees in his garden.

The Envoy's head is kept in a bhoosa bag in the chouk; and Akbar says he will send it to Bokhara, to show to the king there how he has seized the Feringhees here, and what he means to do to them.

Our guns are brought down to the gate, to be ready for the Affghans to carry off to-morrow.

Conolly, Airy, and Skinner are in the city; and Warburton, Walsh, and Webb have been sent as the other three hostages, to make up the number, although the treaty is not yet signed by the chiefs. There is much doubt whether Mackenzie will be given up to us.

It was reported that the Meer Wallee of Khoolloom was expected with re-enforcements to Akbar to-day; but we have not heard whether he has arrived or not.

Many routes have been named for our downward march this morning. We were to go by Zoormut; but I believe we we still go by Jellalabad.

Amenoollah Khan is now represented as our best friend among the chiefs.

Whether we go by treaty or not, I fear but few of us will live to reach the provinces.

Although there is plenty of carriage for the sick, it is to-day decided that they are to be left behind; and the medical men drew lots who were to stay: they fell upon Primrose of the 44th, and Campbell of the Company's service: the former exchanged with Dr. Berwick, the late Envoy's medical staff, who, with Mr. Campbell of the 54th, are to go to the city with the sick men.

Snow all day.

29*th*.—Mackenzie and Skinner came in, in handsome dresses presented to them by Mohammed Akbar Khan, who professed to them he had no hand in the Envoy's death; and to prove his sincerity, wept for two hours.

Brig. Shelton has again had recourse to Mohammed Akbar; and has obtained carriage from him.

It is said it was the Envoy's intention to have superseded Gen. Elphinstone, had Gen. Nott arrived: but no such measure would have been requisite, as the general had summoned Nott to take the command, and had, in fact, given it over to him from the 1st of November: so that it is a point to speculate upon as to who is our military chief; and whether, under existing circumstances, Gen. Elphinstone is empowered to treat with the chiefs regarding the troops.

To give an instance of the strange way in which matters are conducted here, Serg. Deane came and reportod to Sturt that he had received orders to slope the banks of the canal, &c., without any reference to Sturt; who, of course, ordered his sergeants not to undertake any work without his orders. Sloping these banks would facilitate the passage of the enemy; who otherwise must cross the canal at the usual spots, either the ford or bridge.

Our sick sent to the city.

Snow all day.

30*th*.—500 Ghazeeas made a rush at the rear gate; and only desisted on finding the port-fire ready, which would have sent grape in among them. In revenge, they tore up the small bridge over the canal.

More of our guns were sent to the chiefs, who now dictate to us, delaying our departure, which is to be postponed according to their pleasure.

More sick men sent to the city to-day. As the camels and doolies that conveyed them there returned, they were attacked and plundered; the men were stripped, and had to run for their lives without any clothing, their black bodies conspicuous as they ran over the snow. The doolies and camels were all carried off. One of the hostages has written to me, dated midnight of the 29th, and tells me that they are all well in the city, and that, from the appearance of affairs, we shall most likely go down unmolested; that the Nawaub Zeman Khan is very kind, and he or one of his sons is with them nearly all day: the room they inhabit is eighteen feet by ten, and all the hostages are together: it is very uncomfortable, being thus confined; this, however, must be the case for some time: even the court-yard below is not free from vagabonds. The night the Envoy was killed the Ghazeeas rushed even up to the door, determined on Conolly's and Airy's death; and it was difficult to get rid of them. The poor Envoy's hand was held up to the window, to show it to Conolly! Ameenoollah Khan seems to be well pleased. The King went to them the night the letter was written, and took his musicians with him, who played and sang till eleven o'clock: he is represented as a most fatherly old gentleman. This alludes to Zeman Shah Khan, and not to Shah Shoojah.

The Nawaub's second son, Soojah ool Dowlah, is to go down with us: he is represented as a very nice fellow, about twenty-two years old. A postcript, added this morning, informs me that the chiefs are very well pleased; and do not wish us to go till all our arrangements are comfortably made, for their suspicions are now at an end.

Sturt received instructions from Captain Bellew to scarp the banks of the canal, by way of rendering them easier for the camels to get over. "To slope, I suppose you mean?" said Sturt. "You may suppose what you please," replied Bellew; "but the general's orders sent by me are, to scarp the banks; and now do as you like: and you are also to cut the rampart down, to make a free passage for the troops; as, there being but one gateway on the face, it would take a long time for the troops and baggage to pass out."

When Sturt was first desired by the general to cut an opening, he proposed making two of twelve feet each, with twenty feet between: this was objected to, as being too small; and he then said he would throw down the rampart between, which would make an opening of forty-four feet

but, of course, such a breach (for the rampart was to be thrown in to fill the ditch, twenty feet wide) was a work only to be undertaken at the last hour, unless the general could give guns and additional troops to defend it.

In consequence of these messages, Sturt wrote to Grant to say, that unless we were to start instanter after the breach was made, or the general had the necessary means for its defence, it would risk the safety of the cantonments; particularly after what had occurred this morning. Grant, by the General's desire, wrote to know what did occur; and then Sturt wrote an account of the attack of the Ghazeeas at the rear gate, our cattle having been carried off and the bearers plundered, &c.: upon this Grant, by the General's desire, wrote to say they did not know any of the circumstances; and begged nothing might be done to injure our defences.

Snow all day.

Dec. 31*st.*—The chiefs say they have no control over the Ghazeeas; that when they offend we may fire on them; that they will have the camels, taken from us yesterday, restored.

Now did they give us even camel for camel, it would be another matter; but, instead of that, fifteen of the worst of our own were brought back out of thirty-six; and a present of 100 rupees was made them for the trouble they had taken.

This morning a number of camels laden with grain, &c., were plundered close to the rear gate. Verbal orders were sent by Brig. Shelton to fire on these people if absolutely requisite; but no written order to that effect has been given, and no one will take the responsibility upon his own shoulders. No orders of any import are transmitted in writing. Some one, any one, is sent, with a verbal message to the officer it concerns; and, if anything goes wrong, what has he to show as his authority for acting as he has done? Among other orders, there is one not actually to fire, but to make believe they are going to do so; which has occasioned some ridiculous and harmless flourishes of port-fires.

There is still negotiation going on; and there seems to be some hints regarding Shah Shoojah's abdication. The Affghans do not wish to put him to death, but only to deprive him of sight.

The chiefs are, we hear, to come into Mahmood Khan's fort with a large force to-morrow, to be ready to protect cantonments, and we are to march out the next day.

Thus ends the year. The bodies of the Envoy and Trevor have not been brought in; and we hope that the Nawaub Zeman Khan may be able to get them privately interred in his own garden.

Sergeant Williams, who died in consequence of his wound, was placed in the coffin and buried in the grave prepared for the Envoy behind the barracks.

Snow has lain on the ground since the 18th of December.

Jan. 1*st*, 1842.—The Naïb Meer came in: negotiations are still going on.

The Nawaub Zeman Shah Khan and Osman Khan appear to be honourable men; as also Mahommed Shah Khan Ghilzye: the former, or his son, sits with the hostages day and night to ensure their protection. The latter is the person who received the sword-cut on his arm intended for Mackenzie, and thereby saved his life, on the 23d of last month.

A party of fifty Affghan workmen, magnified by the general into 500, have been sent to work on the banks of the canal: they soon said they were cold and tired, and would finish the rest to-morrow.

Two men came in to-day with a Koran to Sergeant Deane (who, from having an Affghan wife, has many acquaintances and friends among the people of Cabul): they report that Mahommed Akbar Khan is false; that 10,000 Kohistanees are to attack us at Tézeen, and all the Ghilzyes at Soorkhab.

Offers have been made of provisions; but it is suspected that it is only to try our faith, and see if we will lay in provisions on the sly.

2*d.*—Before breakfast Sturt received the following note from Gen. Elphinstone:

"Dear Sturt,

"Are we to have the Affghan Bhildars again to-day? If so, they had better be employed on the other side of the river. Pottinger proposes our taking on the planks to cross the streams in the Khoord Cabul pass. He says 250 planks would do. He will explain this to you after breakfast. Let me hear what was done yesterday. We shall march on Tuesday, I think; that is the present arrangement. You must settle with Boyd about rhe bullocks for the bridge, which we must take on to the Loghur.

"Yours, W. R. E."

There have been so many clever propositions during the siege, that, if I succeed in saving my papers, many of the original letters will require to be appended, to prove that I do not use the traveller's privilege! To-day's is this. We make a bridge to cross the Cabul river; and carry on planks to the Loghur, in case that bridge should have been destroyed. Major Pottinger proposes that we carry 250 planks, to be laid down in the Khoord Cabul, for crossing the streams, which occur on an average every hundred yards. Could we afford transport for these planks, the delay occasioned would render the journey through that pass one of about three days, as the stream is crossed about thirty times. One word regarding the carriage of these planks. A camel would only carry two; thus 125 animals would be required; and we are unable to take the requsite quantity of ammunition, for want of carriage. Besides, why is this stream not to be frozen, as it is but a few inches deep anywhere?

There appears to be much commotion among the chiefs regarding the Envoy's death, and Akbar's conduct; who still repeats that he did not kill the Envoy, but that was done by the Ghazeeas. He threatens to attack us on the road; and Osman Khan says if he does, he will fight him all the way down, taking, as his own party, 1000 horse and 500 foot.

Aziz Khan is to be at Soorkhab ready to exterminate us. We hear, from the city, that Sale has been taking forts, carrying off women and provisions, and greatly annoying the good people about Jellalabad.

3*d.*—The march, which was fixed for to-day, is again postponed. The Kohistanees have not received any part of the money given to the chiefs. They have sent an agent to Sturt to say that, if we wish it, they will bring the chiefs of Kardurrah into cantonments, with four others, as hostages; that we need not give them any money now, they know that we have none, and are content with our promise. They wish us to remain quiet. They will give us provisions, and attack and fire Cabul within three days.

They will also go down and bring up re-enforcements for us from Jellalabad. They assure us that the chiefs are false, and mean to attack us on the road. All this was represented to our chiefs by Sturt. The reply he received was, "It was better to keep the matter quiet; as, in the present state of things, it might, if known, cause excitement."

Shah Shoojah is said to have a strong party; and all the roads leading to the Bala Hissar are watched, to prevent persons joining him; though Nooreddin has succeeded in doing so, with twenty followers.

The 40,000 rupees given by us to the chiefs, to raise 2000 men, at twenty rupees each, to protect us to Jellalabad, have not succeeded. They have kept the money, of course, but say they cannot get men to go at this season; and even if they could, the chiefs cannot afford to weaken their party by sending their followers away.

The thermometer, to-day at sunrise, was below zero; in the sitting-room, with an enormous blazing fire, at noon, 40°. Yesterday, with the same good fire, at 9 A.M., 11°.

Another excellent project of Major Pottinger's. Among our various vacillatory measures, there is again a thought, now that the time for action is long past, to force our way into the Bala Hissar: but how are we to get our ammunition in? Erect a battery on the Siah Sung Hill (of course, to be the work of fairies during the night), fire our shot from cantonments into the battery, where, of course, guardian sylphs would protect the lives of our men, who were quickly to pick them up, and send them on, in like manner, into the Bala Hissar! No arrangement made for transporting the powder. The tale was told from where the conversation had taken place—at the General's. The narrator was Capt. Bellew. Both Sturt and I taxed him with joking; but he assured us it was all true, and only another of the many strange events constantly occurring. Then ensued a long parley and military discussion on the point, its feasibility, and its having been tried in some peninsular warfare. But I never could get Bellew to explain how our men's lives in the battery were to be saved.

4th.—I heard from Sale, dated 19th December. He acknowledged the receipt of my note, giving an account of operations up to the 9th instant. He was doubly anxious relative to our situation, from having heard, only the day before, that the Kandahar troops were near us, and all the cossids telling those at Jellalabad that we had plenty of provisions; and he still trusts in God that the Kandahar force may arrive in time to save us, and prevent the necessity of terms disgraceful to our reputation in India. He informs me of the arrival of the advanced guard of our cavalry at Peshawer, with ammunition; and that the 3d Buffs and 9th Foot had marched; with altogether six regiments of N. I., and some artillery, sappers, and engineer officers. The news from Cabul had not then had any effect on the chiefs about Jellalabad, whose followers are daily diminishing. Our troops were, nevertheless, as hard at work as ever, making the place as strong as possible. At that time Mackeson had not sent them any money; of which they were in great want, not having a rupee to give to the troops, and three months' pay nearly due. Extracts from my letter had been sent to government, and to the commander-in-chief. The original has been sent to my son-in-law, Capt. Bund; as Sale writes me that no other person gives them any idea of our real position at Cabul.

The Affghans still tell us we are doomed, and warn us to be particularly cautious of our safety in going out of cantonments. Taj Mahommed says that Mrs. Sturt and I must wear neemchees over our habits—common leather ones—and turbans, and ride mixed in with the suwars; not to go in palkees or keep near the other ladies, as they are very likely to be attacked.

The chiefs are to come in to-morrow, to take charge of cantonments before we leave them. Nawaub Zeman Shah Khan is also to come in to see the General.

Orders for the first bugle at six, the second at seven. Sturt inquired if he was to make the breach, and, when made, who were to guard it, &c.: to which the following is the reply:

"My dear Sturt,

"If it is as well as before, the General thinks you need not turn out the sappers. The Brigadier says you are the best judge as to whether it is defensible or not.

"Yours, truly, "WM. THAIN.

"4th Jan., 7 P.M.

"The General wants to know if the planks which were sent have been removed. The troops are not to turn out at six in the morning, as ordered, but wait till farther orders.

"W. T."

January 5th.—Sturt employed in making the breach. The chiefs say we shall go to-morrow. Orders out for seven and eight o'clock.

Shah Shoojah has sent a message to ask if not even one officer of his force will stand by him. This message was, I know, delivered by Sturt himself to several; but circumstances admitted not of farther adherence. Indeed, it is more than doubtful that the King was at the bottom of the insurrection, never dreaming that it would go so far.

THE RETREAT FROM CABUL.

Thursday, 6th January, 1842.—We marched from Cabul. The advanced guard consisted of the 44th Queen's, 4th Irregular Horse, and Skinner's Horse, two H. A. six-pounder guns, Sappers and Miners, Mountain Train, and the late Envoy's escort. The main body included the 5th and 37th N. I.; the latter in charge of treasure; Anderson's Horse, the Shah's 6th Regiment, two H. A. six-pounder guns. The rear-guard was composed of the 54th N. I., 5th Cavalry, and two six-pounder H. A. guns. The force consisted of about 4500 fighting men, and 12,000 followers.

The troops left cantonments both by the rear gate and the breach to the right of it, which had been made yesterday by throwing down part of the rampart to form a bridge over the ditch. All was confusion from before daylight. The day was clear and frosty; the snow nearly a foot deep on the ground; the thermometer considerably below freezing point.

By eight o'clock a great part of the baggage was outside the cantonments. It was fully expected that we would have to fight our way out of them, although terms had been entered into

with the Sirdar for our safe escort. Bills were granted on India for fourteen and a half lakhs of rupees, by the political authority (Major Pottinger) to the Cabul Shroffs, to be paid to the following Sirdars, who were, on their part, to protect the force as far as Peshawer :

Mahommed Zeman Shah Khan, three lakhs :

Amen Oollah Khan, six lakhs :

Khan Shireen Khan, head of the Kuzzilbashes, two lakhs :

Mahommed Akbar Khan, one lakh :

Osman Khan, two lakhs :

The Ghilzye chiefs, half a lakh.

We started at about half past nine, A.M. The advance party was not molested ; there might have been 50 or 100 Affghans collected about the gateway to witness our departure. The ladies, collectively speaking, were placed with the advance, under the charge of the escort ; but Mrs. Sturt and I rode up to Captain Hay, and mixed ourselves with his troopers.

The progress was very slow ; for the first mile was not accomplished under two and a half hours. There was only one small bridge over the Nullah, which is eight feet broad, but deep, situated about fifty yards from cantonments.

Great stress had been laid on the necessity of a bridge over the Cabul river, about half a mile from cantonments. In vain had Sturt represented over and over again, that as the river was perfectly fordable, it was a labour of time and inutility : with snow a foot deep, the men must get their feet wet. However, as usual, every sensible proposition was overruled ; and Sturt was sent long before daylight to make the bridge with gun carriages. They could not be placed over night, as the Affghans would have carried them off : he had therefore to work for hours up to his hips in water, with the comfortable assurance that, when his unprofitable task was finished, he could not hope for dry clothes until the end of the march ; and immediately on quitting the water they were all frozen stiff. I do not mention this as an individual grievance, but to show the inclemency of the weather, and the general misery sustained.

The bullocks had great difficulty in dragging these gun carriages through the snow, and when the bridge was made it was proved to be an unnecessary expense of time and labour. The baggage might have forded the river with great ease a little above the bridge, where it was not so deep. Mrs. Sturt and I rode with the horsemen through the river, in preference to attempting the rattling bridge of planks laid across the gun carriages : but the camp followers determined not to go through the water, and jostled for their turns to go over the bridge. This delay was the origin of the day's misfortune, which involved the loss of nearly all the baggage, and the greater part of the commissariat stores.

The troops had been on half rations during the whole of the siege : they consisted of half a seer of wheat per diem, with melted ghee or dhal, for fighting men ; and for camp followers, for some time, of a quarter of a seer of wheat or barley. Our cattle, public and private, had long subsisted on the twigs and bark of the trees. From the commencement of negotiations with the chiefs, ottah, barley, and bhoosa were brought in in considerable quantities ; the former selling at from two to four seers per rupee, and the latter from seven to ten ; but neither ourselves nor our servants benefited by this arrangement : it came to the commissariat for the troops. The poorer camp followers had latterly subsisted on such animals (camels, ponies, &c.) as had died from starvation. The men had suffered much from over work and bad feeding, also from want of firing ; for when all the wood in store was expended, the chiefs objected to our cutting down any more of the fruit trees ; and their wishes were complied with. Wood, both public and private, was stolen : when ours was gone, we broke up boxes, chests of drawers, &c. ; and our last dinner and breakfast at Cabul were cooked with the wood of a mahogany dining-table.

When the advance had proceeded about a mile, an order was brought for a return to cantonments, as Mahommed Zeman Shah Khan had written to say the chiefs were not ready ; but shortly afterward a counter order arrived to proceed without loss of time.

When the rear-guard left cantonments, they were fired upon from the cantonment then filled with Affghans. The servants, who were not concerned in the plunder, all threw away their loads and ran off. Private baggage, commissariat, and ammunition were nearly annihilated at one fell swoop. The whole road was covered with men, women, and children, lying down in the snow to die.

The only baggage we saved was Mrs. Sturt's bedding, on which the ayah rode ; and keeping her close to us, it was saved.

The Mission Compound was first vacated, and when the force from thence came into cantonments in order to pass through them, it was immediately filled with Affghans ; who, in like manner, occupied the cantonments as our troops went out.

It was the General's original intention to halt at Begramee, close to the Loghur river, and about five miles from Cabul (reiterated was the advice of our Affghan friends—alas, how little heeded !—to push on at all risks through the Khoord Cabul the first day) ; but the whole country being a swamp incrusted with ice, we went on about a mile farther, and halted at about 4 P.M. There were no tents, save two or three small palls that arrived. All scraped away the snow as best they might, to make a place to lie down on. The evening and night were intensely cold : no food for man or beast procurable, except a few handfuls of bhoosa, for which we paid from five to ten rupees. Captain Johnson, in our great distress, kindly pitched a small pall over us : but it was dark, and we had few pegs ; the wind blew in under the sides, and I felt myself gradually stiffening. I left the bedding, which was occupied by Mrs. Sturt and her husband, and doubled up my legs in a straw chair of Johnson's, covering myself with my poshteen. Mr. Mein and the ayah fully occupied the remainder of the space. We only went in all six miles, and had to abandon two H. A. guns on the road : we were also much delayed by the bullocks that dragged the planks, in case the Loghur bridge should have been destroyed. We had, however, positive information that it was all right ; and so it proved.

Previous to leaving cantonments, as we must abandon most of our property, Sturt was anxious to save a few of his most valuable books, and to try the experiment of sending them to a friend in the city. While he selected these, I found, among the ones thrown aside, Campbell's Poems, which opened at Hohenlinden; and, strange to say, one verse actually haunted me day and night:

> "Few, few shall part where many meet,
> The snow shall be their winding-sheet;
> And every turf beneath their feet
> Shall be a soldier's sepulchre."

I am far from being a believer in presentiments; but this verse is never absent from my thoughts. Heaven forbid that our fears should be realized! but we have commenced our retreat so badly, that we may reasonably have our doubts regarding the finale. Nearly all Hopkins's corps, the Shah's 6th, deserted from this place; as also the Shah's sappers and miners, 250 in number.

We afterward heard that 400 of Hopkins's men went back to Cabul the next day.

7th.—Yesterday's rear-guard did not get up to our bivouac till two this morning, as there was no attempts to form any lines. As stragglers came up, we heard them shouting out to know where their corps were; and the general reply—that no one knew anything about it.

During last night, or rather towards the morning, there was an alarm. Had it proved the enemy, we were perfectly defenceless; fortunately, it was only camp followers, &c.

At daylight we found several men frozen to death, among whom was Mr. Conductor Macgregor.

The reason the rear-guard were so late was, that they did not leave cantonments till sunset. Previous to their quitting them the Affghans had entered, and set fire to all the public and private buildings, after plundering them of their contents. The whole of our valuable magazines was *looted* by the mob; and they burned the gun carriages to procure the iron. Some fighting took place between the Affghans and our Sipahees. About fifty of the 54th were killed and wounded; and Cornet Hardyman, of the 5th Cavalry, killed. A great deal of baggage and public property was abandoned in cantonments, or lost on the road; among which were two Horse Artillery six-pounders, as before mentioned.

The officers of the rear-guard report that the road is strewn with baggage; and that numbers of men, women, and children, are left on the roadside to perish. Captain Boyd's office accounts, to the amount of several lakhs of rupees, have been lost.

Two or three small tents came up to-day.

The men were half frozen; having bivouacked all night in the snow, without a particle of food or bedding, or wood to light a fire.

At half past seven the advance-guard moved off—no order was given—no bugle sounded. It had much difficulty in forcing its way ahead of the baggage and camp followers; all of whom had proceeded in advance as soon as it was light. Among them there were many Sipahees; and discipline was clearly at an end. If asked why they were not with their corps, one had a lame foot, another could not find his regiment, another had lost his musket: any excuse to run off.

The whole of what little baggage was left was not off the ground ere the enemy appeared, and plundered all they could lay their hands on.

As the mountain train, consisting of three three-pounders dragged by yaboos and mules, was passing a small fort close to our background, a party of Affghans sallied out, and captured the whole. Scarcely any resistance was offered on the part of our troops, and the sacs immediately absconded. Brig. Anquetil and Lieut. Green rallied the men, add retook the guns; but were obliged to abandon them, as the 44th, whose duty it was to guard them, very precipitately *made themselves scarce:* but this was not done until Anquetil and Green had spiked them with their own hands, amid the gleaming sabres of the enemy.

As the troops advanced on their road, the enemy increased considerably on both flanks, and greatly annoyed the centre and rear.

It was the General's intention to proceed through the Khoord Cabul pass to Khoord Cabul; and as it was not above one P.M., when the advance arrived at Bhoodkhak, having only come five miles, it was with dismay we heard the order to halt.

We left Cabul with five and a half days' rations to take us to Jellalabad, and no forage for cattle, nor hope of procuring any on the road. By these unnecessary halts we diminished our provisions; and having no cover for officers or men, they are perfectly paralyzed with the cold. The snow was more than a foot deep. Here, again, did evil counsel beset the General: his principal officers and staff objecting to a farther advance; and Capt. Grant, in whom he had much confidence, assured him that if he proceeded he risked the safety of the army!

On our arrival at Bhoodkhak, the enemy had very greatly increased around our position; and we heard that Mahommed Akbar Khan was with them. Scarcely any baggage of either officers or men now remained. In a very small pall of Johnson's we slept nine, all touching each other.

We were also indebted to Johnson and Troop for food. They had a few Cabul cakes and some tea, which they kindly shared with us.

During this short march we were obliged to spike and abandon two other six-pounders, the horses not having strength sufficient to drag them on. We have only two horse artillery guns left, with scarcely any ammunition.

Again no ground was marked out for the troops. Three fourths of the Sipahees are mixed up with the camp followers, and know not where to find the headquarters of their corps.

Snow still lies a foot deep on the ground. No food for man or beast; and even water from the river, close at hand, difficult to obtain, as our people were fired on in fetching it.

Numbers of unfortunates have dropped, benumbed with cold, to be massacred by the enemy: yet, so bigoted are our rulers, that we are still told that the Sirdars are faithful, that Mohammed Akbar Khan is our friend!!! &c., &c., &c.; and the reason they wish us to delay is, that they may send their troops to clear the passes for us! That they will send them there can be no doubt; for everything is occurring just as was foretold to us before we set out.

Between Begramee and Bhoodkhak, a body

of the enemy's horse charged down into the column (immediately after the 5th and 37th had passed); and succeeded in carrying off an immense quantity of baggage and a number of camels, without experiencing the least resistance.

8th.—At sunrise no order had been issued for the march, and the confusion was fearful. The force was perfectly disorganized, nearly every man paralyzed with cold, so as to be scarcely able to hold his musket or move. Many frozen corpses lay on the ground. The Sipahees burned their caps, accoutrements, and clothes to keep themselves warm. Some of the enemy appearing in rear of our position, the whole of the camp followers rushed to the front; every man, woman, and child, seizing all the cattle that fell in their way, whether public or private. The ground was strewn with boxes of ammunition, plate, and property, of various kinds. A cask of spirits on the ground was broached by the artillerymen, and, no doubt, by other Europeans. Had the whole been distributed fairly to the men, it would have done them good: as it was, they became too much excited.

The enemy soon assembled in great numbers. Had they made a dash at us we could have offered no resistance, and all would have been massacred.

After very great exertions on the part of commanding officers, portions of their corps were got together. The 44th, headed by Major Thain, drove the enemy off to a short distance, and took up a position on a commanding height. The cavalry were also employed. Bullets kept whizzing by us, as we sat on our horses for hours. The artillerymen were now fully *primed*, by having had some brandy given them from the 54th's mess stores, which were being distributed to any one who would take them. They mounted their horses, and, with the best feeling in the world, declared that they were ashamed at our inactivity, and vowed they would charge the enemy. Capt. Nicholl, their immediate commandant, came up, abused them as drunkards, and talked of punishment: not the way, under such circumstances, to quiet tipsy men. They turned to Sturt, shortly after their own officer had left them, having showered curses and abuse on them which had irritated them dreadfully. Sturt told them they were fine fellows, and had ever proved themselves such during the siege; but that their lives were too valuable to be risked at such a moment: but, if need were, and their services were required, he would himself go with them. This, in a certain degree, restrained their ardour; yet still they kept on talking valiantly. These men listened the more readily to Sturt because they knew him well: he was daily and hourly in the batteries with them, encouraging them by being ever the foremost in the post of danger; and, on those dreadfully cold nights during the siege, while there was a bottle of brandy to be had at any price, after his own small store was expended, he gave those men on duty each one glass to warm and cheer them—a comfort they fully appreciated, as they had long been without what was now become necessary, though it is in general the soldier's bane. For myself, while I sat for hours on my horse in the cold, I felt very grateful for a tumbler of sherry, which at any other time would have made me very unladylike, but now merely warmed me, and appeared to have no more strength in it than water. Cups full of sherry were given to young children, three and four years old, without in the least affecting their heads.

When Major Thain took command of the 44th, he took part of the 37th N. I. with him. The 44th lines were nearest to the men who were firing into our camp, which was only saved by the promptness of Thain and Lawrence, who brought up the escort at a trot in the direction of the firing. He had to pass to the right of the 44th, and there he found about 150 of that regiment falling into their ranks. Major Thain was about 200 yards in advance, apparently reconnoitring the enemy, who were creeping up under cover of the ravines and hillocks, and keeping up a desultory fire on our camp. About this time, a company of the 37th N. I. formed on Lawrence's right, and on Thain making a signal all moved forward, and drove off the enemy in good style. Anderson's horse were formed on the opposite face of the camp, with orders to keep back the camp followers, who were rushing towards the entrance of the pass. Major Thain appears to have acted on the spur of the moment; which is the only reason I can assign for his commanding the 44th. Lawrence was not under any one's orders; as the general, before quitting cantonments, told him that his escort would be an independent body.

I am by no means certain that our chiefs pursued the wisest course. Had they, when the enemy first appeared, showed a good front and dashed at them, they would, probably, all have scampered off as fast as they could. The Affghans never stand a charge.

The General and Major Pottinger soon discovered that Mohammed Akbar Khan was there, and entered into communication with him: he agreed to protect the troops on condition that he should hereafter receive 15,000 rupees; and that Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie should be given over to him as hostages for General Sale's evacuation of Jellalabad; but that the troops should not proceed farther than Tézeen until information be received of the march of the troops from that place. These disgraceful propositions were readily assented to; and the three officers went off to the Sirdar.

Capt. Lawrence received a note from Conolly, telling him to be cautious, to put ourselves as little as possible in Akbar's power, and, above all things, to push on as fast as we could; but this note did not arrive until the conference was over, and all points adjusted.

We commenced our march at about midday, the 5th N. I. in front. The troops were in the greatest state of disorganization: the baggage was mixed in with the advanced guard, and the camp followers all pushed ahead in their precipitate flight towards Hindostan.

Sturt, my daughter, Mr. Mein, and I, got up to the advance, and Mr. Mein was pointing out to us the spots where the 1st brigade was attacked, and where he, Sale, &c., were wounded. We had not proceeded half a mile when we were heavily fired upon. Chiefs rode with the advance, and desired us to keep close to them. They certainly desired their followers

to shout to the people on the height not to fire: they did so, but quite ineffectually. These chiefs certainly ran the same risk we did; but I verily believe many of these persons would individually sacrifice themselves to rid their country of us.

After passing through some very sharp firing, we came upon Major Thain's horse, which had been shot through the loins. When we were supposed to be in comparative safety, poor Sturt rode back (to see after Thain, I believe): his horse was shot under him, and before he could rise from the ground he received a severe wound in the abdomen. It was with great difficulty he was held upon a pony by two people, and brought into camp at Khoord Cabul.

The pony Mrs. Sturt rode was wounded in the ear and neck. I had fortunately only *one* ball *in* my arm; three others passed through my poshteen near the shoulder without doing me any injury. The party that fired on us were not above fifty yards from us, and we owed our escape to urging our horses on as fast as they could go over a road where, at any other time, we should have walked our horses very carefully.

The main attack of the enemy was on the column, baggage, and rear-guard; and fortunate it was for Mrs. Sturt and myself that we kept with the chiefs. Would to God that Sturt had done so likewise, and not gone back.

The ladies were mostly travelling in kajavas, and were mixed up with the baggage and column in the pass: here they were heavily fired on. Many camels were killed. On one camel were, in one kajava, Mrs. Boyd and her youngest boy Hugh; and in the other Mrs. Mainwaring and her infant, scarcely three months old, and Mrs. Anderson's eldest child. This camel was shot. Mrs. Boyd got a horse to ride; and her child was put on another behind a man, who being shortly after unfortunately killed, the child was carried off by the Affghans. Mrs. Mainwaring, less fortunate, took her own baby in her arms. Mary Anderson was carried off in the confusion. Meeting with a pony laden with treasure, Mrs. M. endeavoured to mount and sit on the boxes, but they upset; and in the hurry pony and treasure were left behind; and the unfortunate lady pursued her way on foot, until after a time an Affghan asked her if she was wounded, and told her to mount behind him. This apparently kind offer she declined, being fearful of treachery; alleging as an excuse that she could not sit behind him on account of the difficulty of holding her child when so mounted. This man shortly after snatched her shawl off her shoulders, and left her to her fate. Mrs. M.'s sufferings were very great; and she deserves much credit for having preserved her child through these dreadful scenes. She not only had to walk a considerable distance with her child in her arms through the deep snow, but had also to pick her way over the bodies of the dead, dying, and wounded, both men and cattle, and constantly to cross the streams of water, wet up to the knees, pushed and shoved about by men and animals, the enemy keeping up a sharp fire, and several persons being killed close to her. She, however, got safe to camp with her child, but had no opportunity to change her clothes; and I know from experience that it was many days ere my wet habit became thawed, and can fully appreciate her discomforts.

Mrs. Bourke, little Seymour Stoker, and his mother, and Mrs. Cunningham, all soldiers' wives, and the child of a man of the 13th, have been carried off. The rear was protected by the 44th and 37th; but as they neared the pass, the enemy, concealed behind rocks, &c., increased their fire considerably upon them. The companies that had been skirmishing on the flanks of the rear-guard closed in; and they slowly entered the pass, keeping up a heavy fire on the assailants, who had by this time got among the straggling camp followers and Sipahees. Owing to a halt having taken place in front, the pass was completely choked up; and for a considerable time the 44th were stationary under a heavy fire, and were fast expending their ammunition. The 37th continued slowly moving on without firing a shot; being paralyzed with cold to such a degree that no persuasion of their officers could induce them to make any effort to dislodge the enemy, who took from some of them not only their firelocks, but even the clothes from their persons; several men of the 44th supplied themselves with ammunition from the pouches of the Sipahees: and many proceeded to the front owing to their ammunition being expended. Major Scott and Captain Swinton, of the 44th, had also gone to the front severely wounded; and the command of the regiment devolved on Captain Souter. Lieutenant Steer, of the 37th N. I., with great difficulty succeeded in bringing to the rear a yaboo loaded with ammunition: but scarcely were the boxes placed on the ground, opened, and a few rounds taken out, than they were obliged to be abandoned; as, owing to our fire having slackened, the enemy became bolder and pressed upon the rear in great numbers. They had the advantage of being covered by our stragglers, which compelled our men to retire, firing volleys indiscriminately among them and the Affghans. At this time our men were dropping fast from a flanking fire from the heights; and, seeing it was useless to attempt to maintain a position in the rear, under such circumstances, with only about sixty men, they were withdrawn; and with difficulty forced their way through the crowd to a more commanding position, where the rear-guard of the 44th was joined by Gen. Elphinstone, Col. Chambers, of the 5th Lt. Cavalry, with some troopers, and Capt. Hay, with a few of the Irregular Horse, and the only remaining gun, one having been abandoned in the pass. The 37th and the camp followers gradually passed to the front; but the Affghans were checked from following them.

After halting full an hour to let the stragglers, &c., get well to the front, they resumed their march; but, owing to the depth of the snow, the troops were compelled to assist the gun by manual labour, the horses being unable to get it on. In this way they reached the encamping ground, without molestation from the enemy.

On leaving Cabul each Sipahee had forty rounds of musket ammunition in pouch, with 100 spare loads—we have not now three camel loads left; and many Sipahees have not a single cartridge in pouch.

500 of our regular troops, and about 2500 of the camp followers, are killed.

Poor Sturt was laid on the side of a bank, with his wife and myself beside him. It began snowing heavily: Johnson and Bygrave got some xummuls (coarse blankets) thrown over us. Dr. Bryce, H. A., came and examined Sturt's wound: he dressed it; but I saw by the expression of his countenance that there was no hope. He afterward kindly cut the ball out of my wrist, and dressed both my wounds.

Half of a Sipahee's pall had been pitched, in which the ladies and their husbands took refuge. We had no one to scrape the snow off the ground in it. Capt. Johnson and Mr. Mein first assisted poor Sturt over to it, and then carried Mrs. Sturt and myself through the deep snow. Mrs. Sturt's bedding (saved by the ayah riding on it, whom we kept up close with ourselves) was now a comfort for my poor wounded son. He suffered dreadful agony all night, and intolerable thirst; and most grateful did we feel to Mr. Mein for going out constantly to the stream to procure water: we had only a small vessel to fetch it in, which contained but a few mouthfuls.

To sleep in such anxiety of mind and intense cold was impossible. There were nearly thirty of us packed together without room to turn.

The Sipahees and camp followers, half frozen, tried to force their way, not only into the tent, but actually into our beds, if such resting-places can be so called—a poshteen (or pelisse of sheepskin) half spread on the snow, and the other half wrapped over one.

Many poor wretches died round the tent in the night.

The light company of the 54th N. I., which left Cabul, thirty-six hours previously, eighty strong, was reduced to eighteen files. This is only one instance, which may fairly be taken as a general average of the destruction of our force.

9th.—Before sunrise the same confusion as yesterday. Without any order given, or bugle sounded, three fourths of our fighting men had pushed on in advance with the camp followers. As many as could, had appropriated to themselves all the public yaboos and camels, on which they mounted.

A portion of the troops had also regularly moved off, the only order appearing to be, "Come along; we are all going, and half the men are off, with the camp followers in advance!" We had gone perhaps a mile, when the whole were remanded back to their former ground; and a halt for the day was ordered, in accordance with the wishes of the Sirdar; who had represented to the general, through Capt. Skinner, that his arrangements were not made, either as regarded our security or provisions. Skinner urged the general to show some mark of confidence in the Sirdar's promises; which he instantly did by sending Capt. Anderson to order back the troops and baggage.

Mrs. Trevor kindly rode a pony, and gave up her place in the kajava to Sturt, who must otherwise have been left to die on the ground. The rough motion increased his suffering, and accelerated his death: but he was still conscious that his wife and I were with him; and we had the sorrowful satisfaction of giving him Christian burial.

More than one half of the force is now frost-bitten or wounded; and most of the men can scarcely put a foot to the ground.

This is the fourth day that our cattle have had no food; and the men are starved with cold and hunger.

Reports are prevalent in camp that the Irregular Cavalry, and the Envoy's escort, are about to desert to Mahommed Akbar Khan; and, also, that the Affghans are tampering with our Sipahees to leave us and return to Cabul. The Subadar major of the 37th N. I. has deserted: he was a Subadar Bahakur of the order of British India.

Shortly after Pottinger, Mackenzie, and Lawrence arrived at the Khoord Cabul fort with the Sirdah, he turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so, lest his motives might be misconstrued; but that, as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it; and that it was, that all the married men, with their families, should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guarantying them honourable treatment, and safe escort to Peshawer. He added, that Lawrence must have seen, from the events of the day previous—the loss of Capt. Boyd's and Capt. Anderson's children, &c.—that our camp was no place of safety for the ladies and children. Lawrence replied, that he considered the proposition a most admirable one; and, Skinner coming in just then, he repeated what had passed to him, who replied, "This is just what I was thinking of suggesting." On which Lawrence begged he would go off and get the general's sanction, and bring them all without delay. Major Pottinger concurred entirely in the expediency of this measure.

Our present position is one of imminent peril. Immediately on Skinner's arrival about midday, we set off, escorted by some chiefs, to a fort about two miles distant, where Mahommed Akbar Khan had taken up his temporary residence. Capt. Troup, Brigade-major to the Shah's force, who was wounded, accompanied the party, as did also Mr. Mein of the 13th, who, having been sent back with a year's sick-leave to Cabul, after he was wounded in October, followed Mrs. Sturt's and my fortunes, not being attached to any corps, nor having any duty to perform.

There can be little doubt but that the proposition was acceded to by the general in the two-fold hope of placing the ladies and children beyond the dangers and dreadful privations of the camp, and also of showing the Sirdar that he was sincere in his wish to negotiate a truce, and thus win from him a similar feeling of confidence.

Overwhelmed with domestic affliction, neither Mrs. Sturt nor I were in a fit state to decide for ourselves whether we would accept the Sirdar's protection or not. There was but faint hope of our ever getting safe to Jellalabad; and we followed the stream. But although there was much talk regarding our going over, all I personally know of the affair is, that I was told we were all to go, and that our horses were ready, and we must mount immediately and be off.

We were taken by a very circuitous route to the Khoord Cabul forts, where we found Mahommed Akbar Khan and the hostages. Mr. Boyd's little boy had been brought there, and was re-

stored to his parents. Mrs. Burnes and young Stoker were also saved, and joined our party. Anderson's little girl is said to have been taken to Cabul, to the Nawaub Zeman Shah Khan.

Three rooms were cleared out for us, having no outlets except a small door to each; and, of course, they were dark and dirty. The party to which I belonged consisted of Mrs. Trevor and seven children, Lieut. and Mrs. Waller and child, Mrs. Sturt, Mr. Mein, and myself, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Burnes, two soldiers' wives, and young Stoker, child of a soldier of the 13th, who was saved from people who were carrying him off to the hills, and came in covered, we fear, with his mother's blood: of her we have no account, nor of Mrs. Cunningham, both of the 13th. The dimensions of our room are, at the utmost, fourteen feet by ten.

At midnight, some mutton bones and greasy rice were brought to us.

All that Mrs. Sturt and I possess are the clothes on our backs in which we quitted Cabul.

Here I must divide the account. I shall go on with my own personal adventures; and afterward, from the same date, follow up the fortunes of our unhappy army, from the journals of friends who, thank God! have lived through all their sufferings.

10*th*.—Mahommed Akbar Khan left us, to escort our troops. 500 deserters are said to have come in to him. It is reported that the thieves have nearly exterminated our force; and that four of Mahommed Akbar's sirdars are killed. Akbar is expected back at night; and if the road is clear, we are to march at night and go thirty miles. Some officers are said to have taken refuge in a fort near this place. A letter came from the general, stating that he wished Capt. Anderson and Capt. Boyd to return: this was in consequence of a representation made to him that Anderson's making over the command of his corps to Lieut. Le Geyt, and going away, might have a bad effect on his men, who now showed symptoms of an inclination to leave us to our fate. But it was decided by the politicals that for those officers to return would have the appearance of their faith in the Sirdar's promises being shaken, and that it would be productive of much evil: they remained therefore with us. Here was another instance of the general's vacillation. Anderson, on his return from taking the message to bring the troops back, was ordered by the general to go off with the other married men and families. Whatever may have been his own sentiments on the occasion, his opinion was never asked, and he had but to obey.

11*th*.—We marched, being necessitated to leave all the servants that could not walk, the Sirdar promising that they should be fed. It would be impossible for me to describe the feelings with which we pursued our way through the dreadful scenes that awaited us. The road covered with awfully mangled bodies, all naked: fifty-eight Europeans were counted in the Tunghee and dip of the Nullah; the natives innumerable. Numbers of camp followers, still alive, frost-bitten and starving; some perfectly out of their senses and idiotic. Major Ewart, 54th, and Major Scott, 44th, were recognised as we passed them; with some others. The sight was dreadful; the smell of the blood sickening; and the corpses lay so thick that it was impossible to look from them, as it required care to guide my horse so as not to tread upon the bodies: but it is unnecessary to dwell on such a distressing and revolting subject.

We hear that Mahommed Abkar Khan offered to escort the army down, provided the troops laid down their arms; but that the General went on, upon his own responsibility.

We arrived at the Tézeen fort, where we were well treated; and where we found Lieut. Melville, 54th. He had, in guarding the colour of his regiment, received five severe wounds. He had fortunately seven rupees about him; these he gave to an Affghan to take him to the Sirdar, who dressed his wounds with his own hands, applying burned rags; and paid him every attention.

12*th*.—We went to Seh Baba; and thence out of the road, following the bed of the river, to Abdoollah Khan's fort. We passed our last gun, abandoned, with poor Dr. Cardew's body lying on it, and three Europeans close by it.

During the march, we were joined by Mr. Magrath, surgeon of the 37th N. I., and six men of the 44th. He had been wounded and taken prisoner on the 10th, while endeavouring to rally a party of some forty or fifty irregular cavalry, and bring them to the assistance of the unfortunate wounded men, who were being butchered at the bottom of the Huft Kohtul. On his coming up with this party, and again ordering them to halt, to his great disgust he found Khoda Bukh Khan, a Ghilzye chief, among them; to whom they were apologizing for not having gone over the day previous, as their comrades had done. Mr. Magrath had several narrow escapes; and, when surrounded by Ghilzye footmen with their long knives drawn, owed his life in a great measure to an Affghan horseman, who recognised him as having shown some little kindness to some of his sick friends at Cabul.

At night we had snow.

Our whole party, ladies and gentlemen, crammed into one room; one side of which was partitioned off with mats and filled with grain. Here an old woman cooked chupatties for us, three for a rupee; but, finding the demand great, she soon raised the price to a rupee each.

13*th*.—We traveiled over mountain paths, where the camels found it difficult to get on with the kajavas, till we arrived at Jugdaluk: near the Ghavoy there had been fearful slaughter, principally of Europeans.

We found Gen. Elphinstone, Brig. Shelton, and Capt. Johnson here in tents.

Having brought our party safe to Jugdaluk, I now return to the proceedings of our unfortunate army; taking up the tale at the period when the ladies and their party took protection. On the 9th a round Affghan tent was pitched for the ladies; and we felt the courtesy of the sirdars, who slept in the open air to give us shelter, even such as it was, for the wind blew in in every direction.

Immediately after our departure, the irregular horse, with the exception of about eighty men, went over in a body to the Sirdar; and as they were afterward seen in company with a body of Affghan horse at about a mile's distance, there was an attack from them apprehended: all was consternation. Several of our Sipahees absent-

ed themselves during the day, also a number of camp followers. A message was sent to Mahommed Akbar Khan, and a hope expressed that he would not favour the desertion of the troops; and he promised that all going over to him should be shot, which was immediately made known to the men. One of the Mission chuprassies was caught in the act of going off, and shot.

Lieut. Mackay, assistant to Capt. Johnson, was sent in the afternoon to the Sirdar (to the fort where the ladies were), for the purpose of being the bearer of a letter to Gen. Sale at Jellalabad, to order him to evacuate his position. This letter was written by Major Pottinger.

All the dhooley bearers either deserted or were murdered the first day.

The whole of the camels and yaboos have been either taken by the enemy or plundered by our no less lawless camp followers and soldiers.

The greatest confusion prevailed all day; and anxiety and suspense for the ultimate fate of the army was intense; all expecting that if in a few hours they were not deprived of life by cold and hunger, they would fall by the knives of the Affghans; which, had they been then attacked, must indubitably have occurred; for on the return of the troops after their set-out in the morning, commanding officers had great difficulty in collecting sixty files a corps: but even of these many could scarcely hold a musket; many died of cold and misery that night. To add to their wretchedness, many were nearly, and some wholly, afflicted with snow blindness.

10th.—No sooner was it light than the usual rush to the front was made by the mixed rabble of camp followers, Sipahees, and Europeans in one huge mass. Hundreds of poor wretches, unable to seize any animals for themselves, or despoiled by stronger persons of those they had, were left on the road to die or be butchered.

After much exertion, the advance, consisting of the 44th, the only remaining six-pounder, and about fifty files of the 5th cavalry, managed to get ahead of the crowd. The Affghans were appearing on the hills early: on arriving at the Tunghee Tareekee, a narrow gorge about ten feet wide and two miles distant from their last ground, Capt. Johnson was sent with the advance; the heights were taken possession of by the enemy, who fired down incessantly on the road, from which they were inaccessible. The snow increased in depth as the army advanced. There is a gradual ascent all the way from Khoord Cabul to Kubber-i-Jubhar, a distance of five miles; the progress was necessarily slow, and many poor fellows were shot.

After getting through the pass, not above fifty yards in length, they proceed to Kubber-i-Jubhar; where they halted for their comrades.

Latterly no Affghans had been seen, except at a distance; the horror of our people was therefore the greater when a few stragglers from the rear came up, and reported themselves as the remnant of the rear column, almost every man of which had been either killed or wounded: Capt. Hopkins had his arm broken by a musket ball. There was now not a single Sipahee left of the whole Cabul force.

A desperate attack had been made by a body of Affghans, sword in hand: our men made no resistance, but threw away their arms and accoutrements; and fell an easy prey to our barbarous and bloodthirsty foe.

The rear-guard was composed of the 54th regiment. On arriving at the narrow pass called Tunghee Tareekee, or "the dark pass," a turn in the road shut out from their sight the enemy, who had followed close on their heels, but on whom they had received strict orders not to fire; although the Ghilzyes, from the heights and ravines, had kept up a sharp discharge, killing many Sipahees and camp followers, and cutting up all wounded and sick left behind. On arriving at the above-mentioned pass, the turn in the road allowed the Ghilzyes to close up; and a general attack was made on all sides; hundreds of Affghans rushing down from the rocks and hills, cut to pieces their now reduced regiment. Here Major Ewart, commanding 54th, had both his arms broken by bullets from the Juzails; Lieut. Morrison, the adjutant, was wounded; and Lieut. Weaver, of the same corps, slightly. Lieut. Melville, on observing the Jemadar, who carried the regiment's colour, wounded and dropping his charge, seized it; and, after vainly attempting to tear it off the staff, to which it was too firmly attached, made his way on foot (his horse having been killed), with the colour in his hand. This made him a mark for the enemy; and ere he had got out of the pass, being nearly, or quite, the last man of the column, or rather rabble, he received a spear wound in his back, which threw him on his face: ere well able to rise, a severe sword-cut in the head again laid him prostrate; but he contrived to crawl as far as the fast retreating column; when again the knife of an Affghan wounding him in the neck, and a spear in the chin, he gave up all for lost. He was now surrounded by a dozen Ghilzyes, and no man, save the dead and dying, near him; when the enemy, observing a box of treasure on the opposite side of the pass, left him, for the purpose of rifling the money, either supposing they had already killed him, or intending to return when they had secured the more valuable booty. This pause gave Lieut. Melville an opportunity of escaping and regaining the column; which, although weak from his wounds, he availed himself of; and by going through the snow in the ravines, he contrived to reach the column; where a pony without an owner, or saddle of any description, presenting itself, he scrambled on to it; and, with the assistance of a Mehter, gained the centre of the column, where the 44th and one gun still kept some order. Lieut. Melville was tied on the gun, and was told by Gen. Elphinstone, that he should be sent over to the charge of the Sirdar, Mohammed Akbar Khan, on reaching Tézeen, or at any opportunity of going.

On a report of a large body of horse being observed in the rear, the gun was ordered there; and Lieut. Melville was placed on a bank on the road-side. The column passed on; and he was expecting the fate of the other poor fellows who had fallen; when, providentially for him, a horseman rode up, who had known him in cantonments, and who strapped him on his horse, and took him over to the party of horsemen, consisting of Mohammed Akbar Khan and his followers; who received him most kindly, and, binding up his wounds, gave him a loonghee, his regiment cap being cut to pieces.

The loonghee is the cloth worn as a turban commonly by the Affghans, and is generally of blue check with a red border: those worn by the Khyberries are much gayer, and have a large admixture of yellow.

Melville gave to Omer Khan, the horseman who saved his life, seven rupees, being all the property he possessed.

Every particle of baggage was gone.

The small remnant of the army consisted of about seventy files of the 44th, fifty of the 5th cavalry, and one six-pounder gun. Observing a body of cavalry in their rear, they determined to bring their solitary gun into position, and make a last effort for existence. Finding it was again Mohammed Akbar Khan, Capt. Skinner (Assist.-Com.-Gen.), by direction of the general, went over, under escort, to him, to remonstrate on the attack made on our troops after a treaty had been entered into for our protection. He replied, he regetted it, he could not control the Ghilzyes (the inhabitants of this part of the country) with his small body of horse, about 300; but that as the remnant of our troops was merely a few Europeans, he would guaranty their safety, and that of all the European officers, to Jellalabad, if the general would conduct them all disarmed, while the Affghans were to have the use of their weapons. He said his motives for this were, that should they bring their arms with them, his own followers would be afraid of treachery. To this proposition the general would not assent.

Mackay returned with Skinner from the Sirdar, as the road to Jellalabad was said to be unsafe.

The troops continued their fearful march: the remnant of the camp followers, with several wounded officers, went ahead: for five miles they saw no enemy: all who could not walk were necessarily left behind. They descended a long steep descent to the bed of the Tézeen Nullah. At this dip the scene was horrible: the ground was covered with dead and dying, among whom were several officers: they had been suddenly attacked and overpowered. The enemy here crowded from the tops of the hills in all directions down the bed of the Nullah, through which the route lay for three miles; and our men continued their progress through an incessant fire from the heights on both sides, until their arrival in the Tézeen valley, at about half past four P.M.

The descent from the Huft Kohtul was about 2000 feet; and here they lost the snow.

About 12,000 persons have perished!

A quarter of an hour after their arrival, the Sirdar and a party came into the valley to a fort higher up belonging to his father-in-law, Mohammed Shah Khan. A signal was made to his horsemen to approach: two came, and Capt. Skinner, by the general's desire, accompanied them to Mohammed Akbar Khan, to devise some means of saving the remnant—about 4000 people of all descriptions.

Skinner returned at dusk, and brought back the same message as from Kubber-i-Jubhar, regarding disarming the Europeans; and again this was refused.

The General then decided, weak and famished as the troops were, and without any prospect of procuring provisions at Tézeen, to march at seven in the evening (they had left Khoord Cabul, fifteen miles from Tézeen, half past six A. M.), and proceed, if possible, through the Jugdaluk pass by eight or nine the next morning. In this consisted their only chance of safety; for, should the enemy obtain intimation of their approach, the pass would be occupied, and the object defeated. Johnson pointed out to the General that Mahommed Akbar Khan and his party could, by means of a short cut across the mountains, start long after them, and arrive before them, ready to oppose them.

Jugdaluk is about twenty-four miles from Tézeen; the pass about two miles long, very narrow, and commanded on both sides by high and precipitous hills.

At Tézeen Gen. Elphinstone received a note in cipher from Capt. Conolly, warning him that Mahommed Akbar Khan had quitted Cabul, with the avowed intention of getting into his hands the person of the General, and all the married people with their families.

A message was sent to Mahommed Akbar Khan that they were going to march to Seh Baba, seven miles from Tézeen (this place is sometimes called Tukeea-i-Fakeer): the road lies down the bed of a Nullah, with high hills on either side. The place is only remarkable from having a few trees and a grave or two under them; and from the latter I believe it takes its name.

The camp followers having been the bane of this unfortunate army, they hoped to move off quietly and leave them behind; but no sooner did they start, than they found that all who were able to stand were accompanying them. They left their remaining gun behind; and Dr. Cardew, who was mortally wounded at the dip into the Tézeen Nullah, was laid on the carriage to await death, which was rapidly approaching: he was found dead by Mahommed Akbar's people the next morning.

The night was fine and moonlit, and they reached Seh Baba about midnight; here a few shots were fired on them; and the rear being attacked, the whole remains of the 44th, with the exception of about nine files to form the advance, were ordered there; and thus the column remained until their arrival at Jugdaluk; their progress being again impeded by that evil which always attends Indian armies, the camp followers, who, if a shot is fired in advance, invariably fall back; and if in rear, rush to the front.

11*th*.—From Seh Baba the road turns off sharp to the right over the mountains to Jugdaluk; and across the Nullah is seen the short road to Cabul, but which cannot be travelled by guns or camels.

At Seh Baba Dr. Duff (the Surgeon-General to the forces in Affghanistan), who had had his hand cut off with a penknife at Tézeen, in consequence of a severe wound, was from weakness obliged to lag behind, and was two days afterward found murdered.

Bareekbub is three miles from Seh Baba: there is a clear stream of water, and several caves in the rocks. Here our force observed a number of people in the caves, with whom they did not interfere, as they did not molest them. They eventually fired some volleys on the rear.

At daybreak the advance arrived at Killa Sung, about seven miles from Seh Baba, where

there are some streams of water: this is the general encamping ground though very confined, and commanded by hills all round.

They proceeded about half a mile farther on, and then halted, until the rear-guard should arrive; but they, having been much molested on the road, did not arrive for two hours. On their first arrival not an Affghan was to be seen, but shortly several made their appearance on the hills, and the number continued every moment to increase. Not a drop of water was procurable; nor would they get any until their arrival at Jugdaluk. They had marched for twenty-four hours consecutively, and had still ten miles to go before they could hope for rest. On being joined by the rear-guard they continued their march; the enemy in small numbers watching every opportunity to murder stragglers from the column.

At two miles from Jugdaluk the descent into the valley commences.

The hills on each side of the road were occupied by the enemy, who kept firing from their long juzails; and again the road was covered with dead and dying, as they were in such a mass that every shot told.

On arrival in the valley, a position was taken up on the first height near some ruined walls. As scarcely any Europeans of the advance now remained, and the enemy were increasing, the General called all the officers (about twenty) to form line and show a front: they had scarcely done so when Capt. Grant, Assistant-Adjutant-General, received a ball through the cheek which broke his jaw.

On the arrival of the rear-guard, followed up by the enemy, the latter took possession of two heights close to our position: on which our force went for security within the ruined walls. The men were almost maddened with hunger and thirst: a stream of pure water ran within 150 yards of the position, but no man could go for it without being massacred.

For about half an hour they had a respite from the fire of the enemy, who now only watched their proceedings.

The General desired Johnson to see if there were any bullocks or camels procurable among the followers: he obtained three bullocks, which were killed, served out, and devoured instantly, although raw, by the Europeans.

A few horsemen coming in sight, they signed for one to approach: he did so, and on being questioned what chief was present, said Mahommed Akbar Khan. A message was sent to the Sirdar by the General to know why they were again molested: the chief replied, he wished to converse with Skinner, who immediately accompanied the messenger. This was about half past three P.M. of the 11th.

After marching for thirty hours they lay down on the ground, worn out by cold, hunger, thirst, and fatigue: but scarcely had Skinner taken his departure, when volley after volley was poured into the enclosure where they were resting. All was instant confusion, and a general rush took place outside the walls; men and cattle all huddled together, each striving to hide himself from the murderous fire of the enemy.

At this time twenty gallant men of the 44th made a simultaneous rush down the hill, to drive the enemy off the heights they occupied: in this they were successful, for, supposing they were followed by the rest, the foe took to flight, ere our men could reach their position.

In about a quarter of an hour, as so small a party would not admit of any division, this party was recalled. They again entered within the broken walls; and instantly our inveterate foes were in their former position dealing death among them.

About 5 o'clock Skinner returned with a message that the Sirdar wished to see the General, Brig. Shelton, and Johnson; and if they would go over to confer with him, he would engage to put a stop to any farther massacre, and also to give food to our troops: and on condition of their remaining with him as hostages for Gen. Sale's evacuation of Jellalabad, he would escort all the small remaining party in safety.

Mahommed Shah Khan, father-in-law to the Sirdar, and whose daughter is with the Dost at Loodianah, is one of the principal Ghilzye chiefs; he came at dusk with an escort to receive them; and they started in the confident hope that some arrangement would be entered into to save the lives of the remainder of the army. The General and the above-mentioned officers proceeded to the top of the valley for about two miles, and found the Sirdar and his party in bivouac: nothing could exceed the kind manner in which they were received. The chief, on hearing they had not tasted food for forty-eight hours, had a cloth spread on the ground; and a good pillau and other dishes, as also tea, were quickly brought: and they formed a circle round it, and all ate out of the same dish.

Their hunger, though great, was not to be compared to their thirst, which had not been quenched for two days.

The party consisted of the Sirdar, Mahommed Akbar Khan, Mahommed Shah Khan, Abdool Ghyas Khan (son of Jubhar Khan), and a young lad called Abdool Hakeem Khan, nephew to the Sirdar. The attention of the Sirdar and his party was excessive; and after dinner they sat round a blazing fire, and conversed on various subjects. The General requested that Mahommed Akbar Khan would early in the morning forward provisions to the troops, and make arrangements for supplying them with water: all which he faithfully promised to do.

The General was anxious for permission to return to his troops; and offered to send Brig. Anquetil, should the Sirdar require an officer in his stead. Johnson, by the General's desire, pointed out to the Sirdar the stigma that would attach to him as commander of the force, were he to remain in a place of comparative security, while such danger impended over the troops. To this the Sirdar would not consent. At about 11 P.M., the Sirdar promised he would early in the morning call the chiefs of the pass together, to make arrangements for a safe escort: he then showed them into a small tent, where, stretched on their cloaks, they found relief in sleep.

Our unfortunate force at Jugdaluk this day consisted of 150 men of the 44th; 16 dismounted horse artillery men; 25 of the 5th cavalry. Not a single Sipahee with arms, no spare ammunition, and the few rounds in pouch had been taken from the killed.

12*th*.—The English officers arose at sunrise, and found the Sirdar and his party were up.

They showed them the same civility as over night; two confidential servants of the chief were appointed to wait on them; and they were warned not to attempt to leave the tent without one of these men, lest they should be maltreated or insulted by the Ghilzyes, who were flocking in to pay their respects to Mahommed Akbar.

About 9 A.M., the chiefs of the pass and the country around Soorkhab arrived. Soorkhab is about thirteen miles from Jugdaluk, towards Jellalabad, and is the usual halting ground.

The chiefs sat down to discuss affairs. They were bitter in their hatred towards us; and declared that nothing would satisfy them and their men, but our extermination. Money they would not receive. The Sirdar, as far as words could prove his sincerity, did all in his power to conciliate them; and, when all other arguments failed, reminded them that his father and family were in the power of the British government at Loodianah; and that vengeance would be taken on the latter if mercy were not showed to the British in their power.

Mahommed Shah Khan offered them 60,000 rupees on condition of our force not being molested. After some time they took their departure to consult with their followers; and Mahommed Shah Khan mentioned to Johnson that he feared the chiefs would not, without some great inducement, resist the temptation of plunder and murder that now offered itself: and wound up the discourse by asking if we would give them two lakhs of rupees for a free passage. On this being explained to the General, he gave his consent; and it was made known to Mahommed Shah Khan, who went away and promised to return quickly.

The General again begged of the Sirdar to permit him to return to his troops; but without avail.

Johnson, by the General's desire, wrote early in the day to Skinner, to come to the Sirdar. This letter and two others, it is to be feared, he never received. A report was brought in that Skinner was wounded, but not dangerously; the Sirdar expressed much sorrow; poor Skinner died of his wound the same day.

Until 12 o'clock crowds of Ghilzyes, with their respective chiefs, continued to pour in from the surrounding country to make their salaams to Mahommed Akbar Khan, to participate in the plunder of our unfortunate people, and to revel in the massacre of the Europeans. From their expressions of hatred towards our whole race, they appeared to anticipate more delight in cutting our throats than in the expected booty. However, on a hint from the Sirdar, they changed the language in which they conversed, from Persian to Pushtoo, which was not understood by our officers.

The Sirdar, to all appearance, while sitting with Johnson, endeavoured to conciliate them; but it very probably was only done as a blind to hide his real feelings.

In two instances, the reply of the chiefs was—"When Burnes came into this country, was not your father entreated by us to kill him; or he would go back to Hindostan, and at some future day bring an army and take our country from us? He would not listen to our advice, and what is the consequence? Let us now, that we have the opportunity, take advantage of it; and kill those infidel dogs."

At about 12, the Sirdar left them, and went on the top of a hill in the rear of the British bivouac. He did not return till sunset; and in reply to the anxious inquiry when Mahommed Shan Khan would return, they were always told immediately. Frequent assurances had been given that the troops had been supplied with food and water; but subsequently they learned that neither had been given them in their dire necessity.

The Sirdar returned at dusk; and was soon followed by Mahommed Shah Khan, who brought intelligence that all was finally and amicably arranged for the safe conduct of the troops to Jellalabad. The Sirdar said he would accompany them in the morning early. By the General's request, Johnson wrote to Brig. Anquetil to have the troops in readiness to march by 8 o'clock: he had also commenced a letter to General Sale to evacuate Jellalabad (this being part of the terms). Suddenly, and before the first note was sent off, much musketry was heard down the valley in the direction of the troops; and a report was brought in that the Europeans were moving off through the pass followed by the Ghilzyes. All was consternation. At first the Sirdar suggested that he and the officers should follow them: in this the General concurred. In a few minutes the Sirdar changed his mind; said he feared their doing so would injure the troops, by bringing after them the whole horde of Ghilzyes then assembled in the valley. He promised to send a confidential servant to Meer Afzul Khan at Gundamuk (two miles beyond Soorkhab) to afford them protection; and agreed to start with them at midnight, as, being mounted, they would overtake the others before daybreak. When about to separate for the night, the Sirdar again altered the time of their departure to the first hour of daylight. Remonstrances were of no avail; and our party were too completely in the power of the enemy, to persist in what they had not the power to enforce.

Mahommed Akbar Khan told Johnson, after Mahommed Shah Khan went out to consult with the chiefs of the pass, that the latter were dogs and no faith could be placed in them, and begged Johnson would send for three or four of his most intimate friends, that their lives might be saved in the event of treachery to the troops. Gladly as he would have saved his individual friends, he was under the necessity of explaining to the Sirdar that a sense of honour would prevent the officers deserting their men at a time of such imminent peril. The Sirdar also proposed, that in the event of the Ghilzyes not acceding to the terms, he would himself, at dusk, proceed with a party of horsemen to the foot of the hill where our troops were; and, previous orders being sent to the commanding officer for all to be ready, he would bring every European away in safety, by each of his horsemen taking up one behind him: the Ghilzyes would not then fire upon them, lest they should hit him or his men. But he would not allow a single Hindostanee to follow; as he could not protect 2000 men (the computed number). Johnson interpreted all this to the General; but it was deemed impracticable: as from past experience they knew how impossible it was even to separate the Sipahees from the camp followers. Four or five times during the day they heard the re-

port of musketry in the direction of our troops; but they were always told that all fighting had ceased. This was subsequently proved to be a gross falsehood. Our troops were incessantly fired upon from the time that the General and the other officers quitted them to the time of their departure, and several hundreds of officers and men had been killed or wounded. The remainder, maddened with cold, hunger, and thirst, the communication between them and the General cut off, and seeing no prospect but certain death before them by remaining in their present position, determined on making one desperate effort to leave Jugdaluk. Snow fell during the night.

My narrative now continues from information furnished by a friend remaining with the remnant of this ill-fated army. They halted this day at Jugdaluk, hoping to negotiate an arrangement with Mahommed Akbar Khan and the Ghilzye chiefs, as before stated; but the continual firing, and frequent attempts made by the enemy to force them from their position during the day, but too well indicated that there was little or no chance of negotiations being effectual to quell hostilities, and admit of their resuming their march in safety: on the contrary, there appeared an evident determination still to harass their retreat to the very last.

Near the close of the day the enemy commenced a furious attack from all sides. The situation of our troops at this time was critical in the extreme: the loss they sustained in men and officers had been great during the day, and the survivers had only been able to obtain a scanty meal of camel's flesh: even water was not procurable without the parties proceeding for it being exposed to a heavy fire. The men, under all this suffering, perishing with cold at their post, bravely repelled the enemy; and would then have followed them from under the dilapidated walls had they been permitted to do so. During this conflict Capt. Souter of the 44th, anxious to save the colours of his regiment, tore one of them from its staff, and folding it round his person, concealed it under the poshteen he wore: the other was in like manner appropriated by Lieut. Cumberland; but finding that he could not close his pea-coat over it, he reluctantly intrusted it to the care of the Acting Quartermaster-Sergeant of the 44th regiment.

Great anxiety prevailed among the troops, caused by the continued absence of Gen. Elphinstone and Brigadier Shelton, the two seniors in command. It was resolved, as they did not return, to resume their march as soon as the night should shroud them from observation; and Brig. Anquetil, now in command, ordered the troops to fall in at eight o'clock; but before the men could take the places assigned to them, the camp followers, who were still numerous, crowded upon them as usual. At length between 8 and 9 o'clock they took their departure, which was rendered a very trying scene, from the entreaties of the wounded, amounting to seventy or eighty, for whom there was no conveyance; and, therefore, however heart-rending to all, they were necessarily abandoned, with the painful conviction that they would be massacred in cold blood, defenceless as they were, by the first party of Ghilzyes that arrived.

The enemy, who seem to have been aware of the intended removal, soon commenced an attack upon the straggling camp followers: and a number of Affghans, favoured by the darkness of the night, stole in among the followers that were in column, whom they quietly despatched, and proceeded to plunder. These daring men, however, were nearly all cut up or bayoneted by the enraged soldiery, who shortly after came upon an encampment of the enemy, in passing which they were saluted with a heavy fire, followed up by a sally upon the camp followers, as usual.

They proceeded on until they came to a gorge, with low steep hills on either side, between which the road passed, about two miles from Jugdaluk. Here two barriers had been thrown across the road, constructed of bushes and branches of trees. The road, which had been flooded, was a mass of ice and the snow on the hills very deep. The enemy, who had waited for them in great force at this spot, rushed upon the column, knife in hand. The camp followers and wounded men fell back upon the handful of troops for protection, thus rendering them powerless, and causing the greatest confusion; while the men, in small detached parties, were maintaining conflicts with fearful odds against them.

In this conflict the Acting Quartermaster-Sergeant fell: and in the confusion, caused by an overwhelming enemy pressing on the rear in a night attack, it is not surprising that it was found impossible to extricate the colour from the body of the fallen man; and its loss was unavoidable. The disorder of the troops was increased by a part of them, the few remaining horsemen, galloping through and over the infantry in hopes of securing their own retreat to Jellalabad. The men, maddened at being ridden over, fired on them; and it is said that some officers were fired at; but that rests on doubtful testimony. When the firing slackened, and the clashing of knives and bayonets had in some measure ceased, the men moved on slowly; and on arriving at the top of the gorge, were able to ascertain the fearful extent of the loss they had sustained in men and officers. Of the latter, Brigadier Anquetil and above twenty others were missing. The troops now halted unmolested for an hour, during which time a few stragglers contrived to join them.

The country being now of a more open description, our small force suffered less annoyance from the fire of the enemy; but the determination of the men to bring on their wounded comrades greatly retarded their marching; and from the troopers having proceeded onward, the wounded could not be mounted behind them: thus their pace did not exceed two miles in the hour. From time to time sudden attacks were made on the rear; particularly in spots where the road wound close under the foot of the hills, and there a sharp fire was sure to be met with. In this manner they went on till they reached the Soorkhab river, which they forded below the bridge at 1 A.M. on the 13th, being aware that the enemy would take possession of it, and dispute the passage. While fording the river a galling fire was kept up from the bridge: here Lieut. Cadett of the 44th and several men were killed and wounded.

13*th*.—From Soorkhab the remnant of the column moved towards Gundamuk: but as the day dawned the enemy's numbers increased; and, unfortunately, daylight soon exposed to them how very few fighting men the column contained. The force now consisted of twenty officers, of whom Major Griffiths was the senior, fifty men of the 44th, six of the horse artillery, and four or five Sipahees. Among the whole there were but twenty muskets; 300 camp followers still continued with them.

Being now assailed by an increased force, they were compelled to quit the road, and take up a position on a hill adjoining. Some Affghan horsemen being observed at a short distance, were beckoned to. On their approach there was a cessation of firing: terms were proposed by Capt. Hay, to allow the force to proceed without farther hostilities to Jellalabad. These persons not being sufficiently influential to negotiate, Major Griffiths proceeded with them to a neighbouring chief for that purpose, taking with him Mr. Blewitt, formerly a writer in Capt. Johnson's office, who understood Persian, that he might act as interpreter.

Many Affghans ascended the hill where our troops awaited the issue of the expected conference; and exchanges of friendly words passed between both parties. This lasted upward of an hour; but hostilities were renewed by the Affghans, who snatched at the fire-arms of the men and officers. This they of course resisted, and drove them off the hill; but the majority of the enemy, who occupied the adjoining hills commanding our position, commenced a galling fire upon us. Several times they attempted to dislodge our men from the hill, and were repulsed: until, our ammunition being expended, and our fighting men reduced to about thirty, the enemy made a rush, which in our weak state we were unable to cope with. They bore our men down knife in hand, and slaughtered all the party except Captain Souter and seven or eight men of the 44th and artillery. This officer thinks that this unusual act of forbearance towards him originated in the strange dress he wore: his poshteen having opened during the last struggle, exposed to view the colour he had wrapped round his body; and they probably thought they had secured a valuable prize in some great bahadur, for whom a large ransom might be obtained.

Eighteen officers and about fifty men were killed at the final struggle at Gundamuk. Capt. Souter and the few remaining men (seven or eight) that were taken alive from the field were, after a detention of a month in the adjoining villages, made over to Mahommed Akbar Khan and sent to the fort of Buddeeabad in the Lughman valley, where they arrived on the 15th of Feb.

THE CAPTIVITY.

We must now return to the General and his party. At daybreak on the 13th the Sirdar had again changed his mind; and instead of following up the troops, he decided to move to the position they had vacated, and remained there during the day; and should the ladies and officers left at Khoord Cabul arrive in the evening, that all should start the next morning over the mountains to the valley of Lughman, north of Jellalabad. At 8 A.M., they mounted their horses; and with the Sirdar and his party rode down the pass, which bore fearful evidence to the last night's struggle. They passed some 200 dead bodies, many of them Europeans; the whole naked, and covered with large, gaping wounds. As the day advanced, several poor wretches of Hindostanees (camp followers, who had escaped the massacre of the night before) made their appearance from behind rocks and within caves, where they had taken shelter from the murderous knives of the Affghans and the inclemency of the climate. They had been stripped of all they possessed; and few could crawl more than a few yards, being frostbitten in the feet. Here Johnson found two of his servants; the one had his hands and feet frostbitten, and had a fearful sword cut across one hand, and a musket ball in his stomach; the other had his right arm completely cut through the bone. Both were utterly destitute of covering, and had not tasted food for five days.

This suffices for a sample of the sufferings of the survivers.

About four o'clock Sultan Jan (a cousin of the Sirdar) arrived with the ladies and gentlemen; also Lieut. Melville of the 54th, and Mr. Magrath, surgeon of the 37th, both of whom had been wounded between Khoord Cabul and Tézeen. A large party of cavalry accompanied Sultan Jan, both Affghan and our irregular horse, who had deserted, as before mentioned.

14*th*.—We marched twenty-four miles to Kutz-i-Mahommed Ali Khan: started at about 9 A.M.; the Sirdar with Gen. Elphinstone; Brig. Shelton, and Capt. Johnson bringing up the rear.

We travelled over a dreadfully rough road: some of the ascents and descents were fearful to look at, and at first sight appeared to be impracticable. The whole road was a continuation of rocks and stones, over which the camels had great difficulty in making their way; and particularly in the ascent of the Adrak-Budrak pass, where I found it requisite to hold tight on by the mane, lest the saddle and I should slip off together.

Had we travelled under happier auspices, I should probably have been foolish enough to have expressed fear, not having even a saces to assist me. Still I could not but admire the romantic, tortuous defile we passed through, being the bed of a mountain torrent, which we exchanged for the terrific pass I have mentioned, and which was rendered doubly fearful by constant stoppages from those in front, which appeared to take place at the most difficult spots.

At the commencement of the defile, and for some considerable distance, we passed 200 or 300 of our miserable Hindostanees, who had escaped up the unfrequented road from the massacre of the 12th. They were all naked, and more or less frostbitten: wounded and starving, they had set fire to the bushes and grass, and huddled all together to impart warmth to each other. Subsequently we heard that scarcely any of these poor wretches escaped from the defile; and that, driven to the extreme of hunger, they had sustained life by feeding on their dead comrades.

The wind blew bitterly cold at our bivouac; for the inhabitants of the fort refused to take us in, stating that we were Kaffirs. We therefore rolled ourselves up as warm as we could; and with our saddles for pillows, braved the elements. Gen. Elphinstone, Brig. Shelton, and Johnson considered themselves happy when one of the

Affghans told them to accompany him into a wretched cowshed, which was filled with dense smoke from a blazing fire in the centre of the hut. These officers and Mr. Melville were shortly after invited by Mahommed Akbar Khan to dine with him and his party in the fort. The reception room was not much better than that they had left; they had, however, a capital dinner, some cups of tea, and luxurious rest at night; the room having been well heated by a blazing fire with plenty of smoke, with no outlet for either heat or smoke, except through the door and a small circular hole in the roof.

15*th January*.—A bitterly cold wind blowing, we started at 7 A.M.; crossed two branches of the Punjshir river, which was not only deep, but exceedingly rapid. The chiefs gave us every assistance: Mahommed Akbar Khan carried Mrs. Waller over behind him on his own horse. One rode by me to keep my horse's head well up the stream. The Affghans made great exertions to save both men and animals struggling in the water; but in spite of all their endeavours five unfortunates lost their lives. We passed over many ascents and declivities; and at about 3 P.M. arrived at Tighree, a fortified town in the rich valley of Lughman; having travelled twenty miles over a most barren country, without a blade of grass or drop of water until we approached Tighree. Our route lay along a tract of country considerably higher than Lughman, with scarcely a footpath visible the whole way. The road was good for any kind of carriage. We passed over the Plain of Methusaleh; and saw at a short distance the Kubber-i-Lamech, a celebrated place of pilgrimage, about two miles from Tighree and twenty-five from Jellalabad.

The Sirdar desired the General, the Brigadier, and Johnson to take up their quarters with him, while the ladies and the other gentlemen were located in another fort.

A great number of Hindu Bunneahs reside at Tighree. We went to the fort of Gholab Moyenoodeen, who took Mrs. Sturt and myself to the apartments of his mother and wife. Of course we could not understand much that they said; but they evidently made much of us, pitied our condition, told us to ask them for anything we required, and before parting they gave us a lump of goor filled with pistaches, a sweetmeat they are themselves fond of.

16*th*.—Halted. They tell us we are here only thirty miles from Jellalabad. It being Sunday, we read prayers from a Bible and Prayer Book that were picked up on the field at Bhoodkhak. The service was scarcely finished when a clannish row commenced. Some tribes from a neighbouring fort, who had a bloody feud with the chiefs with us, came against the fort; a few juzails were fired; there was great talking and noise, and then it was all over.

17*th*.—Early in the morning we were ordered to prepare to go higher up the valley. Thus all hopes (faint as they were) of going to Jellalabad were annihilated; and we plainly saw that, whatever might be said, we were virtually prisoners, until such time as Sale shall evacuate Jellalabad, or the Dost be permitted by our government to return to this country.

We had a little hail this morning; and shortly after, at about nine o'clock, we started, and travelled along the valley, which was a continuation of forts, until we arrived at Buddeeabad (about eight or nine miles): it is situated almost at the top of the valley, and close to the first range of hills towards Kaffiristan.

Six rooms, forming two sides of an inner square or citadel, are appropriated to us, and a tykhana to the soldiers. This fort is the largest in the valley, and is quite new; it belongs to Mahommed Shah Khan: it has a deep ditch and a fausse-braye all round. The walls of mud are not very thick, and are built up with planks in tiers on the inside. The buildings we occupy are those intended for the chief and his favourite wife; those for three other wives are in the outer court, and have not yet been roofed in. We number 9 ladies, 20 gentlemen, and 14 children. In the tykhana are 17 European soldiers, 2 European women, and 1 child (Mrs. Wade, Mrs. Burnes, and little Stoker).

Mahommed Akbar Khan, to our horror, has informed us that only one man of our force has succeeded in reaching Jellalabad (Dr. Brydon of the Shah's force; he was wounded in two places). Thus is verified what we were told before leaving Cabul, "that Mahommed Akbar would annihilate the whole army, except one man, who should reach Jellalabad to tell the tale."

Dost Mahommed Khan (the brother of Mahommed Shah Khan) is to have charge of us. Our parties were divided into the different rooms. Lady Macnaghten, Capt. and Mrs. Anderson and 2 children, Capt. and Mrs. Boyd and 2 children, Mrs. Mainwaring and 1 child, with Lieut. and Mrs. Eyre and 1 child, and a European girl, Hester Macdonald, were in one room; that adjoining was appropriated for their servants and baggage. Capt. Mackenzie and his Madras Christian servant Jacob, Mr. and Mrs. Ryley and 2 children, and Mr. Fallon, a writer in Capt. Johnson's office, occupied another. Mrs. Trevor and her 7 children and European servant, Mrs. Smith, Lieut. and Mrs. Waller and child, Mrs. Sturt, Mr. Mein, and I had another. In two others all the rest of the gentlemen were crammed.

It did not take us much time to arrange our property, consisting of one mattress and resai between us, and no clothes except those we had on, and in which we left Cabul.

Mahommed Akbar Khan, Sultan Jan, and Ghoolam Moyen-oo-deen visited us. The Sirdar assured me we were none of us prisoners; requested that we should make ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would admit of; and told us that as soon as the roads were safe we should be safely escorted to Jellalabad. He farther informed me that I might write to Sale; and that any letters I sent to him he would forward. Of this permission I gladly took advantage to write a few guarded lines to say that we were well and safe.

19*th*.—We luxuriated in dressing, although we had no clothes but those on our backs; but we enjoyed washing our faces very much, having had but one opportunity of doing so before, since we left Cabul. It was rather a painful process, as the cold and glare of the sun on the snow had three times peeled my face, from which the skin came off in strips.

We had a grand breakfast, dhall and radishes; the latter large hot ones that had gone to seed, the former is a common pulse eaten by the natives: but any change was good, as we find our chupatties made of the coarse ottah anything but nice. Ottah is what in England is called pollard, and has to be twice sifted ere it becomes flour. The chupatties are cakes formed of this ottah mixed with water, and dried by standing by the fire set up on edge. Eating these cakes of dough is a capital recipe to obtain the heartburn. We parch

rice and barley, and make from them a substitute for coffee. Two sheep (alias lambs) are killed daily; and a regular portion of rice and ottah given for all. The Affghans cook; and well may we exclaim with Goldsmith, "God sends meat, but the devil sends cooks;" for we only get some greasy skin and bones served out as they are cooked, boiled in the same pot with the rice, all in a lump. Captain Lawrence divides it, and portions our food as justly as he can. The chupatty is at once the plate and bread: few possess other dinner-table implements than their fingers. The rice even is rendered nauseous by having quantities of rancid ghee poured over it, such as in India we should have disdained to use for our lamps.

21*st*.—The weather cleared up at noon. Major Pottinger is said to have received information that Zeman Shah Khan and all the Dooranees have surrendered to Shah Shoojah; and that his Majesty was at the bottom of the whole affair to turn us out of Affghanistan.

22*d*.—I heard from Sale, dated the 19th. Our force can hold out at Jellalabad for six months. It is calculated that Col. Wylde must be at Jellalabad to-day with 5000 men. Gen. Pollock is coming with an army across the Punjab.

We hear that Mahommed Akbar has been offered the Sirdar-i-sirdaranee; but has refused it. He is said to be gone, or going, to the Khyber.

23*d*, *Sunday*.—After prayers Mahommed Akbar Khan and Sultan Jan paid us a visit; the latter took charge of a letter from me for Sale. He told me that Abdool Guffoor Khan says that Sale is quite well.

They say that Shah Shoojah demanded Conolly and three other hostages to be given up to him to put them to death; but Zeman Shah Khan refused.

24*th*.—A day or two ago the Sirdar sent some chintz to be divided among us. A second quantity was to-day given out; and we are working hard, that we may enjoy the luxury of getting on a clean suit of clothes. There are very few of us that are not covered with crawlers; and, although my daughter and I have as yet escaped, we are in fear and trembling.

It is now said that the General gave Anderson's horse permission to go over to the enemy: a circumstance that does not at all agree with his conduct on the day following our taking protection; when he wished for Anderson's return lest the men should desert.

Dost Mahommed Khan took Mrs. Trevor's boys and some of the gentlemen out walking in the sugar-cane fields near the fort, which they enjoyed very much.

25*th*.—The Sirdar sent eight pieces of long cloth to be divided among us. I fancy he is generous at little cost; and that it is all a part of the plunder of our camp. He is said to have received letters from the Khyber, stating that our force has been defeated there; two guns taken, and some treasure; and that Mackeson is shut up in Ali Musjid, with 300 men.

26*th*.—As soon as the Bukhraeed is over, Shah Shoojah is to send 4000 men, and all the guns we left in Cabul, against Jellalabad. A Mussulman force is also now at Balabagh.

Mahommed Akbar Khan has had a private conference with Major Pottinger; of which no account has transpired. We had two shocks of earthquake at night.

27*th*.—A report that Sale has made another sally, and has taken a number of prisoners. I heard from him to-day: he has sent me my chest of drawers, with clothes, &c.: they were all permitted to come to me unexamined. I had also an opportunity of writing to him by Abdool Guffoor Khan, who brought them to me. I was rejoiced to see any one I had known before; and especially one who was well inclined towards the English, though nominally on the side of Akbar.

4*th*.—The irregular cavalry have had their horses and everything taken away from them, and have been turned adrift. I wrote to Sale, but my note did not go.

5*th*.—My note to Sale was sent to-day. I got another from him, dated the 29th, and replied to it.

9*th*.—We hear that all our horses are to be taken away, as also our servants. Rain to-day, as if the clouds wept for our misfortunes.

10*th*.—I received boxes from Sale, with many useful things; and also books, which are a great treat to us. I wrote to him, but fear my letter will not reach him, as all notes that came for us were kept back by the Sirdar; who is very angry, having detected a private cossid between Capt. Macgregor and Major Pottinger: if we behave ill again, the Sirdar says, wo will betide us. Abdool Guffoor again came to see us; and I had again the comfort to hear that Sale was well. We had rain to-day. Major Griffith arrived with Mr. Blewitt.

Major Griffith tells me, that on the morning of the 13th, at daylight, the miserable remains of the force, reduced to about 100 Europeans, of all ranks, including 20 officers, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and encumbered with very many wounded, some on horseback and some on foot, were, when within four miles of the bridge of Gundamuk, surrounded by a considerable number of the enemy, both horse and foot. They had only thirty-five muskets and but little ammunition remaining; finding it impossible to proceed farther, a position was taken up on a hill to the left of the road; and a parley opened with the enemy by means of waving a white cloth. This produced a cessation of the firing, and brought four or five men up to ascertain the cause. It was unanimously agreed that he (Major Griffith), as senior officer of the party, should go to the chief, and endeavour to make some terms for the peaceful march of the party to Jellalabad. He accordingly went, accompanied by Mr. Blewitt as interpreter, escorted by one or two of the enemy. On reaching the chief, they were hurried off without his giving them the opportunity of making any proposal. The last sight Major Griffith had of the party he had left, they appeared to be engaged in hostilities with the Affghans, whose numbers had gradually increased. He afterward understood that the waving of a longhee is considered by them as an act of unconditional surrender; and as our party would not give up their arms, the Affghans resorted to force, but were driven off the hill for the time. The few natives who had accompanied us so far did not go up the hill; but kept the road, and were seen to be plundered by the enemy. This he was afterward told by Capt. Souter, who was brought to the village of Tootoo some hours after Major Griffith was taken there. This village was between two and three miles to the right of the scene of action. The same evening Major Griffith and Mr. Blewitt were taken to the Khan's fort, four or five miles farther on the hills, where they found three or four European soldiers, who had

escaped from the slaughter, wounded and taken prisoners. Some days after five more Europeans were brought in, who had proceeded in advance of our party. Major Griffith opened a communication with Jellalabad, and was in great hopes of effecting the release of the prisoners on ransom: but, owing to the jealousy and suspicion of the Khan Ghobam Jan Uzbezee, in whose power they were, nothing could be arranged. At last, after twenty days' confinement, he allowed one of their party, Serg.-Major Lisson, 37th N. I., to proceed to Jellalabad, and endeavour to explain matters. The party in all consisted of ten: two of these died, and Captain Souter was left wounded at Tootoo.

The man who accompanied the sergeant-major returned the third day, and told them all was right. He was understood to have received 500 rupees as the ransom of the sergeant-major, who remained at Jellalabad. The party had strong hopes of liberation: but unfortunately the Sirdar, Mahommed Akbar Khan, heard of their being prisoners, and sent to demand them. After some hesitation it was agreed to; and they were marched off to Charbagh to the Sirdar, and from thence to Buddeeabad.

Major. Griffith was severely wounded in the right arm on the 8th of January, just at the entrance of the Khoord Cabul pass; and, from want of dressing, the wound had become very painful the day he was taken prisoner.

11*th*.—Rain. We hear that the force under Col. Wylde have fallen back on Peshawer; that Gen. Avitabile, the Sikh general with them, has been obliged to retreat to Attock.

I had again an opportunity, and wrote to Sale.

To-day all arms have been taken from the officers, on a promise that they shall be restored when we go away. I took poor Sturt's sword myself, and begged that the Sirdar would keep it himself, that we might be sure of its restoration, as being invaluable to his widow. Dost Mahommed Khan, Abdool Guffoor Khan, &c., desired me to keep it myself, acting in the handsomest manner, and evincing much feeling on the occasion.

12*th*.—The snow at Tézeen is reported to be knee-deep. A very dismal day, with gentle rain at night. The Europeans, who have arrived, are all full of tales regarding each individual's escape. Six of them, among whom was Serg.-major Lisson of the 37th N. I., at daylight on the morning after the final struggle at Gundamuk, found themselves about a mile and a half on the Jellalabad side of Gundamuk; and, perceiving some Ghilzyes coming over the edge of a hill, they betook themselves to a cave in the neighbourhood, where they contrived to conceal themselves until about 11 A.M., when their retreat was betrayed by the neighing of a horse belonging to one of the men, which caused them to be discovered by a party of the enemy who were passing near the mouth of the cave. These men came up, and told them to come outside; which they refused to do: the Ghilzyes then offered them bread, provided they would pay for it; and they thus procured three nans for forty-six rupees! The enemy then again ordered them to come out of the cave; and they replied, "In the evening, when it gets dusk, we will come outside." They were watched till then, and at that time gave themselves up. They were immediately rifled of all the money, &c., they possessed, and then taken to a fort in the neighbourhood, and afterward transferred to another, where they found Major Griffiths, and from whence Lisson was despatched to Jellalabad, to treat for terms of ransom, as before mentioned.

13*th*.—A fine day. Not content with the arms given up, they pretend our servants have others, and a general search took place to-day; when all the poor wretches were fleeced of the few rupees they had succeeded in securing on their persons.

14*th*.—This is the day that Mohammed Akbar Khan is to go over the river towards Jellalabad to attack it. The 13th sent a quantity of clothes for distribution among the gentlemen. I received a large packet of letters, both from my family in the provinces, and also from England, but no note from Sale; so the Sirdar is still angry about the private correspondence. It was a very foolish attempt, for there was no news of consequence to send; and rousing the Sirdar's suspicion is not the way to make him kind to us.

15*th*.—Firing of heavy guns distinctly heard to-day; supposed to be a salute at Jellalabad. Shah Shoojah is said to be still in the Bala Hissar; and Zeman Shah Khan with Amenoollah Khan in the city. They are said to be raising a force to be sent by the former against Jellalabad; which force is to be commanded by his son Futteh Jung. To-day we hear that our horses are not to be taken away from us; and everything is to be done to make us comfortable. There is an old adage, that "Fair words butter no parsnips."

17*th*.—The ground was covered with snow at daybreak; which continued to fall all day, and also at night. At breakfast-time we distinctly heard the report from three guns, and about half an hour afterward three or four heavy discharges of musketry.

18*th*.—Dost Mahommed Khan came with his son; the family have all arrived at a neigbouring fort in this valley. There is a report that Sale has chupaoed Mahommed Akbar Khan's camp at Charbagh, and cut up fifty of his men.

19*th*.—I heard from Sale. A friend writes me that there will be no relief before April. At noon I was on the top of the house, when an awful earthquake took place. I had gone up stairs to see after my clothes; for, servants being scarce, we get a sweeper, who also acts as saces, to wash for us; and I hang them up to dry on the flat roof: we dispense with starch and ironing; and in our present situation we must learn to do everything that is useful. But to return to the earthquake. For some time I baianced myself as well as I could till I felt the roof was giving way. I fortunately succeeded in removing from my position before the roof of our room fell in with a dreadful crash. The roof of the stairs fell in as I descended them; but did me no injury. All my anxiety was for Mrs. Sturt; but I could only see a heap of rubbish. I was nearly bewildered when I heard the joyful sound, "Lady Sale, come here; all are safe;" and I found the whole party uninjured in the courtyard. When the earthquake first commenced in the hills, in the upper part of the valley, its progress was clearly defined, coming down the valley, and throwing up dust like the action of exploding a mine: I hope a soldier's wife may use a soldier's simile, for I know of nothing else to liken it to. Our walls, and gateways, and corner towers are all much shaken, or actually thrown down. We had at least twenty-five shocks before dark; and about fifteen more

during the night, which we spent in the courtyard. The end wall of the room Lady Macnaghten and party were in has sunk about two feet, and all the beams have started.

20*th*.—I wrote to Sale to tell him we were all safe. At 3 in the morning we had a pretty smart shock; and constant ones, some severe, and many very slight, on an average every half hour all day, and five or six slight ones at night. The gentlemen gave up their largest room to my party, who were utterly roofless. Nearly all the others slept outside: but we had only one crack in the roof of our room, caused by part of the wall falling on it. The cold outside was intense, and the dew completely saturated the bed-clothes last night; added to which, should the buildings come down, we were safer above, for the yard was so crammed that, in case of accident, half the people below must be crushed.

21*st*.—At 1 in the morning a sharp shock made us run to the door. We had numerous slight, and three or four pretty good shocks; they became more frequent in the evening. Part of our party made awnings in the courtyard to sleep under; but Mrs. Sturt and myself still preferred the house as safest.

Dost Mahommed Khan brought workmen to clear away the *débris*. He tells us our fort is the best of forty that have suffered in this valley; and that many are entirely thrown down. In one, a tower fell, and crushed five women and a man: others have not a wall remaining.

We have various reports regarding Jellalabad; that it has been taken, that the walls and all the defences are thrown down, &c.

Dost Mahommed says that a man was sent as a spy to Jellalabad; that Macgregor sent for him; and, with Sale, took the man round to show him the state of the place; that two bastions had sunk a little; but that they were not only able to withstand Mahommed Akbar, but, if he came against them, they would meet him in the plain. It is said that Mahommed Akbar intends sending General Elphinstone away if he can get a palkee. Lady Macnaghten has requested she may go with him; being, she says, differently circumstanced from the rest, who have most of them their husbands with them. Not even an animal's life was lost in our earthquake (I mean at our fort). Lady M.'s cat was buried in the ruins, and dug out again.

22*d*.—My wounds are quite healed. We had earthquakes day and night; less severe, but equally frequent. A prop was put up in our room to support the broken roof. We experienced a curious shock in the evening like a heavy ball rolled over our heads. Some large pieces of hills have fallen, and immense masses of stone. I miss some large upright stones on the hills that divide us from Kaffiristan, and that looked in the distance like large obelisks.

23*d*.—This has been a very close and gloomy day; earthquakes frequent, and some very sharp ones. We hear that, at Charbagh, 120 Affghans, and 20 Hindostanees were buried in the ruins.

Captain Bygrave arrived, with one of his feet severely frost-bitten; we were all rejoiced to see him, having long supposed he had shared the fate of the many. On the 12th of January, perceiving that our army was utterly annihilated, he left the road at midnight, turned to the left, and took to the mountains; where he was out seven days and six nights. During a part of this time he was accompanied by Mr. Baness, the merchant from Delhi, who had with him a small bag containing coffee: on this they subsisted, taking each about six grains a day. When this was spent Baness proceeded on; and we afterward heard that he got to Jellalabad, but so worn out with fatigue that he only arrived to die. Captain Bygrave suffered greatly from having his feet frost-bitten: he, however, contrived at daylight in the morning of the 19th to reach Nizam Khan's village, called Kutch Soorkhab, about four miles north of Gundamuk, and twenty-eight from Jellalabad. Here he remained (plundered, of course, of what little money he had about him) until the 14th of February; when he was sent for to the Indian camp, then about six miles from Jellalabad. He had been demanded some days previously; but Nizam Khan refused to give him up until the arrival of the second messenger, accompanied by two mounted followers, when he was obliged to comply. Bygrave reached the Sirdar's camp in the afternoon of the 15th, and remained there with him till the 21st, on which day he started for Buddeeabad; and has, as before remarked, this day joined the other prisoners.

24*th*.—Very few shocks, and those gentle ones: but all last night, and great part of to-day, particularly late in the evening, there was a tremulous motion as of a ship that has been heavily struck by a sea, generally feeling as if on the larboard quarter, and accompanied by a sound of water breaking against a vessel. At other times we have just the undulatory motion of a snake in the water: but the most uncommon sensation we have experienced has been that of a heavy ball rolling over our heads, as if on the roof of our individual room, accompanied by the sound of distant thunder.

Abdool Ghyas Khan came to Buddeeabad. The report is, that Sultan Jan was sent the day before yesterday with 1000 men to make a false attack on Jellalabad; in which, on retreating, he lost three men. Yesterday he was sent to repeat the experiment, an ambuscade being planted by Mahommed Akbar's order; and it is said that our troops were led on to the spot in pursuit of the fugitives; and that the enemy lying in ambush attacked them, and cut up a whole regiment, of which only three men escaped to tell the tale at Jellalabad.

General Pollock, with 5000 men, is said to have arrived at Peshawer, as commander of the forces in Affghanistan, and with full political power. The news came from a merchant, who had just arrived from Peshawer.

25*th*.—The earth is still unquiet, constantly trembling, with reports like explosions of gunpowder, but no severe shocks.

We hear that the camp followers we passed on the road are eating the bodies of those that die: eventually they must take their turn; for, frost-bitten as they are, they never can leave the places we saw them at.

27*th*.—A man has arrived who confirms the report of a fight, four days ago, at Jellalabad; and says four of the 13th are killed, and four taken prisoners; but they do not know whether they are officers or men. Sultan Jan is said to have had a narrow escape, all his men having been cut up.

Earthquakes very frequent, but not severe, though worse than yesterday. The Ameer Dost Mohammed is reported to be on his way up from the provinces with the army; others say he has escaped from Ferozepore.

28*th*.—In consequence of a message from the Sirdar, our guards are doubled. The Mirza Bowadeen Khan is to go to him to-morrow. It is said 8000 men are coming from Cabul. A smart shock of an earthquake about 9 o'clock in the evening; and during the night several slight ones.

March 1*st*.—The Mirza went to the Sirdar. Nothing has transpired. A smart double shock in the morning, with slight tremulous motion.

3*d* and 4*th*.—Earthquakes as usual. To-day every servant that is frostbitten or unable to work has been turned out of the fort: they were stripped first of all they possessed. I received two notes from Sale, dated the 11th and 16th.

5*th*.—At 3 A.M. turned out of bed by a smart shock of an earthquake. Three continuous ones at breakfast-time. Futteh Jung is reported to be at Tighree.

8*th*.—A letter arrived from Mahommed Akbar Khan; stating that the king has written to desire that the force at Jellalabad may be withdrawn, and that Futteh Jung is on his way down with 8000 men. It is stated that Macgregor has refused to receive the king's messenger; and that our force have arrived at Jumrood.

9*th*:—Several slight shocks at night; after which, great screaming and alarm. Husnoo, a sweeper, being a disappointed man, attempted to strangle Rookeria, a woman of the same caste. The gentlemen searched every corner; and the delinquent had to jump down the wall; in doing which he seriously injured his back. There was no other mode of escape, as we are always locked into the square at night.

10*th*.—The Affghans gave Mr. Husnoo a desperate flogging; and had it not been for the officers, would have hanged him afterward: he was, however, stripped, and turned out of the fort.

11*th*.—Dost Mahommed Khan came. Khoda Bukeh, the half-brother of Mahommed Shah, has, we are told, left the Sirdar, whose party is breaking up; and he is supposed to be trying to get Major Pottinger to make some terms for him with Macgregor, and for him to join the English against the king. Colonel Palmer has sent down to Macgregor the terms on which he will surrender at Ghuznee; but Macgregor refused to ratify them; and has forwarded them to General Pollock, through the Sirdar, who has sent them here to Pottinger. Meantime, the garrison at Ghuznee are to be provisioned by the chiefs. Dost Mahommed says that the king has written to Macgregor to vacate Jellalabad; and at the same time sent, by the bearer of the letter, a verbal communication not to do so. The messenger had a long conversation with Macgregor, and then started sharp for Cabul, passing Mahommed Akbar Khan's camp at night; who, on his part, was expecting to catch him in the morning, and possess himself of the letters.

The Mirza Bowadeen Khan is getting a paper signed by us all, to say that he has treated us well: from whence we suspect he thinks our party will eventually gain the ascendant.

The Sirdar sent to Lady Macnaghten to say that, if she did not require the services of three Hisdostanee saceses that are in another fort, he will send them, with the Resallah, to Peshawer on rafts, the day after to-morrow: a demonstration of civility without meaning. The saceses are useless at a distance; and she does not require grooms for the horses that have been taken from her, either by him, or Mahommed Shah Khan.

13*th*.—Earthquakes as usual. There has been a fight at Jellalabad. A party was sent out to mine: Sale, having intelligence of their intention, planted an ambush. The enemy were first attacked from the fort; and when they fled, they fell into the ambuscade, and were cut to pieces. Numbers of wounded Affghans have come into this and the neighbouring forts.

14*th*.—Earthquakes in plenty. Mrs. Boyd was confined early this morning; adding another to our list of female captives. In the evening Affghans came in with many reports; confirming the account that there have been three fights, in which the Affghans have been worsted; that after the last battle Mahommed Akbar Khan, in his retreat, was fired at by an Affghan, and wounded in his body and arms.

The Affghans tell two tales: one, that Shah Shoojah had bribed a man with a lakh of rupees to assassinate Akbar; the other, that Capt. Macgregor gave Abdool Guffoor Khan (Akbar's cousin) the same sum to procure the like effect; and that Abdool and all his family have been put to death.

They say that Mahommed Akbar Khan chafes like a lion taken in the toils, with his three wounds—for he was previously wounded in the thigh. He allowed no one but Mohammed Shah Khan to enter his tent.

15*th*.—I was made very anxious by a report that Jellalabad had been taken; it proved to be a piece of wit, to impose on those who were eager for news. The Mirza, as soon as he heard of it, left his tent to come and assure me that it was false, and to request I would not make myself unhappy about it.

Of authentic accounts the last are, that there was a burj between the Sirdar's camp and Jellalabad, which Mahommed Akbar wished to establish as an outpost, and intended taking possession of. "Fighting Bob" (as Sale is called), having got intelligence of their intentions, sent a party of sappers and miners with supports during the night, who destroyed the work and returned; and on the Sirdar's party's arrival, they found their intended post annihilated.

Farther accounts regarding the Sirdar's wound state that it was purely accidental. A favourite Pesh Khedmut, who had accompanied Mahommed Akbar Khan to Bokhara, and had been with him in all his changes of fortune, was assisting him to dismount from his horse when some part of his dress catching upon his firearms, they went off, and the Sirdar was wounded through the arm and lungs. One account states, that the unfortunate man was instantly cut to pieces; another, that he was burned alive; and that to the last he took his oath on the Koran that the act was an accident. There is nothing too brutal or savage for Akbar to accomplish; he is known to have had a man flayed alive in his presence, commencing at his feet and continuing upward until the sufferer was relieved by death.

The Mirza has sent for nalbunds to shoe our horses; and there seems to be an idea that we shall not long remain here. We have lately made ourselves more comfortable: a temporary shed or two, composed of mats, have been erected since the great earthquake for the accommodation of those who were turned out of their rooms at that time, all of course at their own expense. We have also got stools to sit upon, and charpoys instead of lying on the ground; and a cujava, with boards nailed on it, serves me for a

table — a decided luxury, there being but one other here. *Mirza*, in this man's case, denominates a secretary: he is a kind of under-jailer (Dost Mahommed Khan being the principal one), who issues out our allowance of food: to some he is civil, and has been so to me; to some very rude; and has even drawn his knife on one of the officers.

18*th*.—We had two slight shakes, with reports like distant guns or thunder in the morning; and another during prayers at night. The Mirza Bowadeen Khan is to leave us the day after to-morrow. The servants have a report that there have been several engagements, in which Sale has been victorious; that the Sirdar is wounded in two places; and that the married people are all to be sent to Jellalabad, and the bachelors to Cabul.

19*th*.—No earthquake to-day. The Mirza is ordered off; and the Nazir of Mahommed Shah Khan is come in his place: that is, he is to be our sub-jailer, Dost Mahommed Khan being the principal one, and answerable for our safe custody to Mahommed Shah Khan, his brother, who rules all Mahommed Akbar Khan's councils.

The Nazir begins well: says the Mirza cheated us of our allowance; that two sheep and twenty fowls are to be distributed daily, one seer of ottah, and one of rice to each room, with ghee in proportion; and that we are to have kesmish, sugar, and tea, monthly.

It is farther reported that the Sirdar never intended the servants to be sent away; and that it was done by the Mirza in hopes of obtaining plunder. However, to do him justice, he sent to Capt. Lawrence, desiring him to make it known that the servants' money was unsafe; and that those who had any had better intrust it to the keeping of their masters. Now this he never would have done had he intended to fleece them. For myself, I regret his going away; as he was always very civil to me, getting me any little thing I required.

20*th*.—During prayers (it being Sunday), about one o'clock, we felt three distinct shocks.

Numbers of cattle are being driven off towards the hills. The people are sending their families and property away from the villages. The Affghans say that it is only the wandering Ghilzye tribes returning, as is their wont in the spring of the year, towards Cabul; having, as usual, wintered their flocks in the warmer climate of the Lughman valley.

21*st*.—The no-roz, or vernal equinox. Mr. Melville brought us a bouquet of narcissuses, which we highly prized, for it is long since we have seen even a blade of grass.

The report of to-day is, that troops have at length arrived at Jellalabad; having lost 1000 out of 3000 men in forcing the Khyber pass. All the forts about this place are filling fast with wounded men of Akbar's army; and skirmishes are said to take place daily at Jellalabad, in which we never hear of the Sirdar being victorious.

A nalbund is come to this fort, and is shoeing all our horses, we paying for the same. This looks like preparation for a move; but we trust it will not be a precipitate flight to Khoolloom with Mahommed Akbar Khan, as we have heard it hinted.

Mr. Clarke is stated to have arrived at Peshawer. He is an active political functionary, and just the man to set things to rights.

Mahommed Akbar Khan sent 800 men to watch the proceedings at Jellalabad. Sale is said to have attacked them, and cut them to pieces. This is the Affghan report of to-day.

23*d*.—A report that the Sirdar is willing to go over to the English; but that Mahommed Shah Khan is averse to the measure.

Another report, that all the horses and ponies are sent for by the Sirdar, has caused a great commotion; which, however, has subsided, on the discovery that the Sirdar had sent to claim a blue horse he had lent Mr. Ryley on the march, which he requires for his artillery: it was an iron gray.

An earthquake early in the morning, and many slight ones at night.

Mahommed Shah Khan's people are sounding us, to ascertain whether we shall be ransomed or not; talking of a lakh and half as our value: the General, Major Pottinger, and Capt. Lawrence to remain until we are in safety, and their rupees in hand. A council of officers was held at the General's regarding this same ransom business: which they refer to Macgregor. I protest against being implicated in any proceedings in which I have no vote.

25*th*.—The Nazir says it was only a feeler, and it was a lakh and half each that Mahommed Shah Khan required from us. Perhaps this is only a piece of Affghan wit.

26*th*.—Letters from Jellalabad. The 31st, and 9th Queen's, a regiment of dragoons, two of native cavalry, eight of infantry, three eighteen-pounders, three nine pounders, and six six-pounders, are expected there on the 1st of April. Gerard has been wounded. Abbott hit by a spent ball: all well, thank God!

This news is very different from what we heard this morning, which was, that those left at Cabul and Ghuznee have been sent to Bokhara to be sold as slaves; and that our turn would come next.

The thermometer of our spirits has risen greatly. We hear from Jellalabad that all at Cabul are well, and that Ghuznee has been obliged to surrender; but that the officers are all well, safe, and taken care of, as we are here.

Earthquakes in the usual number.

27*th*.—*Easter Sunday*. I wrote to Sale. Four earthquakes before breakfast, and more at night.

28*th*.—We hear from an Affghan, just come from Jellalabad, that two regiments have left Peshawer, and advanced two marches; that Capt. Mackeson, political agent, has bought over the Khyberries; but that Gholab Sing, the Sheikh general, has claimed the honour of keeping the pass open for us.

29*th*.—An Affghan reports that our troops have arrived at Lallpoorah. A trifling earthquake at sunset; the hills enveloped in clouds, which suddenly assumed a lurid hue, and one sharp clap of thunder, much resembling a gun, was heard; after which they cleared off. A little rain about 8 P.M., when it became very warm, and we experienced a very hot night.

30*th*.—Sultan Jan and Mahommed Shah Khan are (we hear) gone with 3000 men to oppose the troops coming up. This force might annoy ours very much in the Cholah Khyber, between Lallpoorah and Hazar-i-now.

Another report is current to-day, that we are to be off on Sunday for Jellalabad.

Heavy rain in the evening and at night, with rumblings and trifling shocks.

31*st*.—The weather has cleared up again. To-day's report is, that we go on Monday to Tagow or Kaffiriston. The people are becom-

ing very civil; ask if we will spare their lives, and are sending their women away. We tell them that all who behave well to us will have their property respected, and be well treated.

They say that Sultan Jan is really gone with 3000 men to the Cholah Khyber; that our force coming up gives no quarter; that the Affghans sent spies in the guise of country people, with things to sell, to see what loot the Feringhees had. They report that not only the soldiers, but also the officers, are packed close in small palls, without beds, chairs, tables, or anything but the clothes on their backs.

April 1*st*.—A famous hoax went round, that a letter had come from Macgregor, that government were going to ransom us from Mahommed Shah Khan for three lakhs of rupees, and that we were to leave Buddeeabad on Wednesday; that Sultan Jan had been defeated in the Khyber, and that Mahommed Akbar Khan had fled to Cabul.

Letters did actually arrive from Jellalabad subsequently, with very conflicting accounts: Gen. Pollock not expected till the 16th.

A report that Mahommed Akbar had withdrawn all his outposts, and hostilities had ceased; that Dost Mahommed had arrived at the Attock; and that, as soon as he entered the country, all prisoners were to be set at large, and our force to quit the country, leaving the Ameer Dost Mahommed to prosecute his fortunes as best he may.

Sale's letter gives no intelligence of a public nature; but as he proposes getting more shoes made to send to me, it does not look as if he expected us to leave this country soon.

3*d*.—A report that Macgregor has seized a flock of 200 sheep, twenty head of cattle, and twenty camels that were passing near Jellalabad; that Mahommed Akbar Khan, who, it seems, cannot have withdrawn his outposts, sent to seize our yahoos when they went out to water, and planted a party for that purpose. Some of our people who went out early, saw them stealing along to their position, and immediately reported the circumstance, when Sale planted an ambush of two companies, one of Europeans and one native. They then sent out the animals as usual, and when the Affghans pounced on their expected prey, they were attacked, and it is said 200 of them were killed.

5*th*.—I wrote to Sale, but heard that the letter will not go till to-morrow. We are told that three chiefs at Jellalabad are supplying our army with grain, leaving it at the gate at night.

6*th*.—The Nazir says that a brass six-pounder has been brought in from the Khyber on a camel, and that it has killed two camels bringing it to the Sirdar's camp; also, that they have brought in thirty European heads. Dost Mahommed Khan has returned from Cabul, whither the Sirdar sent him on business: he reports that there is great commotion in Cabul, and he has brought all Sultan Jan's family back with him for safety to the Lughman valley. The gun above alluded to is probably one taken at Ali Musjid; and the Sirdar having brought it to his camp, induces us to think that he has given up the idea of defending the Khyber.

Pottinger gives it as his opinion, that we may probably remain here for six months.

The Nazir tells us that the gun that has arrived has been a month on the road, and has killed six camels; that it is the one taken at Jumroad three months ago, when our people were out foraging; and that Zeman Khan has ordered Shah Shoojah to send a force down from Cabul. What they are going to do, and by whom the troops are to be headed, we know not; but only that the report is, that a force has started. The Nazir told Pottinger that the talk of our being ransomed at two lakhs was only a feeler, to see what we would offer; that Mohammed Shah Khan would for that sum allow one gentleman to go to Peshawer to treat with our party there; but that Pottinger would be held answerable for his safe return.

News had just arrived to the Nazir from the Kazanchey, who is with the Sirdar, that all the officers at Ghuznee are killed except eight; that our troops at Khelat-i-Gilzye hold their ground, though they have been attacked several times; that the garrison of Kandahar have made frequent sallies, and scoured the country in every direction for eight or ten miles; and that they have got in a number of sheep and cattle: also, that an army is coming up from Shikarpore.

Farther reports assure that Shah Shoojah left Cabul to proceed to Bégramee, where his tents were pitched; but that he had not got farther than the Musjed where John Hick's tomb is, in front of the Bala Hissar gate, when he was cut down in his palkee by the son of Zeman Khan, and was immediately cut to pieces.

Three Sirdars are said to have come in to-day; but we know of a truth that the Affghans are burnishing up their arms, and making bullets.

Our force is reported to have arrived at Jellalabad. Our guards are all on the alert. A report that Mahommed Akbar is killed; another that he has fled to Gundamuk.

Our broken towers are manned, and thirteen men added to our guard.

8*th*.—The first news this morning was, that Mahommed Shah Khan had been here during the night, and that he has removed his family from the valley. It is still reported that Mahommed Akbar Khan is dead. The Sirdar reproached the chiefs for having supplied our garrison with provisions; and the same night, Abdool Guffoor Khan, Abdool Rahim, and Aga Jan, went over to Macgregor with 1000 Affghan cavalry, and told him that the enemy were not prepared; on which a chupao was made on Akbar's camp, with great slaughter. The three chiefs remained as hostages in Jellalabad, while their men went with our cavalry to chupao the camp. Akbar's horse was restive; and none of his people waited for him; his own artillerymen turned the guns against him in their flight; and they left their camp standing, their arms, and everything they possessed, and ran for their lives. Mahommed Shah Khan has escaped; and Mahommed Akbar Khan is said to be within four kos of Buddeeabad.

10*th*.—We were hurried from daybreak to get ready. Mahommed Shah Khan has taken away all Lady Macnaghten's jewels, to the value of above a lakh of rupees; and her shawls, valued at between 30,000 and 40,000 rupees. He desired to see my boxes, but did not take the trouble of examining them: he, however, knew that I arrived here without any baggage. He sent to inquire if we had any valuables; and, if so, we were to give them up at once.

The Mirza has returned: he and the Nazir promise to send a box, which I have no means of carrying, as also our servants, who are unable to go with us, to Jellalabad to Sale: however, as they crammed the box into their own godown, I strongly suspect they mean to keep it themselves.

My chest of drawers they took possession of with great glee—I left some rubbish in them, and some small bottles, that were useless to me. I hope the Affghans will try their contents as medicine, and find them efficacious; one bottle contained nitric acid, another a strong solution of lunar caustic!

We did not start till past noon, and then did not take the road we expected, leading to Tighree; but an upper one to the right, and were told we were going to Tagow. We had a great number of detentions from the camels that carried the kujavas; the General's broke down; so did Mrs. Sturt's; the General was laid on the ground until another could be brought for him; and Mr. Melville gave his horse to my daughter. Here the Mirza professed to be very kind and attentive: he took a chogah lined with valuable fur, which was particularly prized by Mrs. Sturt, as being her husband's; also his sword; and said he would carry them for her when she was obliged to ride; but he quite forgot to return them, which caused much annoyance to us; and proved that the Mirza, despite his fair speeches, took care not to lose an opportunity of enriching himself at our expense.

We had not proceeded far when we met some horsemen shouting *Kalūs shud*, and we were ordered to turn round: then we heard that our troops had been beat in the Khyber, and had lost ten guns. The next report was, that our troops had penetrated into the Lughman valley; another, that Jellalabad was taken. We went back; and found that the mat houses, and other little comforts we had put up, were mostly demolished; our scraps of setringees taken away, as also our mats, &c.; but the soldiers were very civil to us: one brought back my charpoy, and busied himself in stringing it for me; another brought me a chiragh; and a soldier's wife brought Mrs. Sturt and me each a stool to sit on. These little kindnesses make a deep impression at such times.

We were told not to unpack; and to be ready to start, if requisite, in the night.

A servant who refused to march with us was all activity on our return: he ran here and there, took our horses, and then, best of all, bought some fowls and cooked them for us.

We had been cooped up so long without any exercise, that we were quite ready for and enjoyed our dinner after the ride.

11*th*.—We got an early breakfast, and soon after started again; leaving the soldiers, two European women (Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Burnes), and the child Seymour Stoker, with all the maimed servants, and those that would not go with us. The women and child certainly ought to have accompanied us.

We went to Ali Kund, a rather long march, and found the Sirdar there, seated in his nalkee, and looking very ill. He was particular in bowing to us all, making every demonstration of civility.

Three tents were pitched for us on a pretty and green spot. The valley was beautiful under cultivation; and to us doubly so, from our not having seen a blade of grass for so long a time.

The field pea was in blossom; several sorts of cranesbill, gentian, forget-me-not, campions, &c.

Having taken the precaution to have some fowls roasted over night, we got a good meal; and we design, whenever we march, and can procure them, to do the same.

As we marched through the valley, we saw the effects of the late earthquake: not a fort was entire; very few habitable; and most of them masses of ruins.

Sultan Jan arrived this evening from the Khyber. Truly, the Persian expression of a man's face being blackened is true: he looks very black upon his late defeat in the Khyber; and has returned with 50, all that remain to him of 500 men he took there. I had no idea, before our captivity, that people could become so changed by sunburn; the Europeans looking like the Affghans, and the Affghans as dark as Hindostanees.

12*th*.—Set out at eight A.M., and arrived at our ground at five P.M.; a very long march over a steril country. We only twice met with water, which was very shallow, and so sandy that our horses would not drink it. We did not see a vestige of a habitation, nor any cultivation.

We left the Adanek Beeduck pass to our left, and travelled up and down a number of very difficult mountain passes. Mahommed Akbar Khan passed us; bowed, and smiled—"He can smile, and smile, and be a villain." I shook hands with Moyenoodeen, who is also arrived from the Khyber. He looks what is vulgarly called down in the mouth. He appeared afraid of acknowledging his acquaintance with me; and stealthily came to inquire if my wound was well. He was with Sale in the Kohistan; and then, and still, professes to be his friend, and the friend of the English in general.

13*th*.—Made a march of about twelve miles: the country steril and rocky; the road rather better than yesterday; only one very awkward ascent, when all the ladies got out of their kujavas. I always ride; and have my own saddle: but some of the ladies are obliged to ride gentleman fashion, sitting on their beddings instead of saddles.

The road was mostly up and down hill. We passed two small forts, with patches of cultivation near them, not far from our encamping ground. We found it very hot in our tent. This tent is one division of a common Sipahee's pall. We have taken up our places; and always retain them. Our party consists of Mrs. Trevor and five of her children, and Mrs. Sturt and myself, on one side; on the other, Mrs. Boyd and her three children, Lady Macnaghten, Mrs. Mainwaring and child, Captain and Mrs. Anderson and two children, and Captain Lawrence. The other tents are similarly crammed: all spread their beddings (which touch each other) upon the ground.

14*th*.—A very tiresome hill on setting out—the Bādhpush or Windy Back: the ascent rather difficult; the descent could be made good for guns with 100 sappers in a few days. Saw plenty of fruit trees in blossom on the hill; at the foot of which we halted, dismounted, and sat on the ground till all our people got over; and found Mahommed Shah's sons with large bouquets of tulips. I observed the mistletoe, the myrrh, ilex, &c. The rest of the march was along a tolerably good road. We crossed the same stream at least twenty times. Saw some purple irises. We were detained for a long time at the Cabul river; which we crossed on a *jhala* (or raft) supported on inflated skins; and encamped close to the bank, but farther down the stream, as the current was very rapid: the river is said to be twenty feet deep at some places. Here we found Mahommed Akbar Khan. Our baggage came up at dusk, as also the tents; but a great deal did not get over, and has to wait for daylight. Several horses swam over; and their efforts, and those

of their riders, were a source of great interest to us.

15*th April*.—We did not leave our encampment until the middle of the day, when we found the sand dreadfully hot. We came only four or five miles to Sehruby; and pitched our tents not far distant from Abdoollah Khan's fort. There were no kujavas to-day, and great grumbling thereat among the ladies. A report, which we fervently hope is untrue, that all the hostages left at Cabul are murdered.

I saw plenty of amaryllis in bloom; as also of the Persian iris (the orris of the druggists), which quite scented the air with a perfume resembling that of mingled violets and wall-flowers.

16*th*.—We halted. All manner of reports to-day—that the king has not been murdered, but is in power with the Dooranees, the Populzyes, and Achukzyes, who are in the ascendant; while the Barukzyes are at a discount; that great commotion exists in Cabul; that the soldiers, who were left there, are to remain, but the officers are to come and join us at Tézeen to-morrow, whither we are to march, and go by roads impracticable for cattle; all to walk, to Herat: we are to be there in two months, after which we are to be sent to Balkh.

17*th*.—Halted again, probably waiting for the four kujavas that the Sirdar has ordered Mahommed Shah Khan to furnish us with. They say we go to Tézeen to-morrow: the Mirza is off in advance, in great haste. Our troops are said to be near, and the Affghans are going to chupao them. The Sirdar has fallen back on the river, to confer with the Chief of Tagow.

This day I was attacked with fever.

18*th*.—Halted. Mahommed Shah Khan is gone off to Cabul; we are to go to the hills above Tézeen, and stay there till all is settled. If only a small force comes up, the Affghans mean to cut them up in the Khoord Cabul; if a large force come, they will succumb at once. I was worse to-day: a pleasant prospect, as we daily expect to march. Our troops are said to be still at Lallpoorah, quieting refractory tribes.

19*th*.—A miserable day, and we marched through heavy rains to Tézeen: we are told that no supplies were to be had where we were. Kodá Buksh Khan's fort, close at hand, is full of loot and plate. The earthquake has brought down part of the fort they have brought us to.

The Sirdar could only get two camels with kujavas; but gave up his own palkee to Lady Macnaghten and me. I was utterly incapable of sitting on horseback: however, as I had to sit backward, with very little room, nothing to lean against, and to keep a balance against Lady M. and Mrs. Boyd's baby, I benefited but little, except in the grandeur of a royal equipage. My turban and habit were completely saturated by the rain, and I shivered as I went. On arrival at the fort, I was told to go into the room where Mahommed Shah's and the other chief's ladies were. They received us with great kindness, and kept heaping up three large fires for us to dry our clothes by. The courtyard was a deep mass of mud, and in the evening Affghans carried us on their backs across it to another apartment, which was nicely covered with *numdas:* our beddings were all regularly sopped through. The whole of the baggage was sent on to the camp, with our servants. A dinner was cooked for us —a huge dish of rice, with dhye (sour curds) in the centre, and ghee poured over all! This is a favourite Affghan dish, and therefore my bad taste must be arraigned for thinking it not eatable. Fortunately, I had a little tea and sugar in a bag, suspended from the crupper of my saddle: they gave us some milk, and I found tea the most refreshing repast. We stretched ourselves on the numdas (coarse felt carpets) in our still wet clothes. In the night I began shivering again, and Captain Anderson, my nearest bedmate, covered me with a bed cloak, which, strange to say, soon imparted warmth to me. We slept, large and small, thirty-four in a room 15 feet by 12; and we lay on the floor, literally packed together, with a wood fire in the centre, and using pine torches for candles.

20*th*.—The Sirdar fears, if he is taken by us, we shall either hang him or blow him from a gun. Mahommed Shah Khan is in a great fright also. Sultan Jan appears to be our bitterest enemy. The Sirdar says *he alone* could take us through the country: or, if he wished it, he could assemble 5000 men at any point to attack us.

It is said that Mackenzie is to go to Jellalabad on a secret mission. He will not be allowed to take any letters for individuals.

We had rain all day, and our wet chogahs, &c., hanging up, increased the damp. I wrote a few lines in pencil to Sale, by a trooper who expected to go with Mackenzie, recommending both this trooper himself (Oomar Khan), and the Rajah Ali Bahadur to him: both have been very useful to us. We had rain all day, and three earthquakes.

Mackenzie did not go after all.

Mrs. Waller increased the community, giving birth to a daughter: she, Mrs. Waller, and Mr. and Mrs. Eyre got a room to themselves and their children, diminishing our number to twenty-nine. A slight earthquake, and a fine night.

21*st*.—A fine sunshiny day: we went out to camp, getting on the first horses we could find: mine was a half-starved beast that could scarcely put one foot before the other. We had scarcely a mile to go. We hear that we are to halt here one day; and then go to Zenganah, where the snow is four feet deep, and to stay there for four months. Rain in the evening; and very heavy rain at night. The general, who is said to be dying, Pottinger, Mackenzie, Dr. Magrath, the Eyres and Wallers, are left at the fort.

Major Pottinger expostulated with Akbar, and told him that surely he did not make war on women and children, and that it was great cruelty to drive us about the country in the way they are doing; that when the Dost and the ladies of his family (among them Akbar's wife, the daughter of Mahommed Shah Khan) went to Hindostan, they travelled with every comfort procurable, and probably many more than they would have experienced in their own country. To this he replied, I will do whatever you wish: but Mahommed Shah Khan is gone to Cabul; the very bread I eat I get from him; and until he returns I cannot do anything. He, however, insists that he has a letter from Hindostan, in which it is asserted that his father has twenty sentries over him, and offered to show the letter to Captain Lawrence, who said he cared not who wrote the letter: it was untrue; that the Dost has a guard; but so far from being a close prisoner, he, being fond of hawking, &c., goes out when and where he pleases, with an escort of horse, which would be given in compliment to his station, as in the case of the royal families of Delhi, &c.; and that any restraint the women are placed under, is at the sole desire of the Dost himself.

22*d*.—We were roused before daylight with orders to march immediately; and as we had fully expected to halt for another day or two, all was confusion.

I was still too weak to ride; and Mrs. Boyd kindly gave me her place in the kujava, I carrying her baby. It was my first attempt, and the conveyance was a particularly small one of the kind; for when the resai was put in to sit on, there was not one foot and a half square; and I found (being rather a tall person) the greatest difficulty in doubling up my long legs into the prescribed compass.

On inquiry, I found that our departure was occasioned by the arrival of a letter from Cabul; stating that Futteh Jung, son of the deceased Shah Shoojah, was coming with 400 horse to carry us off, as a card to play in his own favour.

Zeman Shah Khan, acting King in Cabul, also demands us. Akbar wants to keep us; but both he and we are in the hands of Mahommed Shah Khan; who says he never took place or present from us; that he hated us always; and will be our enemy to the last.

We came to-day about twelve miles up the bed of a deep ravine, crossing the stream at least fifty times. From our last encampment we could see Kodah Buksh Khan's fort, looking very pretty, surrounded with fine trees in blossom.

On first starting, we passed on our right a large mountain-slip, caused by the earthquake near to a large cave, where there are a great number of bodies. The hills were very precipitous on our left, and high on both sides. We also passed a cave at some small distance, in front of which were some dead bodies and many bones strewed about; and, from the blood close to its entrance, there is every reason to believe that the inhabitants were supporting nature by devouring each other. I saw three poor wretches crawling on hands and knees just within the cave: but all we had to bestow upon them was pity, not unmingled with horror at the evidences of cannibalism but too apparent. These miserable creatures called to us for that relief which we had it in our power to afford; and we can only hope that their sufferings were speedily terminated by death.

No guns excepting that of the mountain train could travel this road; and cavalry and infantry would be greatly annoyed from the heights.

We did not go direct up the Tézeen valley; but took the right hand valley, which leads to the Jubhar Khail country, considered as the strongest of the Ghilzye mountain fastnesses. We passed an old Ghilzye fort on an eminence on our right; also a small colony of charcoal makers, resident in mud huts, and encamped at a second place of the same kind. Ice six inches thick in places close to the road; and plenty of snow from six to eight inches deep on the sides of it.

23*d*.—Being still very weak, I am glad to hear we are likely to halt here eight days. Khojeh Mahommed Khan seems very anxious regarding some terms being made with the Feringhees: he *bahadurs* notwithstanding; and says he can bring two lakhs of fighting men against us.

The Ghazeeas are getting discontented; and complain that they have had no food for four days.

The Sirdar has ordered our horses back to Tézeen: he says he cannot feed them here.

24*th*.—The General died last night, and his remains are to be sent to Jellalabad. Mackenzie was sent there on a secret mission just afterward. The General's death was hastened by a rumour of a Chupao from Cabul the very day we left Tézeen. At midday all were put on horseback, and sent off to a fort near at hand. In the general hurry to save themselves, Mrs. Waller, with her two children, seemed to be quite forgotten. Mr. Waller went to Major Pottinger, who was mounted on his horse, and who said all must do the best they could for themselves; but that no doubt accommodation would be given. On this, Mr. Waller, who cannot speak Persian, applied to Capt. Mackenzie; who went to Akbar Khan, and represented to him how shocking a thing it was to leave a lady and two children to have their throats cut. An old kujava was found, and strung; and some Affghans carried it on a pole. Three wives of one of the chiefs were also left in a great fright; but they procured some conveyance also. Pottinger was hurried off in such haste that he could not remonstrate.

Mahommed Shah Khan says he will not give us anything besides ottah. I suppose he keeps all the good things for the Affghan ladies; some of whom inhabit two mud huts on the hill, and the others are lodged in black tents more fragile than our own. Mahommed Rufeek, our present keeper and purveyor, has purchased twelve sheep on his own account for us; and Mahommed Akbar Khan has sent twelve camels to Cabul to bring rice and ghee. We are also busy making chebootras: we hang up our resais and blankets for roofs and walls, and find they make very comfortable places to sit in all day.

25*th*.—A report that Macgregor is to exchange us against an equal number of Affghan ladies and children at Loodinah; and that we are to be released in a few days.

26*th*.—A report to-day that the Jellalabad army are moving upward and the Cabul one downward. The Affghans say that their force consists of 11,000 men.

27*th*.—The Sirdar and Major Pottinger paid us a visit. The former tells us we are not to be angry: that nothing is procurable here; that he has sent to Cabul for everything for us. He brought some native shoes and cloth for distribution. Miller and Moore, the two soldiers who attended on the General, have been liberated: but Akbar says that it is not prudent to let them go at present, as the roads are unsafe!

28*th*.—We have converted our chebootras into arbours made of juniper. We were driven from ours to-day before dinner by a shower of rain. At night we had thunder, hail, and showers of rain, that came on in gusts.

It is said that the Sirdar has intercepted a letter from Conolly to Macgregor regarding some treaty with Amenoollah Khan for 3 lakhs; and that Kohundif Khan (the Dost's brother), with 8000 Persians, is moving on Kandahar. If this is true, it involves a quarrel with Persia.

A number of the Sirdar's men are said to have gone off to-day; having struck for arrears of pay. The Sirdar offered them five rupees each, but they demanded ten. A relief guard of seven men has arrived with some petty chief.

We have just heard that Miller was disguised as an Affghan to lead the camel that conveyed the General's body. Moore looked to English to attempt it. Near Jugdaluk, the party of ten horsemen were attacked, and the box, which was supposed to contain treasure, broken open. We at first heard that they had mutilated the poor old man's body; but only a few stones were thrown, one of which struck the head.

Miller was beaten a good deal, and wounded with a knife; but saved his life by saying he was a Mussulman: he had to return. The body was sent on; but I believe there is as yet no authentic account of its arrival at Jellalabad.

Mahommed Shah Khan arrived at night.

30*th April.*—A messenger came in from Amenoollah Khan. The government have refused to pay the fourteen and half lakhs; and the Affghans say that Pottinger and Lawrence are answerable for it. Is not Akbar more answerable for the non-fulfilment of the treaty? he who went to the Durbar, booted (on the 7th of January), ready to start after our army for the avowed purpose of its annihilation?

The Rajah has come in; he goes off to Cabul again to-morrow. Goolam Moyen oo deen also came to see us: he goes with the Sirdar to Tézeen to-day.

All accounts seem to agree in this: that although the Affghans are raising troops in Cabul, yet they seem to be as likely to fight against each other as against us.

Our soldiers who were left at Cabul, have been sent to Logur (Amenoollah's country). The hostages are placed in the hands of the son of the high-priest, Bucha-i-Meer Wyse.

It is reported that the Dost has written to Akbar Khan to say that, if there is any chance of regaining the throne, he was to fight for it; but if not, not to drive us women and children about the country; as it was against his interest that we should be ill treated. Perhaps he pities the wives of all these Ghilzye chiefs, who go whereever we do; they, however, have the best and largest kujavas, and plenty of them; while with us, many ladies very unfit to ride are forced to do so, and even without side or any saddles; for myself, I would rather walk than be again packed into a kujava.

1*st May.*—Futteh Jung, Amenoollah, and the Populzyes are in the Bala Hissar. The new King, Zeman Shah Khan, and Osman Khan, with the Barukzyes, are in the city. They have sixteen guns; and want the former party to join them; but they refuse to do so, saying that the others inveigled Shah Shoojah out, and killed him.

Neither party will have anything to do with Akbar; who, they say, plays a double part, and killed all our army. Mahommed Shah Khan wants to get Akbar to Cabul: but he refuses to go, from dread of assassination.

He (Akbar) wishes to be made a consequential chief of some part of the country; and would probably give us up, had he the power: but Mahommed Shah Khan is very powerful, and averse to the project.

2*d.*—All Cabul is in an uproar, the people fighting among themselves. Khojeh Mohammed took some of the officers out shooting: while on the hills, they heard the report of guns; and were told that the firing was at Cabul, about thirty miles off in a direct line.

In a conference with Pottinger, Troup, and many other English and Affghans—among the latter Mohammed Shah Khan—Mohammed Akbar Khan became greatly excited. He said that, on the religious cry being raised, he killed the Envoy, he destroyed our army; and now that he has drawn down the vengeance of the British upon him, the rest are deserting him; that he has kept his feelings pent up within his own breast, until they have preyed upon his vitals; and that, were he in power now, he would exterminate every one of the recreant Mussulmans who have deserted him and left him to obloquy.

A cossid has arrived from Cabul; where there has been a fight, in which Zeman Shah Khan has been victorious. One of Amenoollah's sons is killed, and Hamza Khan is wounded: but Futteh Jung and Amenoollah are still in possession of the Bala Hissar.

3*d.*—Amenoollah Khan has been worsted. The Sirdar has sent troops, under his cousin Shamshudeen, to lay waste the Logur country, destroy the forts, and capture the women: for all which, Akbar promises a reward of 30,000 rupees.

It is now reported that we are to go in three or four days to Ghuznee, where the Sirdar's cousin Shumshudeen commands. I heard from Sale. The Wallers and Eyres arrived from Tézeen.

4*th.*—The Sirdar is gone or going to Cabul.

Capt. Troup is just summoned to join him and Pottinger: Magrath remains at Tézeen; and Mackenzie, they say, is gone back to Jellalabad again.

Another account states that Amenoollah has fled to the Logur country, and that Futteh Jung holds the Bala Hissar. Farther accounts state that Amenoollah, although defeated, got safe into the Bala Hissar. 200 horsemen have been sent from Cabul to the Sirdar: Zeman Shah Khan invites him to assume the throne. He was sleeping when they arrived; but the prospect of a crown soon chased his slumbers; and he was quickly on horseback with Pottinger, leaving orders for Troup, on his arrival, to follow. Mackenzie was not to go to Jellalabad, but to wait for farther orders from the Sirdar.

The Sirdar has been urgent (but ineffectually, of course) with Mr. Eyre to go to Cabul to lay his guns for him. We hear that the hostages are all again with Zeman Shah Khan.

7*th.*—I have before adverted to Mackenzie's secret mission to Jellalabad. It was first, to ascertain what terms our party would propose: the reply was an offer of two lakhs of rupees for all the prisoners, and that the sooner we were given up to our own people the greater would be the friendship of our government; that, in consequence of the protection afforded us by Dost Mohammed Khan and Mohammed Shah Khan, their families and possessions would not be attacked; but that the grand question of peace or war, and the settlement of the country, must depend upon replies to be received from the governor-general. The Sirdar has sent in his rejoinder by Mackenzie; saying, he does not want money; nothing but the friendship of our nation; and that, if the ladies and children go, he cannot part with the gentlemen yet.

Gen. Pollock has issued a proclamation, that whoever remains quiet will be unmolested.

Threats are held out that, if our troops move up higher than Gundamuk, we shall also be taken 20 miles farther up into the hills. To this there are two objections: we are now above the Tézeen valley, in the Jubhar Khail country; these people declare we shall not go farther, or if we do they will themselves take us to our army, for they do not want to bring down upon themselves the vengeance or our nation; secondly, we have no carriage: there is little doubt that Mohammed Shah Khan would care little for our being obliged to leave behind our clothes and the few comforts we have, but we cannot be expected to walk; and the Sirdar or some of

the chiefs have taken away to Cabul both our riding-horses and baggage ponies.

I think myself fortunate in having had my horse selected to carry Capt. Mackenzie to Jellalabad: it arrived there lame, and was left with Sale. We have this day seen the general order, with Col. Palmer's capitulation at Ghuznee; and dreadful was the tale that shortly followed it. On the faith of the orders received, and the promises of the treaty with the chiefs, these devoted troops left Ghuznee, under the charge of Shumshudeen (the Sirdar's cousin). Treachery seems to be inherent in the blood of this family.

A Ghazeea shot an officer, another shot the Ghazeea; a fight ensued; the whole of our troops were cut up; exertions were made to save the officers, but every Sipahee fell. Seven of the officers are said to be alive, and poor Mrs. Lumsden. It is exactly the counterpart of what occurred with the Cabul force.

Regarding our climate.—The snow has melted on the hills immediately in our front and rear; but the tops of those within a moderate walk (were we permitted to go out of the bounds assigned to us for exercise) are still covered with it.

This morning, when we were dressing, and long after sunrise, the Bheestee took his mushk to the stream, not 50 yards from our tents, and filled it; on his return, the water was frozen so hard he could not pour it out; and we had to thaw it by the fire.

8*th*.—A very gloomy day, and cold: we kept up a good fire in the bower. A little snow fell. Serj. Deane's wife, a Persian woman, has been taken by force and married to a younger brother of Mahommed Shah Khan. Whenever this man enters her presence, she salutes him with her slipper. It is only within a few days that she has been told of Deane's death: she appears to have been sincerely attached to him; and is represented as a very pretty young woman.

The man who took the General's body to Jellalabad has returned. He seems highly pleased with the present he has received of 200 rupees, and it appears to have had a good effect; for he reports in glowing terms on the grand turn-out for the funeral, the salvoes fired, &c., on the occasion; and the magnificent appearance of our troops.

10*th*.—Capt. Anderson's little girl was restored, to the great joy of her parents.

Parties run high at Cabul: Reman Shah Khan says he will be King, Akbar ditto, Jubhar Khan the same, and Amenoollah has a similar fancy, as also Mahommed Shah Khan, and Futteh Jung, the Shahzada.

The troops go out daily to fight; Amenoollah's to Ben-i-shehr, and Zeman Shah Khan's to Siah Sung; they fight a little, and then retreat to their own positions. Zeman Shah Khan has been driven out of his house, and Amenoollah out of his; but have part of the town in their favour.

The citizens are ruined by the perfect stagnation of trade; and would probably side with us were we to show in force. Now is the time to strike the blow, but I much dread dilly-dallying just because a handful of us are in the Akbar's power. What are *our* lives when compared with the honour of our country? Not that I am at all inclined to have my throat cut: on the contrary, I hope that I shall live to see the British flag once more triumphant in Affghanistan; and then I have no objection to the Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan being reinstated: only let us first show them that we can conquer them, and humble their treacherous chiefs in the dust.

There have been a number of reports to-day, which I believe to have no foundation in truth; among others, that the Ghilzye ladies have been packing up all night, and are going to give us the slip and leave us, in consequence of hearing that our force is coming up in four divisions; one of which arrived at Tézeen at four this morning, and looted the place; and that we are to be sent forty kos higher up into the hills. This is, however, contradicted, as some persons who were sent out yesterday to explore have returned, and say that the snow is two feet deep, and impracticable.

A letter arrived from the Sirdar, stating that whenever it might be requisite for us to move, he would send us camels, ponies, and all the carriage we require; and that we are positively not to move without his especial order.

11*th*.—Futteh Jung wrote to his brother Timor at Kandahar to come and assist him: Timor sent him 3000 Juzailchees; and assured him that he was himself coming up with the British army.

Major Pottinger writes that there is no present chance of our liberation.

Mahommed Akbar Khan professes that he does not want money from us; but he laughs at our offer of two lakhs for the whole party; and has sent back to say he wishes for eight. It has been recommended that we should offer him five; but the general opinion is that we shall remain in captivity till all is settled.

13*th*.—The Akhonzada says, that, after we left Buddeeabad, all the natives were turned out, and told they might make the best of their way to Jellalabad; being first stripped of their clothes and all that they possessed. Those who had lost their feet of course could not attempt it; and the greater part of the rest, we are told, have been taken as slaves.

We have a slave merchant here now. We learn that men sell for forty-six rupees, and women for twenty-two, each: they are sent off to Khoolloom. 400 Hindostanees have been entrapped at Cabul, under an assurance of safe conduct to Jellalabad.

14*th*.—People have come in from the Lughman valley, who report that the wheat and barley there are ripe, and also mulberries. Here the crops have not attained the height of six inches.

The booming of heavy guns heard: on which the guard here said the Kulma; hoping that it was something in the Sirdar's favour.

It is reported that Futteh Jung is King, the Sirdar Wuzeer, and Zeman Khan Sirdar-i-Sirdaran. About thirty shots were heard in the night.

15*th*.—More of Mahommed Rufeek's people have come in from Cabul: they say that Mahommed Akbar Khan is proclaimed King, until his father's return; that he resides at present in the Ben-i-shehr; and that Amenoollah has free ingress and egress to and from him, for the purpose of meeting with Futteh Jung. The Sirdar has sent for all our horses, ponies, &c. The Naïb Shureef has sent Mrs. Sturt and me tea and sugar: a kind attention and great comfort.

Akbar says he will fight our army. This is expressed in a letter written to Suballan Khan, the captain of our guard. Dost Mahommed Khan asserts that it is Major Pottinger who retards our release: but he is as much a prisoner as ourselves.

16*th*.—I kept the anniversary of my marriage by dining with the ladies of Mahommed Shah Khan's family; who told us that Futteh Jung was King, Mahommed Akbar Khan Wuzeer, and Mahommed Shah Khan the Sirdar-i-Sirdaran. It was an extremely stupid visit. We had two female servants to interpret for us. Three of Mahommed Shah Khan's wives, and some of Dost Mahommed's, with the mother of the chiefs, and two of their unmarried sisters, were present. They were, generally speaking, inclined to *embonpoint*, largely formed, and coarsely featured; their dress inelegant, and of the coarsest materials. The favourite wife, and the best dressed, was attired in a common Cabul silk, with a coarse piece of chintz inserted behind, evidently for economy's sake. The dress, which covers the whole person, nearly resembles a common night-dress; and has tacked on to it coins, or other pieces of silver or gold, such as crescents, &c., all over the sleeves, the front and sides, from the shoulders to the feet. A breast-plate is worn, commencing at the throat, of coins strung together: this descends far below the waist; and when they sit down, it hangs in festoons on the lap. Only the favourite wore gold coins; those of the other ladies being of silver. They had nothing in the way of jewels, properly so called. About seven common-sized pearls, surrounding an emerald full of flaws, the whole set as a nose ornament, was the handsomest thing I saw in the trinket way. Some of them had very inferior ear-rings of gold and silver. They wear their hair in innumerable small plaits hanging down: these are arranged once a week, after taking the bath; and the tresses are then well stiffened with gum. The unmarried women bend their hair in a flat braid across the forehead touching the eyebrows; which gives them a very heavy look. These said eyebrows, while they are maidens, remain as nature formed them: but when they marry, the hair of the centre is carefully picked out; and the arch, thus most unnaturally raised, is painted. The Cabul women are much addicted to the use of both white and red paint; and they colour not only the nails, as in Hindostan, but the whole hand up to the wrist, which looks as though it had been plunged in blood, and to our ideas is very disgusting. A particular plant is often used for this purpose. The upper part of the leaf sparkles, and resembles the ice-plant; but the lower side is red, and, on being pressed, gives a fine dye. A chuddah is thrown over the head and shoulders in the house, as in Hindostan; and when they go out they wear the bourka, ru-i-bund, and legwraps: high-heeled iron-shod slippers complete the costume. After a time, an extremely dirty cloth was spread over the numdas in front of us, and dishes of pillau, dhye or sour curd, and fernéz or sweet curd, were placed before us. Those who had not taken a spoon with them, ate with their fingers, Affghan fashion—an accomplishment in which I am by no means *au fait*. We drank water out of a teapot. A dinner was given to the gentlemen by Abdoollah Khan, at his tents about two miles off, nearer the snow.

In the evening Capt Mackenzie arrived; and I received a letter from Sale.

There seems to be no present prospect of release.

We hear that the force under Gen. Nott has been re-enforced by Brig. England; who had, nevertheless, been beaten back in the first instance: then Gen. Nott was to march against Cabul, as yesterday (the 15th); and then Gen. Pollock was still awaiting orders from Lord Ellenborough; but that, whether they arrive or not, we must now wait until Nott's force gets near to Cabul to make a simultaneous attack. Now as Akbar only boasts of 12,000 men against us, and as we have fully that number at Jellalabad, with 18-pounders, Pollock's force would easily capture Cabul in the present position of affairs. A short time ago it would have been still easier, as there was then more division among the Affghan troops.

A letter from Mahommed Akbar Khan to Sultan Khan has been intercepted; in which he acknowledges that, for every rupee he can muster, the Shahzada (Futteh Jung) can produce a gold mohur.

A European and some natives were murdered near our camp at Jellalabad; and, vigorous measures not being taken, the offence was repeated; and a duffodar of Tait's horse fell a victim to the Affghans. On the murderer taking refuge in a village, Tait immediately surrounded it with his men; and then reported the circumstance to Gen. Pollock; who, after consulting with Capt. Macgregor, sent to tell the people of the village that if they did not, within a specified time, give up the malefactor to be hanged by us, he would burn the village, and put every living being in it to death. The time had not expired when this news came. Cruel as an action of this kind may appear, it is probably the best method of striking terror into these savages, and, perhaps, of eventually preventing bloodshed.

Capt. Mackenzie has brought me intelligence of Sale's having broken three of his ribs, from his horse falling with him; and that he has suffered also from inflammation in consequence of the accident; but that he is fast recovering, if not, as he says he is, quite well and fit for work again.

17*th*.—I heard this morning that part of my letters regarding the siege had arrived in England, and been laid before the Court of Directors.

20*th*.—Lady Macnaghten and a part of the ladies breakfasted with Dost Mahommed Khan and his ladies. They were told that, if the Sirdar gains the Bala Hissar, we shall all go there; if not, we go to Jellalabad.

One report states that the Sirdar, who is resident at Ben-i-shehr, was to meet Futteh Jung on amicable terms; but that the latter refused to go outside the Bala Hissar until Mahommed Shah Khan and Sultan Jan were given up to him as hostages, which was done: but when Futteh Jung got as far as the Musjid, finding Akbar at the head of 3000 men, fearing treachery, he retreated, shut the gates, and fired on Akbar's party. Another account states, that when the gates were opened for Futteh Jung to go out, Amenoollah released the hostages, and then went over to the Sirdar himself. Mackenzie is supposed to be at Tézeen to-day, and will be here either to-morrow or in three days. It is worthy of remark, that during Lady Macnaghten's visit to the ladies this morning, Dost Mahommed Khan was present the whole time; which was decidedly, according to Affghan custom, an insult; as the men never are present when their wives receive company.

A Kandaharee female servant of these ladies told them in Hindostanee not to believe a word that Dost Mahommed said to them, as his intel-

ligence was all false, and was intended to mislead them.

A storm of thunder and rain at dinner-time: in the evening we ascended the hill, about 150 feet, and then found the view bounded by another: so we fatigued ourselves to no purpose. A fire beacon lighted on the hill at night.

21*st*.—Lady Macnaghten and two other ladies breakfasted with Khojeh Mahommed Khan's family; and on this occasion two men were present. The rest of us were not invited.

Khojeh Mahommed sighed much, and seemed out of spirits. According to the statement of their servants, the ladies have not had food cooked for them for two days, in consequence of their grief. In these parties they do not eat with the Kaffirs, but are profuse of their expressions of good-will, and desire us to ask them for anything we require.

Their professions were put to the test; at least those of Dost Mahommed himself: a gentleman asked for a chillum, and was told to go to the devil (Goom Shud).

I received two notes from Sale, dated the 15th, informing me that he had received a highly gratifying letter from Lord Ellenborough, and another from Sir Jasper Nichols, regarding the holding of Jellalabad, the chupao on Akbar's camp, &c.; and stating that the 35th were to be made light infantry; the Company's troops to have medals, and to bear "Jellalabad" and a mural crown on their colours: also, that Lord Ellenborough would request Her Majesty's permission that the 13th should be similarly honoured.

Chintz, sugar candy, tea, and cheese, distributed among the ladies; they were sent to us by our friends at Jellalabad: also Shalu (Turkey red cotton cloth) and jean, with boots and shoes for the gentlemen. We also received the March overland mail. I heard a droll anecdote of Akbar when he went off to Cabul from Tézeen. His followers asked him what tent they should take for him: his reply was given with great good-humour (he believed himself on the point of mounting a throne): "The ladies and people above have got all our tents here; but you may send my salaam to Gen. Sale, and ask him to lend me one of those he took from me."

22*d*.—The first thing we heard this morning was, that ponies had arrived, and that we are going to Cabul. They afterward told us that we are going to Shéwakee, a fort near the Pillar. The officers went to Dost Mahommed and informed him that only thirty-three ponies had arrived, and no camels; and that it was impossible we could move without more means of transport; so the order to march at midday was rescinded; and we have been promised animals to start with early to-morrow morning. We are to go to Khoord Cabul, seventeen miles, as our first march.

23*d*.—Mules arrived for three kujavas; but no camels, as we take a road that is bad for these animals.

Started at a little before 10 A.M., and got to the fort we formerly went to at Khoord Cabul, at 6 P.M. We travelled fully twenty-two miles, following the road to Tézeen, by which we came to Zanduh, for some time, and then turning to the left. Except in a few places the road was tolerable. We crossed a highly-cultivated valley studded with forts; a perfect oasis in our barren mountain track. The yellow brier-rose is in bloom, and asphodels of three different colours, yellow, pink, and a greenish brown, a pretty description of borage, and a plant resembling sage with a red flower; and blue sage in blossom was found among the wells and stones. The climate here was much warmer than at Zanduh. We did not strike into the regular road till we arrived at the Huft Kotul; and here we came upon a sad scene of decaying bodies, among which poor Major Ewart's was still recognisable.

There is a fort opposite to the point where the short road turns back to Seh Baba; and another at Thana Tariffa, which is the entrance to the Thungee on the Jellalabad side. This was also dreadful to go through; both to the sight and smell equally offensive.

Immediately after emerging from the pass, we took a short cut to the left of the regular road, which brought us to the fort. In its immediate vicinity there was rich cultivation; but a great deal of land formerly tilled lies fallow this year.

24*th*.—We left the fort at about the same time as yesterday: our march was eighteen or nineteen miles over hill and dale, with a rich valley but scantily cultivated on our left. We had a difficult ascent over a rocky hill; after which we passed a tope which has no appearance of having been opened. There is a fine tank nearly opposite to it, shaded by trees, and containing small fish: it is supplied with beautifully clear water from the Karez, near it; from which, I suppose, it takes its name of Kareza. We then pursued our way over a plain, covered with stones, till we ascended a difficult rocky hill, which was surmounted by the famous Pillar generally ascribed to Alexander the Great. It is evidently not of Affghan workmanship; and is now out of the perpendicular, leaning back, as if it shrank from Cabul. The outer casing is quite gone; and it is not, therefore, wonderful that no inscription exists; and the greater part of the square base it rested on has also mouldered away. From this spot there is a magnificent view. Immediately below us was a richly-cultivated country, studded with forts and fruit trees, the Logur river, beyond it the Siah Sung, and a distant view of Cabul, and then ranges of hills, the whole bounded by the mountains of Kohistan and the Hindo Koosh, covered with perpetual snow. The descent on the Cabul side is rather more difficult in parts; particularly when you have not an acquaintance of long standing with your horse; which was my case, having hired for the day a mere baggage poney, for the large sum of two rupees six anas. The creature was evidently not used to scrambling; and did not like it. Whenever he came to a difficult place, he jumped down with his two fore feet; and then considered whether he should bring the hinder ones after them; and in this way jumped up on rocks, where kids would joy to disport, but where he shook with fear. However, riding was less trouble than walking on such a road; and I got safely through. We passed another tope which had been opened, and a succession of forts; and at length arrived at Noor Mahommed, the Meer Akor's Fort: here we were not expected; no notice having been given. The truth is, that the Sirdar ordered us to be sent to a fort of Mahommed Shah Khan's, two miles from this one; but Mahommed is to bring his family hither; and was determined to keep his own fort for

them. We were first told that two open stables or cowsheds, down a narrow gulley in the outer square, were all the accommodations they had to give us.

As no one would fight for the ladies, I determined to *be Yaghi* myself; and I went with Mr. Melville to Dost Mahommed Khan and Mahommed Rufeek. At length our bower party got a small room over the gateway of the inner fort; with a promise of better quarters for all to-morrow.

The reason given for our sudden flitting from Zanduh is an expected chupao from the two chiefs, Azaid Khan, and Aziz Khan; who offered, if Macgregor would furnish the cash, to raise 2000 men, and carry us off to our friends.

There was firing of guns all day long; and at night very sharp firing, without much intermission. Being in pain from the arm that was wounded, and in great anxiety for the result (having heard from the Affghans here that Akbar meant to surprise and take the Bala Hissar), I never closed my eyes until after daybreak; when we heard the muezzin call to prayers.

25*th*.—The tables were turned last night; for a sally was made from the Bala Hissar; and Mahommed Akbar Khan was, they say, nearly caught. He escaped to a fort near the Shah's camp, behind Siah Sung.

The females were removed from this fort, and we all got excellent quarters. In addition to the two rooms apportioned to our party, we have permission to sit, in the daytime, in a room in a bourj, a small octagon with oorsees or open-work lattices. There are two flights of steep steps to mount to it from our apartments, which are up stairs; but the view from it is so refreshing, looking over all the forts and highly-cultivated grounds; it has the advantage of being always cool; and which compensates for the trouble in getting there.

The Sirdar says he will not remain here when our force comes up, but retire to the Kohistan, and allow the English to take Cabul: after which he will come forward with an offer to go to Hindostan, and take his father's place, if they will permit the Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan to return and rule in this country.

26*th*.—We heard a few guns early in the morning. This day they say the Sirdar is to have a friendly conference with Futteh Jung; but it is to be hoped that the latter will not put himself into the power of his treacherous enemy.

Khan Shireen Khan, the head of the Kuzzilbashes, keeps neuter. Zeman Shah Khan seems to be but a lukewarm friend of the Sirdar.

The gentlemen of Cabul are all disgusted at the treachery that took place, ending in the murder of Shah Shoojah.

The shopkeepers and merchants wish for us back, as the circulation of rupees is much less than in our time; and the cultivators would fain leave the army and look after their crops.

Gen. Pollock offers to exchange the captive ladies and children, against Akbar's family of four wives with their children. One of the former is a daughter of Mahommed Shah Khan; and another is a sister of Sirballan Khan's. Capt. Troup came to see us, and brought us a message from the Sirdar, desiring we would all write to him, and state whatever we required, that he might send it to us.

27*th*.—Capt. Troup returned to the Sirdar, and took our notes and lists with him; also a letter for Sale, though he doubts its being sent immediately. This day was fixed for a conference between Akbar and Futteh Jung; Akbar required him to vacate the Bala Hissar; and says he may go into the strongest fort in the neighbourhood, and keep all his guns; giving up his army, wherewith Akbar is to go down and fight the British force. No firing heard to-day; but we hope that Futteh Jung will manage to hold out until our force comes to his assistance.

28*th*.—The advance of our army has arrived at Gundamuk; and the rest are following, purchasing up carriage at any expense.

The Kandahar force have been attacked by the Affghans; who have been signally defeated; which has struck such terror into them, that they are flying in all directions: this is their own account.

29*th*.—Sujat Dowlut, the son of Zeman Shah Khan, and the murderer of Shah Shoojah, came to the fort to visit Ali Mohammed Khan. To his father's honour be it said, that he refused to see him for some time after the murder. It is reported that we leave this place in six days for —no one knows where.

30*th*.—There was firing late in the evening from the Bala Hissar and the city. A man of some respectability, with three or four followers, came to see Capt. Johnson, and bring him some things: they were all taken away by the Affghans; and the people carried off prisoners to Akbar.

The Kuzzilbashes have openly declared in favour of Futteh Jung. They are throwing provisions into the Bala Hissar; and strengthening the works.

Our troops have been some days at Gundamuk. There are orders that the officers are not to go out of the fort, as they did before, to bathe. We hope we shall not be interdicted walking in the garden, as we always have guards with us there; and every night we are locked into the square; and the servants cannot go outside the gate for any purpose without a guard.

1*st June*.—The Naïb Shureff is obliged to hide for safety. Mahommed Rufeek is sent away; and Ali Mohammed Khan has now sole charge of us.

2*d*.—It is true that our troops left Kandahar on the 16th of last month. General Nott's force has given the Affghans a fourth beating at Khelat-i-Gilzie; and killed 2000 men. Gen. Pollock's division is expected here on the 15th.

Sharp firing all day; particularly in the afternoon, evening, and all night.

3*d*.—The servants have a report that whenever we leave this place, Futteh Jung means to chupao us; and that twenty men are always on the watch, mounted, to carry the intelligence of our removal to him.

4*th*.—Capt. Troup came to us, and brought me two parcels from Sale; one of which was for distribution among the ladies. Also letters enclosing copies of Lord Ellenborough's and Sir Jasper Nicholls' letters to him. Their contents were so gratifying that I shook off all my feverish feelings and concomitant weakness; and in the gladness of my heart felt quite well again.

Troup seems to think that the Sirdar will succeed in getting possession of the Bala Hissar.

He assures Futteh Jung that he has a mine all ready to spring; but will not have recourse to it till the last moment. Now this is an evident *ruse*; for if he had the means he would take the Bala Hissar at once; and we have heard that he has mined in three places to the extent of twelve hauts; but has each time come to solid rock, on which the miners can make no impression. The cossid, who brought our letters, brought one also from the Sirdar; and another for Futteh Jung from Macgregor: on the receipt of the latter, Futteh Jung fired a royal salute and made a sally.

The Sirdar sent us some coarse cloth, soap, an Affghan chillumchee, and some tallow candles: others received sundry donations of the like kind.

6*th*.—The Sirdar is said to have possession of the Bala Hissar, and to occupy the gate nearest to us, while the Kuzzilbashes hold the Chandowlee gate, and Mahommed Shah another. Futteh Jung is said to have given up two lakhs of rupees to Akbar.

The tale of the mine was true; but Futteh Jung had filled it with water.

Mahommed Shah Khan and Sultan Jan have been daily, for three days, at the Bala Hissar, unattended, in conference with the Shahzada, who gave them khelluts, &c. He then asked Mahommed Akbar Khan to meet him in friendly conference in the gateway, each to have only five followers; but the Sirdar refused to go farther than John Hicks's tomb, fearing treachery. He had previously warned Mahommed Shah not to trust Futteh Jung, who might easily have secured the two others each of these days; but we suspect his aim was to lull them into security, to enable him to seize the Sirdar.

Here he has shown bad policy; for, though Akbar is the superior in rank, Mahommed Shah has the troops, and what money they can raise, at command. Sultan Jan is the fighting arm of the trio, under the latter; while Akbar sits in durbar, laughs, talks, and squeezes all who are suspected of having money. He has carefully kept all our notes to him, asking for or thanking him for things received, no doubt to produce at the last, as a farther proof of his kindness to his captives. Dr. Grant is said to be alive and safe with some Bunneah, who, of course, keeps him secreted from the chiefs, that he and not they may have a reward; but we heard so positively that he was killed near the lake beyond Behmaru, that our hopes are but faint.

Much firing in the evening and night.

7*th*.—We hear that last night there was a sortie from the Bala Hissar, and an attack made on two guns of Mahommed Akbar's. They did not succeed in capturing them, but took some ammunition and camels. An attempt was made to carry off the camels belonging to this fort, which were out grazing, but six horsemen went from hence and rescued them.

Akbar says he does not spring his mine because it will damage the walls of the Bala Hissar, and make it easier for the English to enter the place; and that even were the gates open, he doubts the courage of his troops to enter them.

Amenoollah Khan has been for some time soliciting permission to leave the Sirdar, to go to Loghur on important affairs of his own. This has induced the Sirdar to seize him, which is now supposed to be the cause of all the firing we heard last night. Whether this will prove for our advantage or not, remains to be proved.

This chief is said to have eighteen lakhs of rupees, which Mahommed Akbar Khan will probably endeavour to squeeze out of him; however, he is not likely to have it here. If his treasure is secure at Loghur, and his sons rise in his favour (as he can bring 10,000 men into the field), a very powerful diversion may be formed, whether they join us or Futteh Jung; if, on the contrary, Akbar procures even one lakh of ready cash, he can do much mischief, by raising troops even for a few weeks to annoy our force. The celerity with which troops are raised is quite astonishing to us, who are accustomed to see recruits drilled for a length of time. Here, every man is born a soldier; every child has his knife—that weapon which has proved so destructive in the hands of a hostile peasantry, incited against us by the moollahs, who threaten eternal perdition to all who do not join in the cause of the Ghazeeas; while heaven, filled with Houris, is the recompense for every man who falls in a religious war. With them, the only expense attending the soldier consists in his pay, which is scanty; his horse, if he have one, is his own; and every Affghan is armed completely with some three or four of these knives, of different sizes—from that as long as a sword to a small dagger—pistols, and a juzail; which latter predominates over the matchlock. They carry much farther than our muskets; so that, when our men are beyond range to hit them, they pour a destroying fire on us. Regarding these same muskets being better than matchlocks: those who had only the latter may have taken them of late in exchange; but, generally speaking, the only useful part to the Affghans are the locks, which they tear off, and leave the rest.

Capt. Troup did not return to the Sirdar till this morning. The man who went with him has returned, and states that the Sirdar has blown up the bastion of the Bala Hissar which is nearest to the Shōr Bazar. There is, however, some discrepancy in his account; as he states that he saw the Sirdar's men parading about on the tops of the very bastion that has been destroyed. He also added, that they were busily employed in throwing out the dead bodies.

It is a great pity that Gen. Pollock's force does not move up. Futteh Jung pays the Hindostanees in the Bala Hissar a rupee a day to keep watch at the gates, being afraid to trust the Affghans.

Mahommed Akbar's guns are worked by three Chuprassies, two Buglers, and a few other of our runaways.

It is said that whenever we leave this place, there will be great opposition made to our removal; and that various parties will endeavour to get us into their power.

3 P.M.—Farther accounts have just been brought in; stating that yesterday's fight, at the Bala Hissar, was commenced by Sultan Jan. When he got tired, Mahommed Shah Khan took his place; and when he too was fatigued, the Sirdar assumed command in person. When he brought his gun to bear on the mine at the bourj, Futteh Jung ran another gun opposite;

and blew the Sirdar's gun away! a novel method of firing a train; nevertheless, it seems the mine was fired; and, by some bungling, Akbar blew up 300 of his own men. But Futteh Jung gave in, and the Sirdar is supposed to have the Bala Hissar. We only obtain such information as the Khan and his guard are pleased to communicate; excepting those of our party who perchance overhear them speaking among themselves; when, however, they generally use Pushtoo, to prevent our understanding them. Four Coolies have arrived with two tin boxes and two baskets from Tézeen. They are supposed to have come from Jellalabad; as all were quickly huddled into a room and locked up, and a man despatched to the Sirdar to know his pleasure concerning them.

The packets have been distributed; mostly medicine for Dr. Magrath.

There were letters and newspapers; but those have been sent to the Sirdar.

In the garden in the evening we heard that the Sirdar had sent his salaam, that he was master of the Bala Hissar: but just as we entered the gate we heard that, so far from that being the case, he had only taken the bourj above. Now that same bourj above completely commands the fort. However, Akbar has no guns in it; though by manual labour he could easily drag them up. The mountain train guns go up on mules well; and I have seen them myself practising over that very hill.

There is another report that Gool Mahommed is to chuapo us in four days. We heard the report of some juzails between nine and ten P.M.

8*th*.—The servants declare, that above forty guns were fired last night between eleven and twelve; but some of the officers, who were awake, did not hear them any more than I did. On the same authority we have a rumour of Futteh Jung's having taken two of the Sirdar's tents and some ammunition; and of his having killed forty of his Ghazeeas.

They say that the Sirdar sent Zeman Shah Khan to treat with Futteh Jung; and to propose that the latter should remain king, making Akbar his wuzeer; and that he should make over all the guns and troops to him, to go and fight the English with. Futteh Jung has placed Zeman Shah Khan in confinement, until he gets a reply to his message to the Sirdar, in which he accedes to his request, on condition that he previously places all the captives in his hands.

9*th*.—Capt. Mackenzie arrived, and brought some newspapers and letters—those which we have been expecting back from the Sirdar: and we strongly suspect that he has kept many. Mackenzie assures us that Futteh Jung has surrendered the Bala Hissar to Akbar Khan; who has demanded all his treasure, as the first step he takes.

There seems to have been no military necessity for the surrender. One bourj had been mined; but traverses might have been thrown up to render the place perfectly secure from any Affghan attack. It is probable that the Arabs were intimidated by the effect of the mine; *that* being a species of warfare they particularly dread. Futteh Jung had held out for a month —the time, it is said, he had promised to do so; and Pollock's force not moving to his succour, he probably became disheartened. He now has not only lost his treasure, but it is likely he may lose his life also: for he never can feel safe while in the power of Akbar and Mahommed Shah. The latter resides in the Bala Hissar; the former in the Shōr Bazar. Both Mahommed Shah and Sultan Jan were wounded in the explosion of the bourj, by stones falling on their heads.

Pollock's force is suffering from sickness, occasioned by the great heat of Jellalabad.

Col. Parsons' arrangements only extend to camels and carriage cattle as far as Peshawer. Capt. Mackeson, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to go as far as Jellalabad, but no farther; and immense exertions have been made to enable the force to leave that place. The arrangements are, we hear, nearly completed: but now that Akbar has money (18 lakhs, it is said) at his command, he may raise troops to harass ours.

Gen. Nott is said still to be encamped on this side of Khelat-i-Gilzie. A week or ten days ago, one brigade might have taken Cabul without opposition.

The Affghans are very jealous of any people coming to us, lest we should obtain information. A young man of great respectability, who came to bring some things for Capt. Johnson a few days since, has been fined 6000 rupees; and in addition to that has been tortured, and had all his nails torn out.

10*th*.—A slight earthquake in the morning; and four shocks during the night.

11*th*.—Our guard is increased by thirty men.

The fruit in the garden is sold to a Khoord; who says, if we will pay him a few rupees, we may eat any we like: but the grapes are sour, and will not be ripe for these six weeks at least. The sour plums make preserves.

It appears very uncertain what power Akbar really possesses. The Kuzzilbashes occupy the gate which commands their quarters. Mohammed Shah Khan has one. Futteh Jung is still king, and lives in the interior of the Bala Hissar. Akbar still inhabits a house in the Shōr Bazar.

12*th*.—A Hindostanee was severely beaten at the gate, being suspected of bringing in news.

13*th*.—A Peshawer-i-Suwar was beaten, and had his horse taken from him, for attempting to come here; if he had any letters, they were not discovered.

Various reports to-day: some, that our troops are at Gundamuk: and others, that the forces both at Jellalabad and at Kandahar, &c., are all retreating to the provinces, and leaving us to enjoy the gentle mercies of our captors.

14*th*.—Ali Mahommed Khan says that we shall not leave this fort: that even if Akbar meditated our removal, the various tribes, by whom we are surrounded, would look to their own interests, and interfere to get us into their own hands. This agrees with what Dost Mahommed Khan told us at Zanduh; that the Sirdar had been peremptory in ordering our removal to Cabul; but that he had, in so doing, committed a great mistake, as he would probably find out in three or four days after our arrival at the capital, and when it would be too late to rectify his error.

15*th*.—In consequence of having yesterday given a rupee to the Khoordish Baghwan, he had this evening two dallies of the finest mul-

berries the garden produced (the Bédanas) ready for us; nicely cooled by the rill of the stream, and covered with a shower of roses. We filled our basket; and sat and ate the fruit under the vines; and look forward to delicious sherbet from the flowers to-morrow.

16*th*.—Towards morning we were awakened by such a noise, that we could not possibly imagine it to be less than a chupao: on inquiry it proved to be a row between an ayah and a bearer.

The *on-dit* of to-day is, that 4000 Sikhs are to hold Jellalabad, while our troops come up to Cabul. The Affghans say that eight of our regiments are at Gundamuk. On the arrival of the force it is expected by the Affghans that Akbar and Mahommed Shah will flee; but that very few of their followers will accompany them. They will take us with them; either to Mecca or Room! By the latter they mean Constantinople.

They tell us that Futteh Jung is a prisoner.

Late in the evening news arrived that Kamran (who, by-the-by, we heard was put to death by his minister, Yai Mahommed, some time since) is coming with an army from Herat, to form a coalition with Futteh Jung, Akbar, the Ghilzyes, and all the Affghan chiefs. They are to go down and fight our force: if they are successful, we are to remain as we are; if not, to be sent viâ Charekar to Turkistan.

A report prevalent among the Affghans that our force has marched from Jellalabad; and that we consequently shall soon be removed from hence.

The Prince Futteh Jung is still in confinement. Mahommed Akbar Khan, Mahommed Shah Khan, and the Ghilzye chiefs, are bent on having him put to death. Zeman Shah Khan, and the more moderate party, oppose it: not from affection for us or him, but as a measure of better policy. The Ghazeeas, however, are determined to steep the chiefs as deeply in blood as they can, to prevent the possibility of their making any terms with us. They say the captives shall not be taken away from Cabul; and that if the Sirdar or any of the Ghilzye chiefs attempt to fly, they will put them to death.

Zeman Khan wishes the Sirdar to send him to Jellalabad to treat, taking the captives with him. This Akbar will not hear of: and they have had a quarrel, ending in a fight. The sound of cannon has been heard; also volleys of musketry. A grand battle is to come off on Sunday.

18*th*.—Waterloo day. It seems that we are to be sent viâ the Kohistan to Bokhara. Mackenzie writes, that we are to be prepared for a sudden move.

19*th*.—A letter is said to have arrived from Gen. Pollock to Akbar; who, with Futteh Jung and all the chiefs, is going in four days to Jellalabad to salaam. The Ameer is on his way up to resume the throne.

21*st*.—Henry's birthday; celebrated by a great battle in Cabul, in which Akbar has been victorious, though he has lost from sixty to eighty men.

Zeman Shah Khan is said to have been made prisoner, with both his sons.

Another report states, that they have all three escaped: also, that Zeman was surrounded in a fort, but contrived to get away from it. He had eighteen guns out; and the Sirdar had as many: the latter is going down to Jellalabad, to give battle to the English force there.

22*d*.—Various reports to-day: That Zeman Khan lost fifteen guns yesterday, and all his treasure: that to-morrow there will be a great fight between the Sirdar and Khan Shireen Khan.

Later accounts in the evening state that Khan Shireen has made his salaam; and that we are to go to the Bala Hissar. Plenty of firing heard by us; said by some to be fighting; by others to be salutes in honour of Futteh Jung being *declared* king.

23*d*.—The Dost is not to come up until after the rains. No chance of our removal at present.

25*th*.—Mackenzie and Troupe arrived.

Colonel Palmer is said to have been tortured at Ghuznee. Mohun Lull has been seized and tortured. Humza Khan has been imprisoned by the Sirdar. Ali Bega, Naib Shureef, and Jan Fishan Khan have fled: the latter's two sons have been murdered. Osman Khan (the late wuzeer) has been seized by Akbar. Nott is said to have returned to Kandahar; after putting to death all his Affghan captives, and blowing up Kelat-i-Ghilzie. This seems (if true) to be a strange proceeding, if we are to retain the country; as the fortress was but just completed, and was considered an indispensable site for a granary and depôt of troops. Major Rawlinson's opinion is, that our troops will all be withdrawn in the autumn: but this does not square with the order, received by Ali Bega from Dallas, to lay in all the provisions he can possibly store in Cabul.

Ali Mahommed tells us that the Khyberries have risen, and that we have sent two regiments and two guns against them; but there is an inkling that more guns have arrived at Jellalabad; and therefore we might have sent a force to protect them on their way up. They say, also, that Pollock has actually moved up as far as Gundamuk; and there is a report that our men at Buddeeabad have been set at liberty by our troops, who blew up the fort, and also that at Tighree.

26*th*.—A report that 10,000 Sikhs have come up from Peshawer; that they are in the Lughman valley; have destroyed Tighree; and, fearing a chupao on Buddeeabad, all the prisoners there were brought away: they were fed on bread and water only after we left them. The day after our departure, Mrs. Wade (wife of a sergeant) changed her attire, threw off the European dress, and adopted the costume of the Mussulmans; and, professing to have changed her creed also, consorted with the Nazir of our inveterate enemy, Mahommed Shah Khan; and gave information of some plans laid by the men for their escape; which nearly caused them all to have their throats cut. Having reported to her Affghan paramour the manner in which her husband had secreted some gold mohurs in his jorabs, he was of course plundered of them. The Hindostanees were stripped of every article of clothing they possessed, and had even the rags taken off their sores, to ascertain there was no money concealed; they were then turned out. Some got to Jellalabad, through the kindness of a Hindu Bun-

neah, who sent them down on a jhala; others have been made slaves. Of the unfortunate servants Mrs. Sturt and I left behind, we have no tidings.

The Europeans found it dreadfully hot at Buddeeabad; and most of them were attacked by fever; their only remedy being bleeding with a penknife; in which Mr. Blewitt was very successful. One man (Sergt. Reynolds), who was left there with a broken arm, died of lockjaw.

Sergt. Fare brought with him the colour of the 44th, which has been before mentioned. A few days after Capt. Souter's arrival at Buddeeabad, Brig. Shelton expressed a wish that the colour should be given to his servant (Moore, of the 44th), for the purpose of sewing it in a piece of cloth; and to keep it in his possession. Previous to our quitting Buddeeabad, the Brigadier suggested that the colour should be left with Sergt. Fare, who, with the party that was left at the fort, would, it was expected, be released before those who proceeded to Cabul. Sergt. Fare kept the colour concealed by wrapping it round him; and when he joined us here (at Shewakee) he made it over to Gen. Shelton, who retains it in his possession.

Of so incorrect a personage as Mrs. Wade I shall only farther say, that she is at Mahommed Shah Khan's fort with her Affghan lover; and has taken with her young Stoker. As he is the son of a man in Sale's regiment, I am doing all I can to get the Sirdar (through Capt. Troup's entreaty) to have him brought here, and again placed under Mrs. Burnes's care. She and her infant are looking very miserable, as are most of the men.

Col. Stoddart and Capt. Arthur Conolly are prisoners at Bokhara. The latter had been enthusiastically employed in endeavouring to effect the release of the slaves in Kohan. The king of Bokhara conquered the chief of that country, and placed Conolly in confinement at Bokhara. He and his fellow-prisoner, by the last accounts, had been 126 days confined in a dungeon underground, without light: they had never changed their clothes, nor washed, and their food was let down to them once in four or five days. A native, who had compassion on them, received a message through the person who took their food to them, and through him Conolly has communicated with his family here, who, alas! are now powerless to assist him.

We ate the first really ripe apricots (*zerdaloos*) and cherries (*gulas*) brought in from the city: but the produce of the Kohistan, the aloo baloo, or sour wild cherry, in the garden, is now pretty ripe; and the apricots and some of the green plums are ripening. The peach of this garden is very inferior to what I used to purchase last year. The best apricot in it is the white one; it is called kysee, and has a flavour of rose-water.

The red plum is not permitted to ripen properly; it has some flavour; and is called turnasook. The green plum looks something like a green gage; but has no flavour except that of *eau sucrée*.

It is said, on the authority of Sergt. Wade—who was informed by his wife, who professed to have her information from Mahommed Shah Khan's family—that we are all going to be sent to Bokhara. There is also a report, not, however, traceable to any foundation, that Pollock's force is not to move upward until about the middle of August.

28*th*.—An earthquake about 11 A.M., and another about 9 P.M.; sufficient both times to make the roof creak

We have heard from undoubted authority that Mahommed Akbar Khan said in the durbar, before he left Cabul to follow our troops in January, that it was his intention to go and *kuttle kurra*, or cut the throats of all our force; *and, after that, let* THEM *beware*—meaning the chiefs. He seems to be now verifying his promise; and is, by all accounts, squeezing as much wealth as he can out of all those who are in his power; and disgusting every one of them.

29*th*.—Jan Fishan Khan has escaped to Jellalabad. Khan Shireen Khan, and many of those friendly to the English, have retired into the hills.

30*th*.—Troup left us, taking part of my journal, and plenty of letters; as it is said he is to be sent to Jellalabad. Mackenzie is ill with fever, and unable to go with him.

July 1*st*.—The Sirdar has promised that Stoker shall be sent back to us; but he has not yet arrived.

3*d*.—Troup arrived, and brought us a comb and two caps from Mahommed Rufeek. The Sirdar still talks of sending him to Jellalabad; but he says he must wait four or five days, as he, the Sirdar, is busy collecting his revenue. The hostages are all coming here to-morrow or next day. I fear their arrival will crowd us very much; and at present we have Mackenzie, Waller, and Melville laid up with fever.

Timor Shah says that if the English will support him on his father's throne, well and good; if not, that he will prefer going to Loodianah, on a pension.

A man has just come in, and reports that our troops are in the Lughman valley. We conclude they are foraging parties, collecting grain.

4*th*.—The Cabullees say they will cut Akbar in pieces, before they will permit us to be taken away. The hostages are sold to Akbar for 400 gold mohurs.

Sultan Khan, said to be made Sirdar-i-Sirdaran.

5*th*.—The Wuzeer Akbar Khan went to reside in the Bala Hissar. Troup, who left us, had to follow him there with Pottinger.

6*th*.—All the hostages are to come here, except Conolly, who is to remain with the Wuzeer in the Bala Hissar. There are reports that our troops have left Kandahar; having received a number of camels from Sindh. When the cossid started, they had made three marches hitherward. As a cossid takes eight or ten days to come, they must have left Kandahar about the 26th or 28th. They have twenty-two marches thence to Cabul; which, with the detention at Ghuznee, and on the road, if they have any fighting, will retard the arrival of the force until from the 25th instant to the 1st of August.

Akbar has ordered the ditch round the Bala Hissar to be cleaned out; and proposes sending 6000 men, under Mahommed Shah Khan, to occupy the passes between this place and Jellalabad. But his grand battle is to take place here, on the plain in front of the Bala Hissar. Akbar

has ordered every one to be fined who addresses him, or speaks to him, otherwise than as the wuzeer. Mrs. Burnes's child died, and was buried under the hill: the service was performed by Mr. Eyre.

7*th*.—The news we heard yesterday is confirmed by Troup and Conolly; with this addition from the Khan, that Timor Shah is proclaimed King of Kandahar. Col. Palmer is said to have died at Ghuznee. When Mahommed Akbar Khan went to the durbar the day we left Cabul, prepared for his journey, and publicly declared that it was his intention to *kuttle kurra* all the English, Zeman Shah Khan sent to Conolly, who wrote off to Major Pottinger, to put him on his guard. This letter arrived at Bhoodkhak while Pottinger and Akbar were in conference: the treating went on notwithstanding, and the result was the hostages being given. At this time the people at Cabul all supposed that, as Akbar had only about 300 men with him, we should make him prisoner.

When Shah Shoojah was killed, a letter was found on him from Capt. Macgregor, dated in April, telling him to hold out fifteen days longer, and he should have assistance.

The Nawaub Zeman Shah Khan has spent two lakhs in raising men on our side, and in feeding troops to act against Akbar. He has still 1000 men, but now wants money. He also fed hundreds of wretched Hindostanees, who were starving in Cabul; great numbers of whom were seized, sold for one and two rupees each, and sent to Turkistan. Zema Shah Khan did everything in his power to put a stop to this.

8*th*.—Mishdeen, in the Ahmedzye country, S.E. of Tézeen, belongs to Sultan Khan. This is the place we are likely to go to if we are removed from hence. When little Tootsey (Capt. Anderson's child) was carried off in the Khoord Cabul pass, she was taken direct to Cabul; and the Khan rode up and down the streets with her, offering her for sale for 4000 rupees. After some negotiation regarding the price, Conolly purchased the child, who was in the hands of Amenoollah Khan. A plot was laid to take Conolly's life, and that of the other hostages; but Taj Mahommed Khan gave them timely warning not to attend the king, should they be sent for. The restoration of the child was a good pretext; and Amenoollah tried to persuade them to go and thank the king for his kindness, when, as soon as they reached the door, they were to have been assassinated. They made some excuse of ill health, and escaped. Nothing could exceed the kindness of Zeman Shah Khan, both to the hostages and the little girl, who became much attached to her new friends. Taj Mahommed Khan, Khan Shireen Khan, the Naïb Shureef, and many others, did all they could, consistently with the safety of both parties, to make them comfortable.

9*th*.—Two men have come in, who repeat the old story of ten days since, that there has been a great battle at Peshbolak, where every man, woman, and child was killed; that at Ali Baghan the men were all killed, but the women and children spared, and that the slaughter of the Affghans has been great. By the account of another cossid, who came in yesterday in twelve days from Kandahar, Nott's force ought to-day to be at Mookkoor.

11*th*.—The wuzeer is to be married to one of Amenoollah Khan's daughters.

Our fever cases to-day consist of Mackenzie, Waller, Freddy Eyre, Mrs. Waller, Magrath, two ayahs, one or two Hindostanee servants, and several soldiers.

An earthquake at night.

Major Pottinger arrived. Troup went to Jellalabad the night before last. There is a report that we are building a fort at Jugdaluk; also that 70,000 men are collecting at Ferozepore; 25,000 of these are to form a corps of observation there; 15,000 are now at Kandahar, and 20,000 at Jellalabad; and 10,000 are coming from England. These are independent of Gen. Brookes's force in Sindh.

13*th*.—The wuzeer had all the kujavas ready to move us in two days, but the Cabullees would not let him.

Yai Mahommed, who is supreme at Kandahar, having, it is said, Shah Kamran in *kyde*, has invited Akbar to go to him at Herat; but he, good man, has other views; such as friendship and alliance with the Feringhees. He *only* asks to be acknowledged King of Affghanistan, and to have a subsidiary force with which to conquer Bokhara.

14*th*.—Shumshudeen Khan refuses to give up the Ghuznee prisoners. Only Lumsden and his wife are killed. Col. Palmer is said to have died of a fever, but whether brought on by the torture said to have been inflicted on him or not is not known.

Four of our regiments are at Gundamuk, erecting a fort.

Mrs. Trevor gave birth to another girl, to add to the list of captives.

Two earthquakes to-day.

15*th*.—Mr. Campbell, assistant surgeon of the 54th, who was left at Cabul with the sick of the various regiments, came here a few days since to consult regarding Capt. Mackenzie's case. It is now decided that he remains here, as the men at Cabul are very healthy, and we have got what seems very like a jail fever among us.

16*th*.—Conolly and Airey came to pay us a visit. A letter has been received by the former from Gen. Pollock, who offers to exchange all the Affghan prisoners in Hindostan against the captives that are in this country. He writes that, if Conolly thinks his going to Jellalabad will facilitate arrangements, he is to go thither, accompanied by all those who appear to have been foremost in civility to us—Khan Shireen Khan, Mahommed Shah Khan, &c. (How our friends and enemies are here mixed up; for the latter chief is our most inveterate foe!) He tells him also of the force now in the country, and of that expected from Hindostan and England; the army of observation to be commanded by Sir Jasper Nicholls; and states that if we are driven to extremities against the Affghans, their punishment will be fearful. Also, that if Akbar wishes to make friends with us, he ought to give up all our guns. As far as I can understand, the captives on both sides are to be placed in the hands of the Sikhs.

18*th*.—The Wuzeer, Mahommed Akbar Khan, and the Sirdar-i-Sirdaran, Sultan Jan, Mahommed Shah Khan, &c., paid a visit here, and sat in the garden, which was quickly despoiled of all the fruits; no doubt greatly to the Khoord's dis-

gust; although some small sum was given to him as a recompense.

We received letters and papers from Jellalabad, which must have been lying with Akbar for above a month.

Lady Macnaghten has had a part of her jewels restored to her, but in a sadly broken condition. They *talk* of giving back the rest.

19*th*.—Half rations issued to us, and no meat. This is to repay Ali Mahommed for the expense of feasting the great people yesterday, I suppose; though he saved all the expense he could; sending to one person for tea, to another for sugar; and saying it was for the wuzeer, who sent his salaam for it. I believe Akbar pays high prices that he may have plenty of the best of everything, and is, of course, cheated by his purveyors; but he would never send to us to supply his wants.

20*th*.—Ali Mahommed Khan reports that 1000 men are gone to defend the passes: he also hints that we shall be released soon.

22*d*.—Dost Mahommed Khan came. He says we shall be kalôss in twenty days; that there is to be an exchange of prisoners, and that the guns are to be given up.

23*d*.—Commemoration of the capture of Ghuznee; over which, in its recaptured state, we an in spirit. An earthquake at night.

24*th*.—At two P.M. Mrs. Sturt presented me with a granddaughter, another female captive. Capt. Troup and Hadje Bukhtian are accepted by Pollock, who will have nothing to do with Major Pottinger. It seems all the politicals are set aside. The terms are, that Akbar gives up the guns and all British subjects attached to the camp, in exchange for the ex-Ameer and all the Affghan prisoners. A truce agreed to for a month; the agents to remain at Jellalabad until Gen. Pollock hears from Lord Ellenborough whether he will enter into an alliance.

26*th*.—They now require that all Shah Shoojah's family be given up to Akbar, to be dealt with as best pleases him and Mahommed Shah Khan. A report that our force is coming up.

27*th*.—Troup arrived from Jellalabad. Akbar has deceived us: there is no armistice; no collection of revenue by him where our troops are. On the contrary, we have taken supplies to the extent of six months' provisions, without payment, in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad.

Nothing had been decided on which tends towards our release.

28*th*.—Troup, who had purchased a quantity of things, of all kinds for us, at Jellalabad, *opened his shop;* and I procured arrow-root, cotton gloves, reels of cotton, tape, soap, jalap, and cream of tartar.

Troup left us in the evening, and went to the Wuzeer. He expects to be sent to Jellalabad; and I gave him more of my journal to take to Sale.

30*th*.—At two this morning, Troup and Lawrence left us for Jellalabad. We hear that orders have been sent to the Kandahar force to move up; and that there has been some fighting, and a great many Affghans killed. On inquiry being made, the Affghans told the following tale: That one regiment was out beyond Lughman, foraging; that in the night the people rose, and our troops retired; on which we sent 12,000 men! with a park of artillery! against which, of course, the Affghans could not stand. There has been probably some trifling skirmish. The Kandahar troops are ordered up; and the Wuzeer told Lawrence (who says he never saw him appear so angry before) that if our troops advance he should take us all to Bameean, and make a present of us to the chiefs of that place; so that our prospects appear gloomier than ever. I cannot understand the motive of moving up the troops both ways. Nott is to go to Ghuznee to receive the prisoners: not to fight, but only to defend himself if attacked; and then to come here and join Pollock: and, having received us, all are to walk back hand in hand. We are not to attack Cabul, &c., but to evacuate the country; with Akbar, the Ghilzyes, the Barukzyes, and all the other *Zyes* hanging on our flanks and rear: and if they can but get us to procrastinate, so as to give them the advantage of their faithful ally, *the snow*, the Affghans will have the satisfaction of destroying another and still larger army this year.

31*st*.—Had Skinner lived, he would have thrown more light than any other person upon the late events; as he was the bearer of the messages, more especially of the one sent on the night before the envoy's death. It is as nearly certain as such an event can be, that poor Skinner, who was evidently a dupe to Akbar Khan, was put to death by his orders. At Jugdaluk, after the General, the Brigadier, and Johnson were in the Sirdar's power, Major Thain went to the other officers and said, "I fear there is treachery: poor Skinner has been shot; and had the object of the Affghan only been to kill a Feringhee, he would not have passed *me* to shoot *him*." There can be little doubt, that the Sirdar was anxious to put out of the way one who could give such fearful evidence against him. Trevor was also much in the Envoy's confidence; and he also became a victim. I have, however, heard that Skinner was not in reality the dupe he appeared to be; and that he had expressed to the Envoy his conviction that the Sirdar was not trustworthy. Yet, if so, it is strange he should have placed the faith he did in him during the retreat, and have advised our going over to him; unless, indeed, he saw farther into Akbar's policy than others, and believed that we should be treated with honour, and kept by him as a *dernier resort*. What will now be our fate seems very uncertain; but I still think he will not cut our throats—not out of love to us, but because the other chiefs would resent it; as, having possession of us, they could at least obtain a handsome sum as our ransom.

The last time Troup came from Jellalabad, three ponies were sent from thence loaded with different articles for us; but money was put in one of the boxes, and this was known to the Affghans in charge, and ponies and all disappeared. I have lost my letters from England and the provinces, and from Sale; and also newspapers and medicine: the latter invaluable, as we are very sickly, and have scarcely any. A part of the things coming were clothes for the captives, sent, by subscription, from the provinces. But the medicine is our greatest loss; as this jail fever seems to be going through all the party, ladies, children, officers, men, and servants, both male and female. I think it arises in great measure from malaria.

This valley is full of rice cultivation, which is all under water in a stagnant state; and we are also devoured by muschetoes, which breed there.

At first we hoped that though the money, probably not more than 300 or 400 rupees, would be abstracted from the boxes, we should recover the parcels; but now we have give up that hope.

A letter has been received by Ahmed Khan, stating that every fort from Tighree to Buddeeabad has been sacked by the force that have entered the Lughman valley: some say they are a part of a foraging party of ours; others conjecture that they are our Sikh allies.

Should the Wuzeer attempt to remove us to Bameean, Goolam Mahommed, the father of Taj Mahommed, as also the latter, the high priest of Cabul, and Khan Shireen Khan, have determined to prevent it; but Khan Shireen Khan is the very man who had charge of the hostages some time since, and assured them nothing should induce him to give them up: yet he did so the very next day, on the Sirdar sending him 4000 rupees. So, much dependance cannot be placed on *him*.

The Kuzzilbashes ever side with the strongest party; and, therefore, if our troops come up, it is likely that Khan Shireen Khan may keep his word. He has many friends in the Huraza country, through which we must pass; and he may direct them to seize us. In that case, we shall probably, during the conflict with our guards, lose the few comforts of clothing, &c., which we now possess.

A kafila is going down to Jellalabad; and at the same time Akbar sends 2000 men towards that place to line the passes. He sent 3000 some time since; but their commander did not proceed farther than Bhoodkhak, whence he wrote to the Wuzeer that his force was too weak to cope with Pollock's.

August 2*d*.—Reports that all the forts from Tighree to Buddeeabad are destroyed.

3*d*.—An earthquake.

4*th*.—Three more fever cases; and Conolly very ill. We hear that immediately on Troup's arrival at Jellalabad, all our outposts were withdrawn.

Zeman Shah Khan's party is increasing again: and it is thought, if our troops come up, that the owner of the fort may side with us, and give us arms to resist being taken away.

6*th*.—Mohun Lull says, that letters have passed through his hands from several chiefs to Gen. Pollock, stating, that if he will forbear from injuring the city of Cabul, and respect their lives and possessions, they will engage that we shall not be taken from Cabul. Among these chiefs are, the high priest, Zeman Shah Khan, Khan Shireen Khan, and Goolam Mahommed Khan (father of Taj Mahommed): the latter is in hopes, should we obtain the ascendency, that he may obtain office, as of old; his family being the hereditary Wuzeers.

7*th*.—John Conolly died, at thirty-two minutes past noon. The Wuzeer has sent a Khan to order his coffin; and offers to send the body to Jellalabad.

8*th*.—Ahmed Khan informs us, that the baggage of the army at Kandahar, has been sent out eight miles on the road towards the provinces; and that our eighteen-pounders at Kandahar have been destroyed. Some days since we had a report that the force there, consisting, as the Affghans say, of 8000 men, have been exterminated, with every man, woman, and child thereunto appertaining; and Kandahar taken and burned.

Three regiments have been sent from Kandahar to re-enforce Quetta; and the story concerning the baggage is probably true; and Gen. Nott has taken advantage of this force to send down all superfluous baggage, and also the sick, preparatory to a move upward.

8*th*.—Camels have come; but none of them are strong enough to carry the coffin; and they say they will send mules at midday to carry it.

9*th*.—Major Pottinger arrived.

The Wuzeer refuses to allow Conolly's body to go to Jellalabad until Troup returns; and then, if all is not peace, he says he will not allow him to go, alive or dead.

There is a report to-day among the Affghans, that Pollock has written to say, that if it is attempted to remove any one of us from Cabul, he will lay the city in ashes.

We hear that the Kandahar force is coming up; and it is expected that the one from Jellalabad will do the same.

The Sappers and Miners have long been at Charbagh; and they generally precede the army.

Conolly was buried at sunset in the garden of the fort.

Hadje Bukhtian writes to his brother Ahmed Khan, that Gen. Pollock has written to say it is all one to him whether it is a day or a month; but that immediately on the arrival of the prisoners he will return to the provinces.

The servants have a report that we are forthwith to be taken away, to, or towards, Bokhara. For two days there have been eight camels here, with their surwans ready; which looks as if the Wuzeer meditated our removal, in case of the force coming up; or to send us to our friends, should the negotiation prove unsuccessful.

We heard to-day that the Sappers had advanced as far as Gundamuk.

10*th*.—Troup and Lawrence arrived. I received letters, &c., from Sale. No present hope of release: nor fear of a move, I trust. Nothing appears to have been done beyond *talk*. Pollock has threatened, if we are not sent down in eight days, to come up and destroy Cabul: but Akbar knows, as well as he does himself, that Pollock has no carriage. The 1st brigade are gone to Jellalabad. Sale writes me, that, in addition to it, he has with him the 3d dragoons and a troop of horse artillery: but it does not appear that they are coming up farther. Indeed, without more troops to back them, or rather to flank them, they cannot come through the passes. They might do it well with three brigades, having one on each flank keeping the heights and adjacent country.

A durbar held by Mahommed Akbar, Mahommed Shah, &c., to consult on the steps to be taken regarding Futteh Jung, Amenoollah, the Meerwyse, Zeman Shah, &c., who all wrote advising the immediate advance of our troops. A letter from Futteh Jung to Gen. Pollock, to that effect, had been intercepted: but, until Troup's return, it was not safe to make any stir in the affair.

11*th*.—There was a report last night, that two Europeans (officers) had been taken prisoners in Cabul; having come from Kandahar, disguised as natives of the country, with thirty followers; and that they had been purchasing up all the gunpowder.

To-day it is said, the same persons are now with the hostages; and that they are either adventurous persons, who have come up from Nott's brigade, for some purpose, as yet unknown; or that they are part of the Ghuznee prisoners, attempting to escape.

Late in the evening we heard that the above tale has arisen out of the arrival of an Arab Hadje. He calls himself a soldier of fortune, and offered his services to Gen. Pollock, who declined them. He is suspected of being a spy; and has just come from Hindostan.

The deliberations in the durbar have ended in Futteh Jung's being placed in confinement.

12*th*.—All the hostages have come over to our fort; and there is a talk of our being all sent away—some say to Soorkhab, four marches off, on the confines of the Loghur country; others say to the Kohistan, or Bameean.

We know that Sale's brigade, the 3d dragoons, and a troop of horse artillery, were to leave Jellalabad for Futteabad on the 6th; which would bring them only fifteen miles nearer to us. The women are being sent out of the city; and we have packed up our little all, to be ready whenever the *hookm* arrives: we have, moreover, purchased two ponies.

13*th*.—The republic has only endured a day. Zeman Shah Khan is again Shah Zeman Shah. We heard guns, probably in honour of the event. This is news to mark my birthday, which is not likely to be spent much as a *jour de fête* by a prisoner.

I fear Zeman is too much in the hands of Akbar and Mahommed Shah for him to do us any good; although he is, and ever has been, well-disposed towards us: he acted with the greatest kindness to the English left with him; and when he had no longer power to protect them, and they were forcibly taken from his house to that of the Bucha Meerwyse or high-priest of Cabul, he took off his turban, placed it at his feet, and protested against the measure: and finally sent his eldest son with them; that, in case evil befell them, his family should not shrink from sharing in it. The priest's professions were great; but he ended in giving the hostages up to Akbar for the value of 4000 rupees. As they were sold for that sum, we tell them they are Akbar's slaves.

There is now an idea—whether only the fertile emanations of prisoners' brains or not, time must unfold—but an opinion prevails, that Akbar is so ungallant as to be heartily tired of dragging the women and children about the country at his heels; and that, if any flight is designed, it will be that of himself and four hostages; Pottinger, Lawrencc, and Troup, to be decidedly three of them: we are not so certain of the fourth; but at present we have selected either Gen. Shelton or Capt. Johnson.

15*th*.—The news of to-day is, that Nott's force has left Kandahar, taking Timor Shah with hem. They are said to have taken the route leading to Dera Ismaël Khan; but it is thought possible they may, about ninety miles from Kandahar, at *Gulnarye*, strike to the north, and pursue that road to Ghuznee; which would be far preferable to crossing the mountains by the Gholary pass, near the river, and that they will thence cross over to the left again to the Abistadeh lake, and fall into the regular road to Ghuznee at Mookkoor. This is a wild and roundabout tract of country; which is probably not feasible with guns. Akbar says, that 5000 men have been sent to oppose them. He also says, that our force at Jellalabad is *in statu quo*; but that if it moves up, we shall be sent off at half an hour's notice, to a fine climate, with plenty of ice; which we conclude to be Bameean.

16*th*.—Futteh Jung has made his escape.

Our troops are reported to have made sixteen marches from Kandahar. Akbar ordered 5000 men to go and meet them; but it is said, he has mustered 400 only.

17*th*.—Mrs. Smith (Mrs. Trevor's servant) died of fever and water on the chest.

19*th*.—We hear that the men, who went towards Kandahar, have been beaten; and that more are to be sent.

Futteh Jung escaped through a hole made in the roof; from whence he let himself down by a rope. The Wuzeer says he is gone to Tagow; but the general opinion is that he is gone to Jellalabad. Troup went to see the Wuzeer to-day; who told him, he purposes sending for him and Pottinger, to stay with him in the Bala Hissar.

A thunder-storm at night, with heavy rain; the lightning vivid; but it was all over in an hour. This storm was immediately preceded by an earthquake, between 10 and 11 o'clock.

Akbar has written to Lord Ellenborough to say he will only treat with him; and that he will not have anything to do with Gen. Pollock, who is "a fool!" This is complimentary.

20*th*.—We heard a great deal of firing in the evening.

Futteh Jung is said to have been taken on the road to Jellalabad: but Abib Khan declares it is not true. They also say that there has been a fight at Gundamuk; that our troops have arrived there; and that the Affghans have lost several men in their defeat; that one of the fugitives has just arrived; and that Akbar will send 5000 more men there. They also say, that the Kandahar force is within two marches of Ghuznee. Three horses are kept ready saddled to start with messengers at a moment's notice, night or day; and the Khan says, he thinks we shall not be here more than three days longer.

21*st*.—The late newspapers have not a little amused me. They show that the editors catch at every expression, used in any letters they have read; or on any comments they hear on news from Affghanistan. A regular controversy has arisen between one, who asserts that Lady Sale in her letters evinces a strong prepossession in favour of Mahommed Akbar Khan, and another, who thinks Lady Sale wrote, as she did, because she was a prisoner: to which the first rejoins, that he does not think Lady S. would, under any circumstances, write that which was false. *There* he is right: but I would not have written on the subject at all, unless I wrote as I thought: if people misunderstand, it is their fault and not mine. Again,

they say it were better I had never written at all. Perhaps so: but it seems that details were wanting; my letters to Sale gave those: and he thought them of sufficient consequence to send them to the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief. They were afterward sent to England by the former; and, if the papers tell truth, excited some attention in the highest circles. As to my "great prepossessio2" in favour of Akbar, my greatest wish is, that Gen. Nott's force should march up to Ghuznee; release the prisoners there; and then that a simultaneous movement should take place of Nott's and Pollock's forces upon Cabul. Once again in power here, I would place Akbar, Mahommed Shah, and Sultan Jan *hors de combat;* befriend those who befriended us, and let the Affghans have the Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan back, if they like. He and his family are only an expense to us in India; we can restore them, and make friends with him. Let us first show the Affghans that we can both conquer them, and revenge the foul murder of our troops; but do not let us dishonour the British name by sneaking out of the country, like whipped Pariah dogs. Affghanistan will become a by-word among the nations. Had we retreated, as poor Sturt proposed, without baggage, with celerity (forced marches to get through the snow), and had the men stood by us (a doubtful point—they were so worn out and dispirited), we might have figured in history; and have cut out Xenophon's account of the retreat of the 10,000.

As to the justice of dethroning the Ameer Dost Mahommed, and setting up Shah Shoojah, I have nothing to say regarding it: nor regarding our policy in attempting to keep possession of a country of uncivilized people, so far from our own; whence all supplies of ammunition, money, &c., must be obtained. Let our Governors-General and Commanders-in-chief look to that while I knit socks for my grandchildren: but I have been a soldier's wife too long to sit down tamely, while our honour is tarnished in the sight and opinion of savages. Had our army been cut to pieces by an avowed enemy, whether in the field or the passes—let them have used what stratagems they pleased—all had been fair. Akbar had shone as another William Tell; he had been the deliverer of his country from a hateful yoke imposed on them by Kaffirs: but here he stands, by his own avowal freely made, the assassin of the Envoy; not by proxy, but by his own hand. I do believe, he only meant to make him prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining better terms and more money: but he is a man of ungovernable passions; and his temper when thwarted is ferocious. He afterward professed to be our friend; we treated with him; great was the credulity of those who placed confidence in him: still they blindly did so; even after the letter was received from Conolly, at Bhoodkhak, confirming the previous warnings of his intentions towards us. He followed us, with his bloodthirsty Ghilzyes. Mahommed Shah Khan, his principal adviser, I might almost say his master, is the most inveterate of our enemies. Akbar is a jovial, smooth-tongued man; full of compliments and good fellowship; and has the knack of talking over both kaffirs and true believers.

To our cost, he did talk our chiefs over; and persuaded them of his friendship; but said that those sugs (dogs) of Ghilzyes were intent on murder and plunder, and totally unmanageable. In this way he hovered on our flanks and rear: and when our people were massacred and his blood-hounds in human shape were tolerably glutted with their blood, the scene was changed; although it was constantly reacted. In the distance, a group of horsemen invariably appeared: they were beckoned to; questioned as to what chief was present—it was invariably Akbar, who always pretended good faith, said his 300 horsemen were too few to protect us from the Ghilzyes, &c., and then, the following day witnessed a repetition of the slaughter, and pretended friendship; for that this friendship was a mere pretence, was acknowledged by him when he said, "I was the man who killed your Envoy with my own hand; I destroyed your army; I threw aside all ties of family, deserted everything, for the faith of Islam; and now I am left to bear the opprobium heaped on me by the Feringhees, while no one supports me; but were I in power, I would make the chiefs remember it!" and then he uttered maledictions on their heads. He has kept his word; has been a bitter enemy to all who have shown the slightest kindness to us; and grinds their money out of them by threats and torture.

A woman's vengeance is said to be fearful; but nothing can satisfy mine against Akbar, Sultan Jan, and Mahommed Shah Khan. Still I say that Akbar, having, for his own political purposes, done as he said he would do—that is, destroyed our army—letting only one man escape to tell the tale, as Dr. Brydon did—and having got the families into his possession—I say, having done this, he has, ever since we have been in his hands, treated us well—that is, honour has been respected. It is true that we have not common comforts; but what we denominate such are unknown to Affghan females: they always sleep on the floor, sit on the floor, &c.—hardships to us. We have bought common charpoys at two rupees each; that is, a bed formed by four poles and ropes tied across and across them. Had we tables and chairs, we have not space for them; so many inhabit the same apartment. Individually I have no right to complain on this subject; as Lady Macnaghten, Mrs. Mainwaring, Mrs. Boyd, Mrs. Sturt, and I, occupy the same apartment. Capt. Boyd makes his bed on the landing-place of the stairs, or on the roof of the house; so that we have no *man*-kind among us except the Boyds' two little boys, and Mrs. Mainwaring's baby. This little fellow was born just before the insurrection broke out in Cabul (in October): his father had gone with Sale's brigade, and we always call him Jung-i-Bahadur.

After so long enduring the misery of having gentlemen night and day associated with us, we have found this a great relief.

The Wuzeer gives us rations of meat, rice, ottah, ghee, and oil, and lately, fruit. At first our food was dressed for us; but it was so greasy and disgusting, that we asked leave to cook for ourselves. That again was a matter of taste: one person likes what another does not. By us, a strong cup of coffee is considered a luxury; while an Affghan the other day, who had some given to him (he had never tasted

any before), pronounced it bitter and detestable.

It is true, we have been taken about the country; exposed to heat, cold, rain, &c.; but so were their own women. It was, and is, very disagreeable: but still we are, *de facto*, prisoners, notwithstanding Akbar still persists in calling us—honoured guests: and, as captives, I say we are well treated. He has given us common coarse chints, and coarse longcloth, too, wherewith to clothe ourselves—I must not use the word dress: and making up these articles has given us occupation; increased by having to work with raw cotton, which we have to twist into thread for ourselves. We suffered more from uncleanliness than anything else. It was above ten days after our departure from Cabul, before I had the opportunity to change my clothes, or even to take them off and put them on again, and wash myself: and fortunate were those who did not possess much live stock. It was not until after our arrival here (at Spéwakee, near Cabul) that we completely got rid of *lice*, which we denominated infantry: the fleas, for which Affghanistan is famed (and particularly Cabul), we call light cavalry.

The servants, of course, were worse off than ourselves: and, not having as good wardrobes as we had, communicated their pests, of the insect tribe, to the children they carried about; and thus the mothers obtained a double share. Bugs have lately made their appearance, but not in great numbers: the flies torment us, and the moschetoes drive us half mad. But these annoyances, great as they are, are the results of circumstances which cannot be controlled; and when I say this, I suppose I shall again be accused of prepossession in favour of the Wuzeer. We ought, however, to bear in mind that the Affghans are not addicted to general ablution: they wash their hands before and after their meals, which is but *comme il faut*, as they eat with their fingers; and they constantly wear the same clothes a month. This is not economy. The Wuzeer will take his bath perhaps once a week, and change his clothes; and the women never think of doing so oftener, and only open their hair at such times, which is kept smooth for that period by the application of gum to its innumerable plaits. Here again is a difference between their tastes and ours, who so enjoy bathing twice a day.

The garden, or rather vineyard and orchard, I consider a great luxury: we walk in it every evening for an hour or two. A strong guard is placed there; but, except when it has been lately changed, the men do not annoy us. At such times they dodge about after us; but otherwise do not. Last evening, for instance, sixteen men, armed at all points, sat down in a row in the centre walk, and laughed and joked together: five or six were sitting eating grapes on the top of the summer-house; and a few were posted, seated on the walls; while we walked here and there where we pleased.

When we have marched since we left Buddeabad, Mahommed Shah's family, and some others, have accompanied us; and the best camels, largest kujavas, &c., have been selected for them; and when carriage runs short, they are served first. But this is only what we must expect. Mahommed Shah Khan, too, preferred Mrs. Sturt's riding-horse to his own, and took it. Mine was sent to Jellalabad. When Mackenzie went there, he rode, and lamed it; and it was left behind. There I was fortunate, as Sale has got it. Luckily, I had a few rupees; and the only day I was not provided with a horse to ride, I hired one for two rupees six anas, a mere baggage pony; but it carried me safely.

Nothing can exceed the folly I have seen in the papers regarding my wonderful self; how I headed the troops, &c., &c. It puts me in mind of Goldsmith's verses on Mrs. Blaze, in which he remarks, "that the king himself has followed her, when she has gone before:" and certainly I, have thus headed the troops; for the chiefs told me to come on with them for safety's sake: and thus I certainly did go far in advance of the column; but it was no proof of valour, though one of prudence.

Troup and Pottinger have been told to be in readiness to go in to-morrow morning: so I now make up my packet, in case an opportunity should offer by which Troup can send it to Sale.

The only thing that has given me pleasure in the Indian papers, is a subscription set on foot by the civilians, to purchase a sword, to be presented to Sale; because it shows that they appreciate his conduct; and I know that he will value it most highly. I hear that after Futteh Jung was placed in confinement, his family had all their jewels, &c., taken away, to the value of twenty lakhs. Some say this was done by Akbar and Sultan Jan; others, by Mahommed Shah Khan. The latter had taken a lesson in such actions, when he despoiled Lady Macnaghten of her valuables.

22d August.—Our friends went back to the Wuzeer, and took my packets with them.

The Affghans still talk of some defeat they have experienced near Soorkhab; whence the celebrated miner has returned discomfited and wounded; and says he will not attempt to cope with our force. The Wuzeer has made the people of Cabul take their oath on the Koran to stand by him; and great excitement prevails in the city. Futteh Jung has arrived safely at Jellalabad; and has written from thence, that, if Akbar is his father's son, he will meet him in fair fight; for which purpose there is said to have been held a grand muster of troops on the Siah Sung plain; amounting to 25,000 infantry and 5000 horse, who are to be headed by Akbar in person. I can scarcely believe that he will set his fortunes on the issue of a battle. A fair field and no favour is what we want: but he would be mad to meet our disciplined troops on the plain, when he knows that the fastnesses of his country give him every advantage over us, with any rabble he can collect. Besides, he is all but supreme now. He wishes to be king: but Zeman Khan has again got a strong party in his favour, and is endeavouring to regain the throne.

23d.—The prisoners from Ghuznee arrived quite unexpectedly: Col. Palmer, Capt. Burnett (54th), Harris, Nicholson, Poett, Alston, Williams, Crawford, and Thompson.

Akbar says, he will send us away in three or four days, either to Bameean, Zoormut, or Soorkhab, twenty miles off, on the borders of the Loghur country.

24th.—Sultan Jan left Cabul with 300 men, to re-enforce Shumshudeen, who has been signally defeated, we hear, at Carabagh, escaping with only twenty men. Some say Nott's force achieved this victory; but others that the Huzaras rose

against him: so probably British gold has been weighed in the balance, and found more ponderous than the hatred of the Kaffirs.

Being greatly in want of medicine, Mr. Campbell went to the Sirdar to get some from Cabul; and he told him we were to move to-night or to-morrow. Mrs. Anderson, being too ill to travel, remains here.

25*th*.—A sudden order arrived for our removal; with a report, that Futteh Jung's and all the female royal family were to accompany us. Capt. Troup arrived in the evening to see us off, by Akbar's command. Mrs. Anderson, her husband and children, remained at the fort. Akbar has ordered every attention to be paid to her and the gentlemen; Mr. Campbell being left with the party to afford medical aid. Mrs. Trevor and eight children are also left here, in consequence of her being seriously ill with fever; as also one of her children. A man of the 44th died of fever to-day, and was buried in the garden. Soon after the moon rose we left the fort; camels for kujavas and fifty ponies having been sent for our accommodation. All our ponies, &c., were taken from us; and on our removal, a certain number were sent. We fortunately purchased two ponies to carry our baggage. We were told we were to go to Killa Kazi, about seven miles from Cabul: but we made a long *détour* to avoid the city, and crossed the Loghur river: the road was very tolerable. After proceeding about five miles we came to several forts on our right; the first a large one; and were told it was called Killa Kazi. We passed a succession of forts on either side; but there was scarcely any one to be seen except a few men watching their grain heaps in the fields. On the right appeared much cultivation; judging from the dark shade, which, with an ill-defined line of irregular mountains, was all we could even speculate upon in the way of scenery. We had with us ten soldiers, so ill with fever as to require to be carried in kujavas: and Capt. Mackenzie and Lieut. Eyre were also suffering.

I was the only lady who rode; the others preferring the kujavas, on account of their children.

26*th*.—At daybreak we were still travelling; and near sunrise found ourselves just opposite to Cabul; and about two miles distant, as the crow flies, from Baber's tomb. We saw the wall on the hill quite distinctly. We did not arrive at our ground till past seven; and took up our stations under some trees near the fort, which, I have been told, is called Kundah. Here there was no admittance, as Sultan Jan was in it, with his re-enforcements for Ghuznee. This disproves a report of yesterday, to the effect that the people of Cabul had insisted on having Sultan Jan as a hostage for our safety. He had a number of good horses with him; and we recognised the Envoy's gray. His army consisted of about thirty men; but Inshallah! he is to be joined by lakhs. We are said to be guarded by 1000 men; but 300 were nearer the mark. During the morning we were joined by Dr. Berwick, Lieut. Evans, and the European soldiers who were left sick when we evacuated Cabul: they form a total of thirty-seven; but a few have been left for want of carriage, which is to be furnished; and they are to be sent after us; as also Lieut. Haughton. We this morning recognised the summer-house above Baber's tomb, Kerghah, and the Pughman hills.

Judging from the time that we were travelling, about twelve hours, and taking the rate of the camels at about two miles per hour, deducting a fourth for halt, we estimate the distance we have gone at eighteen miles.

A letter has been received at Kandahar: Nott has marched in three columns with only 6000 men. He sent his camels out to graze the 3d March, and lost 2000. He left Kandahar on the 28th.

Shumshudeen has retired on Ghuznee; and, by the last accounts, Gen. Nott was within ten miles of that fortress. He is expected at Cabul on the 1st. Pollock's force is to move on the 20th. We are to march at moon-rising. We witnessed a parade of telling off the guards &c.; and heard the retreat beat off at sunset. They use our drums and fifes; and have some bugles with which they sound for us to halt or advance. The sentries planted round our camp are a perfect farce. These men are the Pultans, who have no knives, and are mostly armed with our own muskets: I saw them place their pickets, in imitation of ours; and sentries walked backwards and forwards, with a ramrod in their hand, having stuck the butt end of the musket in the earth at their posts: so that, were it of any use, we might easily overpower them. We asked to be admitted into the fort: but though they said we might occupy one room when vacated by Sultan Jan; after his departure, they insulted the gentlemen who went to get it ready for us, and asked, how the Kaffirs dared to wear their shoes there. We, therefore, spread loonghees to form a shade, as the heat was excessive; and at night it was very cold. At eleven the *réveillé* was beat by the drums, and performed by the pipes; a kind of repetition of one, two, three: and at midnight we were all ready to start.

27*th*.—We left camp soon after midnight. The Meer Akhor Ahmed Khan was very anxious that all the riders should follow the advance guard of half the infantry; the rest of which closed on our rear: then came the kujavas, followed up by the baggage; and their rear was closed by a strong guard of Affghan cavalry.

Another body of horsemen, about twenty in number, joined as riders, and kept near the Meer Akhor; who desired Lady Macnaghten's kujavas to be kept as the leading ones; and the camel had fine trappings, as if to mark it particularly in case of an attempt at escape.

We were between eight and nine hours on the march over a barren broken slip of land, bounded on either side by the hills for a considerable distance, until we passed a fort and chokie at Urghundee on our left; soon after which the road turns off to the left to Ghuznee. The ascent to Bala Maidan was long, but not difficult; and the view from the top of it, looking down on the plain above named, was very pretty; comprising a narrow valley, thickly studded with forts and diversified by cultivation; with lines of willows and poplars marking the water cuts, which here serve as hedgerows. We were taken to a fort, butn ot admitted into it; and after a time had tents pitched for us. Lady Macnaghten, Mrs. Boyd and three children, Mrs. Mainwaring and child, Mrs. Sturt and child, and I, occupied one division of a Sipahee's pall: there was another tent for the other ladies; two more for the gentlemen, and one for the sick soldiers.

We hear that Gen. Nott has arrived at Ghuznee, has blown up the new bourj in the city, and has put to death nearly every man, woman, and

child found there. We cannot be surprised at the men taking signal vengeance; but we fear the news is too good to be true. We met on our road two horsemen, whom we supposed to be expresses. We met, also, several camels, bullocks, and donkeys, laden, for the most part, with assafœtida.

It seems a plan was proposed this morning, and negatived. I only heard of it by chance; so no thanks are due for courtesy to those, who, had the measure been carried, would have come to us for our share. The plan was, to get Ahmed Khan to make short marches, or halt; so as to allow Gen. Nott to hear where we are, and rescue us: and should it succeed, Ahmed was to receive two and a half lakhs. The scale before proposed was, I believe, again to be brought forward: Lady Macnachten 10,000 rupees, Lady Sale 5000, Mrs. Sturt 5000, Capt. and Mrs. Boyd and family, 5000, &c. This scale is said to be prepared according to rank and means, which I deny: the other captives are not wealthy any more than ourselves; and where the money was to come from, I know not. The Indian Government, it is said, offered to ransom us for that sum; and I believe would have given more: but this seems to have been a private and most *zubberdust* arrangement.

There is a report, that all Cabul is in confusion, and the natives fighting against each other; and that our force has passed Gundamuk.

28*th*.—We left our encamping ground about two o'clock, and reached Tarkhana between eight and nine. Had I taken the ride for my own amusement on a good horse, instead of being driven about as a captive on a sorry baggage yaboo, I should have enjoyed it very much. The narrow vale we passed through was highly cultivated; the fields divided by willow and poplar trees, and the forts frequent. Near to Julraiz (the head of the spring) the scenery was particularly beautiful; the trees well clumped together; and the river, here clear as crystal, rapidly flowing to our left. The hills, also, assumed a novel aspect; having a foreground of lower hills of most uncommon form. Nearly opposite to the town was a triangular one, sharp as though it had been scarped purposely; next to it a semicircular one, &c.; with the usual chain of mountains behind. Julraiz appears to be rather a large town, surrounded by forts. The scenery was varied; but the land always under cultivation until we reached our halting ground; where we bivouacked on the greensward, sheltered from the sun's rays by a double row of poplar trees; between which rippled a stream that empties itself into the Cabul river, which bounds our resting-place on one side. This river is at this place as famed for its clear limpid waters, as it is at Cabul for its dirty hue, being there quite red. We here got some small fish like gudgeons, some bad small apricots, sour grapes, and apples and pears, that had just arrived by a caravan. Here General Saleh Mahommed's troops looted five camels.

29*th*.—Marched at daybreak; and shortly afterward saw a curious stone on the hill to the left. At about three miles passed Sir-i-chushm on the right; a fortified town, with a fort in front of it. Here are three preserves full of sacred fish. The name of this place signifies the "head of the spring." The road becomes daily more rugged.

On our right we passed a fine fort, called Mustapha Khan Ke Killa. It was built by a person of that name. He is dead; but his son lives there; a very gentlemanlike man, wearing spectacles. As we passed he gave us *nan* (bread), and apricots prepared as a paste.

We halted at Killa Naziri, eight miles from our last resting-place. Here our troops again looted two camels.

30*th*.—Marched at two A.M., sixteen miles to Gurdundewater, on the Helmund. At first we passed through a narrow defile with a stony road; after which the road was excellent, fit to drive carriages upon; except in a few places, where there were rather awkward descents.

There were three steep ascents, one of which was very long. Very little cultivation; and but few forts seen on our route.

A man was met on the march, who said he was a cossid from Ghuznee: that that fort was in our possession; and that a force was to be sent to release us.

Shortly before we arrived at our destination, ten or twelve Huzaras were set upon by about 300 of our guard. They fired about fifty shots at them: killed one, wounded one, took two prisoners, and some loot.

There are two Yaghi forts here: the rest are subject to Akbar.

30*th*.—Left the Hah-i-Baba to our left: there was snow in the clefts; but none on the top, which is 18,000 feet above the level of the sea.

We marched about eight miles to the foot of the Hadje Gurk pass. The road led the whole way through a defile; at first very narrow and stony; with a tributary stream to the Helmund occupying nearly the whole of it.

There were several rocks which assumed the appearance of gigantic statues. One on the right representing a man seated on a bull couchant: another on the left, at first resembled a man clothed in the *toga*, standing on a pedestal. There were others, also, that it was difficult to suppose natural: they may have been ancient Buddhistic or Brahminic remains. After arriving at some forts and two tombs near a ruined fort, the valley became wider and fertile; being all planted with wheat, some perfectly ripe and some quite green.

On nearing our destination, the valley again closed up. We came to a fort dilapidated, but still inhabited. Every breach in the walls was filled with armed men. Our troops were drawn up in due form; our two drums and one fife struck up; the bugle sounded at intervals; and the men marched to this discord in the most appropriate manner; invariably missing both cadence and step, until we arrived at our tents.

Twice during the day's march there were shots fired in front; and much talk of battle, which never took place; though each time there were a number of Huzaras posted on the heights. These men have been for some time past besieging the forts here. The damaged one has been partially rebuilt; and the one opposite to it appears to be in perfect repair.

Our commandant is going with his army to fight; but I am not sure which side he takes. There was a skirmish this morning; one party posted behind a sungah on the hill, which was forced, and the brave troops fled.

31*st*.—Marched to the forts of Kaloo. Found the road bad and stony, with constant steep ascents and descents. Ascended the Hadje Gurk pass, which is 12,400 feet above the level of the sea; the hills barren; grain was cultivated in

the bed of the valley, where a silver serpentine stream meandered; and the hay, freshly thrown into cocks, reminded me of England. We crossed the river twice; and with difficulty conquered a steep ascent to the fort, near which we encamped. A report that Akbar had been fighting with the chiefs at Cabul; and that our force must be at Bhoodkhak to-day.

1*st September*.—Marched at daylight over the Kaloo pass. It is nearly four miles to the top of it. The road at first is narrow and precipitous; and for the most part little more than a steep path. From the top the view is very grand; resembling the waves of a very troubled sea, and composed of barren hills of every variety of shade and hue. We saw Bameean from thence: but though a magnificent scene was before us, it presented no pleasing object to those who expected to remain captives in that desolate region. The only plant here is the Koole-Huzara, or Huzara Cass, a kind of furze that is very prickly, and grows in bunches: it is used for fuel. As we neared our destination (Killa Topchee), we entered a very narrow but highly cultivated valley: the grain short in the stalk, but particularly fine in the ear. This day's march was seven miles.

3*d*.—Marched at daylight seven miles to Bameean. The road wild and uneven, with narrow paths and many ascents and descents. This valley is nowhere more than a mile broad; but it is very fertile, and produces particularly fine grain. Plenty of beans and peas are cultivated here; the former very small, the latter small and hard. The tamarisk and barberry were abundant, and a shrub with yellow berries. We halted for a short time opposite a fort, near which were many cows. Here we got some mast (curds), which we found very refreshing. Looking back from hence, we saw Zohak behind us, on a high point. At Bameean they refused to take us into the fort; and we pitched our tents just under the ancient fortress and city which were destroyed by Jhenzhis Khan; when upward of 300,000 persons perished. The caves, ruins, and towers, extend for miles. There are two large images which have been described by former travellers: opposite to the largest was our encampment.

We had scarcely settled ourselves in the tents ere the General beat, in consequence of the people of the fort and the regiment disagreeing: so we went on about a mile, to such a wretched fort, that we asked leave to remain in tents; which was with difficulty obtained: but the Khan said he would endeavour to get a better fort for us to-morrow.

4*th*.—Saleh Mahommed Khan's lady came to visit Lady Macnaghten. She is young and fair, with a fat round face; and comes from Loodianah; where, it is said, she was a dancing girl. Her information is, that Futteh Jung is a prisoner, or has been put to death: his family, she says, are expected here in a day or two.

From the 5th to the 9th we made excursions to see the caves, &c. At first some difficulty was made: but the General sent about thirty men to guard us and our pencils; for several went intent on sketching. I only copied the frescoes that were on the walls and ceiling near the large image; but Mr. Eyre made some very pretty and correct sketches of Ghoolghoola (the ancient city), &c.

9*th*.—I have daily been begging hard for permission to go and see the ancient city; but am at last put off by a direct refusal: the soldiers, it seems, are over-worked in keeping watch over us in camp; and to relieve them we are to be taken into one of these horrid forts.

We went to the fort formerly occupied by Dr. Lord.

Long ago, to prevent a recurrence of disputes which had formerly arisen among us regarding distribution of accommodation, &c., we elected, by vote, a committee of three gentlemen, whose fiat was indisputable—Major Pottinger, and Captains Webb and Lawrence: the latter also undertook to be our purveyor; portioning out our rations generally with his own hands (servants being scarce), as well as the food for the soldiers.

On our going into the fort, the committee, having examined the miserable sheds built round the square of high walls with corner towers and a gateway, at first decided that the five best rooms, or rather most convenient ones as regarded privacy, &c., should be destined for the ladies; and we were to draw lots for them, or arrange among ourselves. Finally, it was requested that the choice might go by seniority. Lady Macnaghten of course had the first choice. I had the second; and took a dark cow-house; the only light admitted being from a door down a long narrow passage and a hole in the roof. This was for Mrs. Sturt, myself, the ayah, and *the dog*; and was decidedly the best apartment there, to my taste. We soon *set to*: and by dint of hard working with sticks and stones, in which I bore my part, assisted by Mr. Melville until both of us got blistered hands, we knocked two small windows out of the wall; and thus obtained darkness visible.

10*th*.—We were fortunate in our selection; although our nightly visitant, in the shape of the largest bug I ever saw, was sufficiently disgusting: but Lady Macnaghten, Captain and Mrs. Boyd, and Mrs. Mainwaring, with the children, had no rest in the three rooms they had taken; which all communicated with each other. They had capital *shikar* all night: and in the morning got leave to pitch a tent at the gate, and reside there.

11*th*.—When we were at Tai Khana on our way to this place, a Sipahee came to us and said that there were about fifty Hindostanees, among our guard, who were willing to join us; and that Saleh Mahommed Khan was a man who would do anything for money. This was told to Captains Johnson and Lawrence; and they agreed to sound him on the subject; which they did: but he laughed at their offer; and pretended to imagine they were only joking.

This morning early, Captain Lawrence came to ask if we would allow a conference to take place in our room, as being the most private place. We assented. Saleh Mahommed Khan, the Syud Morteza Khan, Major Pottinger, Captains Lawrence, Johnson, Mackenzie, and Webb, assembled; and our bed, spread on the floor, formed the divan. Here in the course of an hour all was settled. The gentlemen present signed their names to the paper; in which we promised to give Saleh Mahommed Khan 20,000 rupees, and to ensure him 1000 rupees a month for life; and that if the government did not extricate us from this difficulty, we would be answerable for the money. Thus they held the promise of five British officers as sacred. In heading the paper, they insisted that we should do so in the name of Christ; as rendering it

perfectly binding. Saleh Mahommed declared to us, that he had received orders to remove us farther (to Khooloom), and to set out that night: also, that he had another letter from Akbar, ordering all who were not able to march to be put to death. He seems anxious that we shall not receive any news from others; and had his two drummers severely flogged, for telling us that the Kuzzilbashes with Khan Shireen Khan had risen against Akbar, and that the latter had fled to the Kohistan.

12*th*.—Saleh Mahommed Khan hoisted the standard of defiance on the walls—white, with a crimson edge and green fringe.

Two Huzara chiefs have tendered their allegiance to Major Pottinger; as also Zulficar Khan, the Naib of the province, who, we heard, had fled. Another man has been appointed in his room; and has paid 1000 rupees to Saleh Mahommed for his appointment: which money was laid out in purchasing khelluts (for the chiefs who came in to us) from a Kaffila fortunately passing by.

A report that the Andersons, Trevors, and Bygrave have got safe to our troops: but as this is coupled with Troup's having gone to Ghuznee, we fear it is not true; more especially as we are told that our force is still on the other side of the Khoord Cabul pass; and the last accounts from Ghuznee are, that General Nott was one march on the other side of it.

13*th*.—A large party travelling by, supposed to be the Meer Hadje and his family. Saleh Mahommed Khan determined to seize them. They pulled the Moollah off his horse; who only proved to be a Sheikh somebody, a relation of the Hadje's; so they were all *bien quittés pour la peur*, and proceeded on their way in double quick. There is a talk of arming our men, if we can get muskets. Our valley is now almost hermetically sealed at both ends. Akbar is at Begram in the Kohistan; the Meer Hadje and Zeman Shah Khan quiet at Cabul.

The Meer Akhor went off at night with his Jusailchees: taking with him sundry ashurpees which he had received from myself and others to change for us. This is particularly inconvenient, as we are about to purchase all the ottah procurable, in order to lay in a little commissariat of our own; and, if Akbar sends troops against us, hold out till our own people come to relieve us. We have appointed Capt. Johnson our commissariat officer.

Kurrim Beg came over to us, and Meer Hassum; and with much form and ceremony swore on the Koran to be faithful to us. The latter is the person whose fort Dr. Lord burned; and on which subject there was much angry discussion, *pro* and *con*, in the Indian papers. He offered his fort to us: it has a name, which the wits pronounce as *fool-hardy*, and say it is synonymous with our attempt. The only persons who are against the measure are Gen. Shelton and Col. Palmer. As the latter has already been tortured at Ghuznee, he possibly fears a repetition of barbarity, should we not succeed. The former says we are precipitating matters with Akbar, whom he considers as our friend. I believe both have at length signed the paper. They could scarcely do less; as our signatures were to exonerate the five officers whose names were superscribed as answerable for the whole account, which we were of course to pay our shares of.

I wrote to Sale to-day, informing him of our resolution to hold out till we received assistance, even should we be reduced to eating the rats and mice; of which we have a grand stock.

14*th*.—Zulficar Khan, Salamid Khan, and other chiefs, joined us.

It would be great injustice to Major Pottinger not to mention the active part he took in affairs. From his perfect knowledge of the Persian language, and his acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people, he well knew how to manage them, and take advantage of the slightest opening on their part in our favour. His coolness and decision were only equalled by the promptness with which he met the wishes of the chiefs; giving them *barats* on the neighbouring lands, empowering them to receive the government rents, &c., all which documents, though he executed them with an air of great condescension and with the gravity of a judge, he well knew were mere pieces of waste paper: yet they had a magic charm for the time; which was all we required. I had again an opportunity of writing to Sale; as another messenger is sent, in case the first should not reach his destination.

At night we were roused by the sounding of the cracked trumpet, and the drums beating to arms; which, in our *yaghi* (rebellious) position, was a little astounding. It seems that a body of horsemen were hovering about the ruins near the images, and were suspected to be some of Akbar's troops. Saleh Mahommed sent out his men in skirmishing order, or rather disorder: however, it answered our purpose; for, whoever they were, they *made themselves scarce*.

15*th*.—A letter was received from some one, whose signature in cipher was not to be made out, stating that all Cabul had risen against the Wuzeer; that Nott's force was at Maidan last Wednesday, and Pollock's at Bhoodkhak; that Akbar had fled to the Toba mountains towards Kandahar to the Ghilzyes, and Shumshudeen Khan to the Kohistan.

Another letter came from Mohun Lull, corroborating the account of the insurrection in Cabul. He himself had fled to the Kuzzilbash quarter with his family: Zeman Khan had fled to either the Kohistan or Kuzzilbash quarter; and the Kuzzilbashes have taken a decided part in the business. A light force is said to have been sent to our aid: it is therefore decided that we are to march to-morrow, taking with us two kurwahs of ottah, which is all (out of four) that we can carry, being very short of cattle. This ottah was purchased by the subscription I before mentioned.

16*th*.—We marched to Killa Topchee on a fine sunshiny morning, which we hailed as a presage of the future. We were not, however, without considerable anxiety; for our present state was replete with danger. We had every reason to believe that the Meer Akhor, on leaving us, had gone to Akbar, and revealed our plans; and consequently every man we saw was suspected to be the *avant courier* of troops sent to reclaim us: and the cheering hope of escape was considerably clouded before we had been an hour on the road. Those who travelled in kujavas, of course, could not keep pace with those who rode: our equestrian party, of which I formed one, had halted; and, to screen themselves from the sun, had taken shelter under some huge masses of rock. Here Saleh Mahommed Khan came up to us; and speaking in Persian to Capt. Lawrence, told him that he had succeeded in getting a few muskets; which, together with ammunition, he had brought with him on a camel; and

requested that he would ask the men, which of them would take them; it being his wish to form a small advance guard of Europeans, as a *show*. Capt. Lawrence then said, "Now, my lads, here's Saleh Mahommed Khan has brought arms and ammunition for some of you: who volunteers to take muskets?"

I blush to record, that a dead silence ensued. Thinking the men might be shamed into doing their duty, I said to Lawrence, "You had better give *me* one, and I will lead the party;" but there was still no offer: and he told our General that it was useless, and he had better take them on. It is sad to think the men were so lost to all right feeling.

We encamped near the small forts. Here a letter was received, stating that on Tuesday Pollock's force fought from midday to midnight; and eventually forced the Khoord Cabul pass, charging the enemy as far as the hills north of Cabul to the Jurra Tunghee, leading to Tagow; that on Wednesday morning Nott attacked and pursued the enemy as far as Siah Sung; that meanwhile the Kuzzilbashes seized the city, and partially looted it.

Mahommed Akbar Khan and Mahommed Shah Khan are said to be—*nowhere!*

Sultan Jan and Shumshudeen Khan had been previously defeated at Maidan; as also Sultan Ahmed Khan.

Reports have just arrived that 2000 horse from Khoolloom are following us up to take us thither.

17*th*.—At two in the morning we were roused by the arrival of a horseman with a letter from Sir Richmond Shakespear, who is coming with 600 Kuzzilbash horsemen to our aid.

We marched eleven miles to the forts at the foot of the Kaloo pass; again admiring the silvery serpentine stream and the haycocks near it. We arrived at our ground at midday, and were sitting under the walls of one of the forts, sheltering ourselves from the sun until the arrival of our tents; when, at three o'clock, Sir Richmond arrived, and was received, with *one* exception, with heartfelt pleasure. That one, Gen. Shelton, could not forget the honour due to his rank as the senior military man; and was much offended at Sir R. not having called on him first, and reported his arrival in due form. Even were this a military duty, Sir Richmond was perfectly exonerated in its omission; for the greater part of us ladies and some gentlemen had seated ourselves where he must pass, anxious to offer our acknowledgments to him for his prompt assistance.

He told us, that Gen. Nott had gained two victories, on the 28th and 30th, at Ghuznee and Maidan; and that Gen. Pollock had beaten Akbar at Jugdaluk and Tézeen. He also, most considerately, informed me of Sale having been struck by a spent ball without injury; and congratulated me on our gracious Queen's bestowal of the highest order of the Bath upon my gallant husband—a distinction, I believe, unparalleled in his present rank, and therefore the more dearly prized.

We now have accounts we can depend upon of the position of our armies. Pollock is encamped at Siah Sung, and Nott expected to march on to Cabul to-morrow. Akbar is supposed to have taken refuge in the Ahmedzye country.

18*th*.—We marched to Gundundewar over a very stony road, having a serpentine river on our left. Crossed the Hadje Gurk pass, which is at an elevation of 12,400 feet above the level of the sea; but lower than Kaloo, which is 14,000. At the end of the pass, the river appears to gush through immense portals of solid rock.

During this march, many curiously formed rocks were seen at a distance; one bearing a strong resemblance to a giant climbing up the precipice; another, so perfect when near, as to render one doubtful whether the bull couchant was not the remains of ancient Hindu sculpture. We did not fail to drink of the mineral spring as we passed it; and while so employed, attracted the attention of a party of Affghans, to whom Major Pottinger recommended a hearty draught of this sparkling liquid; which, however pleasing to the eye, is far from being so to the palate, being very like ink. The grave Affghans drank a full cup of it, exclaiming, "Shookr!" and "Joor Ustie!"—praise be to God! and they would grow strong upon it. They then stroked down their beards, and wended their way with great satisfaction. The latter part of our road lay among a narrow path, on either side of a tributary stream, bounded by a high and precipitous range of slatestone rocks. We soon came to the Helmund, which we crossed, and encamped on its bank. Nearly opposite to us, a part of the rocks presented the form of a seated figure of Boodh.

19*th*.—We marched two hours before daylight, and crossed the Onai Kotul; a succession of ascents and descents, and some of them very steep, ending in a defile; after which the road was very stony. The grain was still green in many parts; but some of it was not only cut, but carried away. We passed Killa Onai, Killa Suffard, and Killa Mustapha Khan: at the latter breakfast was prepared: *nan* (native sweet cakes) and tea for all who chose to partake of it *en passant*. The proprietor of this fort is a friend of Saleh Mahommed Khan's, and had given us bread and preserved fruit as we passed before. From hence we went on to Sir-i-Chushm, and diverged from the road to see the preserve of fish there. I asked the name of the fish, but all they knew was that they were fish—that they were held sacred, and fed; and that any one who caught, or even touched one, would die shortly afterward. The stream was very clear, and the fish innumerable. Four miles from this place we took up our old ground under the poplar trees at Tarkhana. We were not yet considered as safe even here, and Sir Richmond Shakespear felt much anxiety at not receiving any accounts of troops coming to our aid; as he had written to Gen. Pollock to send a brigade to meet us. As Sultan Jan was believed to be hovering near, there were some thoughts of our going into a fort: however, it was decided that we should remain in our tents.

We had proceeded but a short way on our journey, when a horseman arrived with a note, informing us that Sale was close at hand with a brigade. I had had fever hanging about me for some days; and, being scarce able to sit on my horse, had taken my place in a kujava; the horrid motion of which had made me feel ten times worse than before I entered it. But this news renovated my strength. I shook off fever and all ills, and anxiously awaited his arrival, of which a cloud of dust was the forerunner. Gen. Nott was near Urghundee, and, consequently, close to us; and Gen. Pollock requested he would send a brigade to our assistance. This he refused, much to the disgust of his officers, alleging that his troops were fatigued. On this, Gen. Pollock sent Sale with a brigade, at a few

hours' notice. He left Siah Sung two miles east of Cabul, and made a forced march on the 19th (his sixtieth birthday) to Urghundee; he halted there that night, and on the following morning left his camp standing, and marched to meet us. At the pass near Kote Ashruffee he left his infantry to hold the position, and proceeded at the head of the 3d dragoons. A party of Sultan Jan's men were in this neighbourhood; and some Kokhes in the immediate vicinity were driven off by the Juzailchees. Had we not received assistance, out recapture was certain; but as it was, they dared not attack the force they saw. It is impossible to express our feelings on Sale's approach. To my daughter and myself happiness so long delayed, as to be almost unexpected, was actually painful, and accompanied by a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears. When we arrived where the infantry were posted, they cheered all the captives as they passed them; and the men of the 13th pressed forward to welcome us individually. Most of the men had a little word of hearty congratulation to offer, each in his own style, on the restoration of his colonel's wife and daughter: and then my highly-wrought feelings found the desired relief; and I could scarcely speak to thank the soldiers for their sympathy, while the long-withheld tears now found their course. On arriving at the camp, Capt. Backhouse fired a royal salute from his mountain train guns; and not only our old friends, but all the officers in the party, came to offer congratulations, and welcome our return from captivity.

21*st*.—We marched to Killa Kazee; and great was the contrast of our present happiness and comfort, compared with what our state had been, when we last bivouacked under the trees of this place. The obnoxious fort was deserted; but the troops obtained forage there, and the place was destroyed by fire: as also a fort of Sultan Jan's. But our guards were sent to the Kuzzilbash forts near us, to protect the property of our friends. A reward has been offered for Capt. Bygrave, and it is supposed he will be brought in to us shortly. At three o'clock we resumed our march to Cabul, and passed through the great bazar, where the shops were shut, and all looked very desolate, and unlike the busy city it was when we were here last year, and the inhabitants found their trade prosper under our rule. We were greeted, on our arrival at the camp at Siah Sung, with a salute of twenty-one guns.

And now my Notes may end. Any farther journals of mine can only be interesting to those nearly connected to me.

ADDENDA.

On the 20th of October, the envoy wrote to Sir Alexander Burnes, in consequence of information he had received from Capt. Trevor, which indicated an unquiet state of feeling among the people of Cabul. But Sir A. Burnes, on whom the intelligence department devolved, assured him that Trevor must be mistaken, as *he* knew nothing of any meditated rising of the people: and that all was as it ought to be. Notwithstanding this, Trevor assured the envoy that a number of Ghilzye chiefs had left Cabul for hostile purposes.

On the 1st of November, Sir A. Burnes congratulated Sir William on the prospect of soon leaving Cabul in a perfect state of tranquillity. We might attribute his anxiety to calm the envoy's mind, by assurances of the peaceful feelings of the people of the country, to anxiety on his part to succeed to the situation to be vacated by Sir William: but it appeared questionable whether he would permanently have done so; as Col. Sutherland had, it was said, been nominated for the appointment.

There can be no doubt, from what we have since heard from the Affghans, that Sir A. Burnes wrote Sir William Macnaghten for a regiment; and that no aid was given either to him or Trevor, Anquetil or Mackenzie, is well known. Where the blame rests it is not for *me* to determine.

Not only did Taj Mahommed Khan, but also the Naïb Shureef, warn Sir Alexander. The latter was very intimate with him; and they were both well known to most of those officers who at all associated with the Affghan gentlemen.

Mention is made of the Naïb in one of the Bombay papers; in which he is represented as a very respectable person—a Naïb in Capt. Johnson's office. Khan Shireen Khan is the head of the Kuzzilbashes: and Mahommed Shureef was his Naïb, or the governor under him—a man of large estates, who, from his adherence to our cause, has had to fly his country, with what little he could save, but leaving landed property, worth above two lakhs of rupees, to the mercy of his enemies, the Barukzyes. Naïb Shureef paid a large sum for the interment of the bodies of Burnes and his brother. It was asserted that he was deceived, but his intention was equally good. After the return of the British force to Cabul, the bodies were reinterred.

Taj Mahommed Khan and Naïb Shureef have both paid every attention in their power to the hostages left in Cabul; and, as far as regards Mrs. Sturt and myself, they sent us, whenever they could obtain a secret conveyance, various little comforts. Tea, sugar, stockings, gloves, and money we received; and much which they sent never reached us.

Taj Mahommed Khan is the son of Gholam Mahommed Khan, who formerly assisted Shah Shoojah in his fruitless attempt to gain the throne. His family were long the hereditary Wuzeers of the country. That family are so influential that they can hold their ground with all parties. We leave him in the Wuzeerat. Jan Fishan Khan is now, as he says, only the poor Suyud Mahommed. Two of his brothers have fallen in battle: one son was burned alive, when a child; another has had his throat cut, though he begged hard for life, stating that he was a little child, and never could have harmed any one. The wretched father, with the remnant of his family, accompanies us to India. He never was rich. He possessed lands in the Pughman valley: a fertile vale, with magnificent vineyards and orchards. Despoiled of them, he is all but a beggar; but looks for the favourable consideration of the government of India.

A trifling subscription was raised by Sale and some officers to enable him to purchase camels, &c., that he and his family might travel with us.

In the absence of actual returns, I believe that the force which left Cabul was nearly as follows:

4 horse artillery guns.		4th local horse	70
3 mountain train ditto.		Envoy's escort	70
Bengal sap. and miners	20	2d Shah's cavalry	500
Shah Shoojah's ditto	250	Half mountain train	30
Queen's 44th	600	5th N. I.	700
1 troop H. A.	80	37th ditto	600
5th cavalry	260	54th ditto	650
1st local horse	70	6th Shah's	600

At the last stand, on the hill at Gundamuk, there remained—

20 officers.	4 or 5 Sipahees.
50 men of the 54th.	300 camp followers.
6 of the horse artillery.	

Among them all, about twenty muskets.

In reading over these notes, I believe I have not done justice to some of the men who were our fellow-captives. The day after that on which Saleh Mahommed Khan offered them the arms, a few men of the artillery, and perhaps, in all, half a dozen others, asked for and obtained them. Swords were difficult to procure for the officers: Lieut. Eyre not being able to get one, took a musket, which was very troublesome and heavy, as, from the wound he received at Cabul, he has lost the use of one hand.

It is now said, that though we all at the time believed Saleh Mahommed's assertion, that Akbar ordered the death of those who could not march, it is probable that this was a fiction. No one actually *read* the letter, that I can discover: and he probably wished to enhance the value of his releasing us. The order for our being sent to Khoolloom was read by several of the officers.

Here follow copies of a few notes that have been recovered. The first is not dated; but, if I mistake not, I have made allusion to the order for cutting away the weeds that grew on the ramparts, lest they should facilitate the enemy's entrance into the cantonments. The Affghans had first to cross the ditch, twenty feet wide.

No. I.

TO LIEUTENANT STURT.

Has the breastwork on the Musjid been improved? This Lieutenant Sturt was to have done yesterday. It must be, and as effectually as circumstances will admit, done to-day.

The bridge at the rear gate does not seem to be understood. The planks must be always kept ready to lay down. The breach of the captured fort ought to be strengthened. (The officer must be told, on the appearance of any people near it, to warn them off, and immediately let a party fall in near it). This latter does not apply to Lieutenant Sturt.

Can anything be done to the magazine or other forts during this quiet day?

Weeds on ramparts to be cut.

My dear Sturt,

I send you the above for your attention and consideration, to do what you can.

Yours,

(Signed) W. K. E.

II.

LIEUTENANT STURT. *Immediate.*

3d Dec.

My dear Sturt,

On my return from the envoy's I heard you had taken out a gun at the Bazar fort. I hope there is no risk, although I feel rather uneasy about its having been done before the work for its protection was completed; but as it has been done, you must look to the work, and carry it on without the least delay. See that this is carried on.

(Signed) Yours, W. K. E.

I was not aware you intended to take it out, and I hear the brigadier was opposed to it. I hope, however, for to-night the gun is safe: to lose it would be disastrous.

No. III.

My dear Sturt,

It is deemed too bad that we should suffer ourselves to be bullied in the way we have been to-day outside the Siah Sung gate, to say nothing of people being fired at every night coming to us with supplies; therefore it is determined that you throw up some sort of flèche, or other work, to hold a dozen men or so, which would keep these fellows at a more respectable distance, protect our animals and camp followers, save our bridge, and do away with the necessity of a cavalry piquet. If we have a quiet night, the general wishes you would plan out such a work on paper, and have it marked out on the ground, ready for the 200 sappers and miners to commence on the first thing in the morning, and as many other work-people as can be got. The brigadier has spoken to you about a trench across

the road from our ditch to the captured fort. [No. I.] The enemy set us a good example last night. You must have thought it necessary when you went to it and returned this evening. Yours truly, WM. THAIN.

4th Dec., 8 P.M.

Another line for the last-named trench is mentioned, which would be shorter than from our ditch, viz., from a barricadoed door in the old bazar near the S.W. angle.

W. T.

No. IV.

My dear Sturt,

In rear of the old commissariat godown the rebels have prepared a platform to-day, about twelve feet by four. Hay says they were looking at them all day from the Bala Hissar; that they began it at about one P.M., and seemed to have finished it before dark, and left it then; and that they seemed to be trying it, by walking on it before they went away: it seemed to be a contrivance for crossing our ditch. The enemy appeared more numerous to-day than for some days past. Yours truly, (Signed) WM. THAIN.

10th Dec., 8½ P.M.

No. V.

My dear Sturt,

Have we the means, by taking the beams of some building, of making a bridge over the canal? and how long would it take?

The guns, I fear, cannot cross otherwise, or the carriages for the bridge over the river.

The scarping the bank of the canal would render it practicable for the cavalry and baggage, and save some time. How long will it take to complete the opening for the egress of the troops? Pray attend to all this. I have told Pottinger to ask for a guard to protect our party; but the bridge might be prepared directly, ready to lay down the morning we go. Send for the sappers, and see what you can do as to this. How many bullocks will be required to draw the carriages to the river? This we must get assistance to do just before we march. Yours,

(Signed) W. K. E.

[No date, but, from the context, a few days previous to our leaving the cantonments, and Sturt making the bridge of gun-carriages, which was effected the day we started (the 6th of January).]

No. VI.

My dear Sturt,

The general wishes to know what you have done about cutting a passage through the rampart for our exit; if the sappers are unable to do the job, you might have a European working-party, if you will let me know the number you require; and the work should be done to-night, if possible. Yours sincerely, (Signed) W. GRANT.

30th Dec.

No. VII.

My dear Grant,

A party of forty Europeans, with the regular sappers, will do the job in about three hours: all inside is cleared away.

I cannot help giving the warning before doing this to-night. If we do not march to-morrow, we shall want a gun and a very strong guard to prevent the Ghazeeas entering.

Perhaps the general is not aware that about 500 men were on the point of forcing the gate to-day, and, being prevented, tore up the remaining portion of the canal bridge, which now no longer exists. While giving this warning, I have ordered the work to be begun now; therefore, if it is desired to be stopped, send to me; if not, send the Europeans. I am not answerable if accident happens, as I now wish you to tell the general that, in my opinion, no other than concealed measures should be used for moving out, until a few hours before that event takes place. If we march to-morrow, it should be done or commenced now; if not, it is my deliberate advice—do not execute it, or you endanger cantonments. Yours ever,

Thursday, Dec. 30th, 1841. (Signed) J. L. D. STURT.

The dhooley bearers just returned are specimens of what can be, is, and will again, be done by these men, if we place even the smallest unguarded confidence in them.

When Istalif was taken, the book of Gen. Elphinstone's orders was found there.

To show how inaccurately it was kept, I am told, by those who saw it, that the orders of the 11th and 12th were inserted before those of the 10th of December. The book was made over to General Pollock, and does not agree with General Elphinstone's last memoranda regarding Brigadier Shelton; as he is there thanked for the assistance always given by him to General Elphinstone.

APPENDIX.

TREATY.

ARTICLES of the Treaty entered into between Sir William Macnaghten, Envoy and Minister, on the part of the British Government, at Cabul, and the Sirdar Mahommed Akbar Khan, Mahommed Osman Khan, Sultan Mahommed (half-brother of Mahommed Akbar), Mahommed Shureef, Kuzzilbash, Mahommed Shah Khan and Khoda Buksh Khan, Ghilzye Sirdars, and the principal Chiefs of the Tribes:

1. Immediate supplies to be furnished to the troops to any extent required, as also carriage cattle.

2. The British troops to evacuate Affghanistan.

3. An offensive and defensive alliance to be formed.

4. The Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan and all his family to be released.

5. His Majesty Shah Shoojah Ool Moolk to have the option of remaining in the country as a private individual, to be treated with all honour and respect, and have a guaranteed stipend of a lakh of rupees annually, or, if he so wishes it, to be allowed to accompany the British troops to Hindostan, taking all his property and family with him, only giving up such effects as had formerly belonged to the Ameer Dost Mahommed.

In the event of carriage not being procurable for his family, they are to remain in the Bala Hissar, and be treated with all honour and respect; and on the arrival of the Ameer and all other Affghans imprisoned in India at Peshawer, the former are to be transported with safety to India.

6. All the sick and wounded to be left under the care of the Sirdars at Cabul, and to be treated as guests.

7. All the ammunition, guns, and small arms, if the means of transport are not procurable, to be made over to the Sirdars.

8. All surplus property of officers, for which carriage might not at present be procurable, to be left in charge of Zuman Khan, and be forwarded to India the first opportunity.

9. No man to be molested on either side for his actions during the war. Such chiefs as had stood stanch to the king to be allowed either to accompany his majesty, taking with them all property, or remaining in Affghanistan, to be treated with every respect.

10. Any British subject wishing to remain in Affghanistan, for the purposes of trade, to be in no way molested.

11. The troops at Jellalabad to evacuate that fort, ere the Cabul force commences its march.

The forces at Ghuznee and Kandahar to quit those places as soon as the season would admit of their marching.

12. The Sirdars, Mahommed Akbar Khan, and Osmar Khan, or any other chiefs wishing to do so, to accompany the troops on their march to Peshawer.

13. Four hostages to be given by us for the full performance of the above articles, to remain until Dost Mahommed Khan arrives at Peshawer.

[Capt. Trevor accompanied the Sirdars back as one of them.]

11th of December, 1841.

On the 12th Major Pottinger was informed by the envoy that he was to be a hostage.

THE END.

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